

"Spirings out of Non-violence"

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HARITAN

(FOUNDED BY MANMATHJI DANDJI)

Editor: K. C. MACHHERPOTTA

Volume 1

AHMEDABAD SUNDAY, MARCH 6, 1949

Two Annas

NEW VOLUME

In ordinary course the end of the year of the *Morgun* papers would have coincided with the anniversary day of Gandhiji. But it will be remembered that the papers suspended publication for a few weeks after the commencement of the new year. The result is that the new volume of these papers begins from the present year.

While I have received during the year several encouraging letters in appreciation of my efforts, I regret to report that the confidence of all the editors has considerably fallen during my stewardship. Even though they could not be expected to assess the height of Gandhiji's task, the fall is sufficiently indicative of several factors—one of them being my own limitations. A modern editor needs all-round knowledge and scholarship in matters of religion as also literary and general acquaintance. Besides a genuine identification with Gandhiji, the cream which he used for and the spirit in which he aimed the *Haritan*. I can claim none of these qualifications except perhaps the last to a certain degree, and a rising habit of plodding and conserving to the extent of my capacity. There might have been speedier and greater work done, but capacity cannot deny. The defect can be remedied if co-workers and colleagues of Gandhiji supplement my efforts to a greater degree than even what they did in Gandhiji's time.

Wardha 26-2-48 K. C. MACHHERPOTTA

"Why Prohibition?"

Dr. H. C. Machherpot, Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly has been a great worker in the cause of Prohibition and has worked the subject from all sides. In 1941 he had addressed meetings at Ahmedabad on the subject in company with Shri Mahadev Datta. The latter requested him to put the result of his studies in the form of a manual for the use of social workers as well as the general public. The book is an outcome of this conversation. It is full of useful information and will considerably add to the knowledge of all those who try to wage battles here that ignominious habit. The book has been published by the Book House, 15 College Square, Calcutta, and is priced at Rs. 4. The author's share of the profits will be contributed to the Gandhiji Memorial Fund.

I hope the book will be translated in due course in the various provincial languages also.
21-2-48 K. C. M.

CONFESS OUR MISTAKES

Many people have spoken about the great sacrifice of Gandhiji. The world has admired Mahatma Gandhi as the greatest apostle of peace and love. But how many even in India have followed his example and teachings?

The time has come when we should search our own hearts and reflect our position. Mahatma Gandhi wanted to give his life for the good of humanity. But have we sacrificed ourselves for his martyrdom?

It is high time we realized our shortcomings. It will be a great blunder for us if we do not frankly confess our mistakes. I shall candidly tell you that the greatest pattern of India was not the dream of Gandhiji. We could not translate his dream, because we did not proceed according to his plan. Tell me rather that his will, his vision, and prosperity of India cannot be achieved in any other way than by the methods and approach of Mahatma Gandhi. We can well correct ourselves and build a better India.

Let there be harmony and friendliness among Hindus, Muslims and Christians who should all strive for the common good of India. And that will be the true homage to the memory of our nation's father.

(From Swami Vivekananda Park's speech at Rajkot on 12-5-49)

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CONGRESS AND CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS

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Thus the duty of going practical steps in Gandhiji's idea of Lok Sevak Sangh naturally devolves on the constructive workers because it is they who have received the physical heritage of Gandhiji, not his conception of wisdom and detached life of service to the people. And therefore it was in the houses of things that immediately after Gandhiji's tragic death constructive workers from all over India met in a conference at Savitagram and resolved to form a Sarvodaya Sevak Sangh whose object would be to strive towards a society based on truth and non-violence in which there would be no distinction of caste or creed or opportunity for exploitation and which would afford full scope for development both for individuals as well as groups. It was also decided at Savitagram that Gandhiji's idea of mapping the country All India constructive organisations and two organisations should be given status as an experiment as far as possible and it was hoped that this new body would become the nucleus of the Sarvodaya Sevak Sangh. Happily a machinery has been evolved to co-ordinate the different activities carried on by the different organisations. The All India Sevak Seva Sangh consists of the representatives of the present constructive organisations and there is a provision in its constitution whereby representatives of any future organisation with similar objectives can be included in it with the same status.

How will the constructive workers meet on their new mission? Will they maintain their old ties with the Congress and strengthen them by further service? Will the Congress and the constructive workers be complementary to each other? If the Sarvodaya conference in any manner, thus the answer is yes. And that is as it ought to be. The members of the All India Sevak Seva Sangh as the constructive workers may not and need not concern themselves with day to day politics in parliamentary system but they cannot remain unconcerned about politics if they do they do it at their peril. They are essentially non-political and not apolitical and a revolutionary especially a non-violent revolutionary should keep aloof from power politics but away from politics is not to shun political power. He himself may refuse to share it but as long as a freeless society is not established and people have not begun to replace their social relations and others by their individual interest by non-violent law or rule, the non-violent revolutionary will have to create and use political power. If the Master's life teaches us any lesson it is that Truth or God cannot be reached outside society and therefore, a worker after truth has to deal with all the facts of social life.

In the present day world, having made the independent State, even in the so-called democracy,

there has been a general tendency and behind the democratic facade really an oligarchy rules. Besides, in the modern age democracy has not only to plan but also for war and war-planning has necessarily to be a monopolistic and centralized. Never before in its chequered history has the State understood the mass society and controlled the life of the masses in all its aspects as it does today. The twentieth century democracy does not believe in the mass. This government is the best which governs the least. Therefore a non-violent social revolutionary cannot afford to be indifferent to the State or the government. The Lok Sevak Sangh according to Gandhiji was to be a body of servants who derive their authority or power from service unapologetically and selflessly rendered to their master, the people of India. His idea was that the worker in certain vast always every man and woman who is either an actual or potential voter. Through service rendered to the voters in various ways the worker can and will control and mould the State thus leading to the establishment of a true non-violent democracy. The Sarvodaya Sangh, in which the worker of the Lok Sevak Sangh will be working is a higher goal but at the present level of human development social democracy is the necessary step in that direction.

The nucleus of the Indian Congress created The All India Sevak Sangh. Political freedom having been attained through non-violent action under the leadership of Gandhiji, the National Congress has now to labour for the attainment of social and economic freedom so that freedom and equal opportunity may come to all the people of India without any distinction of race or religion. This is the goal which the Congress has now set for itself, but more important than the end is the means. The Congress has again pledged its word to the nation at Jaipur that it will work for its goal in the light of the life-giving message of Gandhiji. That disengages the Congress from the material and the commercial. Their fundamental approach towards the national and world problems is Marxism while that of the Congress is Gandhian. And this is quite natural, for he believed it and gave it life. As long as the Congress remains faithful to his teaching and works for the goal that he has set not only for the people of India but for all humanity, the constructive workers in general and the members of the Sarvodaya Sangh and the members of the All India Sevak Seva Sangh in particular need not go in for any new political organisations. They can continue to serve the people in political matters through the Congress.

The Congress in its turn, if it can, is to be reduced to the position of a mere political organisation as a convenience whose official policies and programmes are explained and understood but continue to serve the people of India and humanity in the light of the message of Gandhiji, must remain a revolutionary organisation as before. Having won political democracy it must now work to ensure

it is the social and economic fields. More rights to vote even on the State or local franchise is not real democracy. Under such a democracy the people are only servants de jour. It is the representatives who are the masters de facto. True democracy does not mean the right to delegate power to the representatives but the right and opportunity to administer directly ones own affairs. This is only possible if there is decentralisation of power and production. This alone will give the common man the opportunity to act and the power to determine. The present day parliamentary democracy as it has evolved in the West is manufacturing poverty, tendentious and therefore, there is very little possibility under it for the common man to come into his own.

Gandhi has shown the way. He has taught that service should be directed more specially towards promoting unity and goodwill among all the people of India abolishing distinctions based on class or religion and working for a unified democratic society in a peaceful manner. His insistence was on truth and non-violence. For the Congress that meant to follow the path shown by him, peaceful and harmonious must mean the same thing. If the Congress is to achieve the goal set by him, then it must give a central place to constructive work in its social reconstruction programme. The various constructive organisations that are already there and those which may be formed in the future must become an organic part of it. The Congress must adopt a plan of decentralised production which should form part of the permanent economy of the country. It must give special attention to the rapid development of cottage and village-level industries and at the same time to national and regional economic self-sufficiency as far as the necessities of life. It should hold a similar aim in the political field. The Message that the Indian Congress gave was the message of Gandhi. It was in India that the Sardar Vallabhbhai images of us find. It was held along with the Congress session. It has blessed the trust. The Congress and the constructive workers must unite and work shoulder to shoulder to achieve the cherished goal of a classless society through peaceful means.

This alone will save the Congress from being regarded as a mere political organisation to give voice to what is already done by those in charge of the Government. For that was her original intention. If we are to save India, we must stop this. The Congress must live up to its tradition of service. All that is absolute and revolutionary must be revised and organised. This will not be possible without the co-operation of the constructive workers. Gandhi had made the Congress his powerful instrument for making India free. The duty of keeping it into a new instrument for establishing in India a classless and classless society or a Sardar Vallabhbhai now devolves on the constructive workers. They must begin afresh. It is a herculean task. Let us hope that when they meet in conference

next March they will determine and agree on fulfilling it in a sincere working of the future.

SRINIVASA V. (B)

GANDHI'S BIOGRAPHY

Mr. Prafulla, who is engaged in preparing Gandhi's biography is at present stayed in the Hargis Colony Enclave, Delhi as in the course of his work there will be need for frequent reference to Gandhi's colleagues who are in Delhi.

The biography has been planned in five parts. The first part will cover the early period of Gandhi's life including his exposure in England and South Africa up to his return to India.

The second part will cover the period of his production in India and the earlier Satyagraha struggles in Champaran and Kheda.

The third part will cover the non-violent period from 1919 to 1930 coinciding with the great Khilafat and Non-cooperation struggles.

The fourth part will cover the period of his stay in Wardha and Sevagram immediately with the outbreak of the second World War.

The fifth part, in which Mr. Prafulla is at present working, will cover the last phase of Gandhi's life. It will perhaps be the longest and the most momentous part, covering as it will, the Quit India struggle, turbulent months' detention in the Aga Khan Palace, the Copen' and the Calcutta Movement and the De or De movement in North India, Bihar and finally in Delhi. The collection and editing of the material on Gandhi's work in North India and Bihar is at present approaching completion.

The idea is working from the end backwards as to take up more recent happenings first before they grow stale.

The order of publication of the various parts and whether they would be published simultaneously or sequentially will be decided later.

"Mahatma, Sevagram"

A year ago a representative from The Times of India came to Sevagram and took a few photographs of the activities of the educational community. These photographs were later published in the Illustrated Weekly of India under the title *Sevagram for India*. Some friends expressed a wish to see these photographs together in a complete picture of Mahatma in all its aspects.

We have, therefore, published these pictures with short explanatory notes. We hope it may prove useful to educationists and to all others who are interested in the creation of a new 'purer' social order through education.

(Price Rs. 1/- in paper cover Rs. 1-1/2-Rush-bound)

E. W. ARJANATHAN
Secretary,
Hindustani Taluk Singh

HARIJAN

March 6

1949

"SPRINGS OUT OF NON-VIOLENCE"

Shri E. W. Arundatharam has published a small photo album of Mahatma or Swaraj, with a preface entitled *Educations for Life: One of Gandhiji's utterances quoted as it runs as follows:*

If we want to eliminate communal and sectional strife, we must start with foundation pure and solid; for raising our boundary stones on the education I have adumbrated. That plan springs out of non-violence.

To my mind the last sentence is the key to Gandhiji's all activities and programmes, and should guide us in the conduct of ours.

We have often said that we want to establish a society based on Truth and Non-violence, and that the several aims of the Constructive Programme are the means of achieving that ideal. In saying so, we mean to feel that the means of the Constructive Programme if fully worked out, will make exploitation, inequality and quarrels due to differences of religion, race, position, wealth, etc. impossible and that these will come into existence a society based on Truth and Non-violence.

The questions which deserve to be considered are: how did Gandhiji himself come to accept Truth and Non-violence as the fundamental principle of his life? How would the charities and village industries and the removal of untouchability and other things lead to abolition of caste, violence, exploitation etc. from society? And how did Gandhiji lay upon these particular aims as the means of establishing *Rama Rajya* on earth? How far have regular spinning, away from upon khadi and village made articles, clearing lanes, sweeping streets, saving without the observance of caste or creed distinctions, choosing from untouchables and preying especially removed or reduced untouchables, violence or self-indulgence from us and made our relations with ourselves and neighbours colleagues opponents and others more loving and peaceful than before? Has it not happened sometimes that our very zeal for a particular item of the Constructive Programme made us look at others who are even so indifferent or less particular about it with a certain amount of repugnance and contempt? In other words, does the principle of Truth and Non-violence follow from the working out of the Constructive Programme, or does it lead to these various constructive activities?

We have previously imagined that it was the former.

It was not so with Gandhiji. He said that his plan sprung out of non-violence. He was an intense devotee of Truth and Non-violence and made colossal effort to co-ordinate his life with this principle. He associated every human institution and act of his as a man of Truth and Non-violence should, and hoped that he would not be true to

that principle if he had a life based on exploitation, inequality, want of equal regard for others opinions and emotions, non-resistance to evil, or resistance to it with any but truthful and non-violent means and so on. And this led him to the progressive discovery of the various aims of the Constructive Programme as also the necessity for India's independence (the aim of *Rama Rajya* (Kingdom of God upon earth) and the various campaigns of his political movement.

Whether it was non-co-operation, acceptance of power, charities, village industries, untouchability communal unity, Hindutva, Urdu education, justice or insistence on prayer, each sprang out of his non-violence. Even when he trusted some evil, he trusted himself that the removal of the evil was necessary not only to the party against whom the evil was done, but also to the best interests of the evildoer himself. Thus he could assert that he trusted British dominion and persons not only for India's good but also for the good respectively of the British and the Muslims themselves.

There are millions who have a sincere faith in and respect for Gandhiji and his principles and programmes. But there are few who are able to accept all his views and all the aims of his Constructive Programme and still fewer who will do anything to work even for an aim which they accept. There are also many among us who have loved and adored Gandhiji, worked with him, developed his various institutions, copied him in several details and have placed comfort both in him, in his words and in the programmes adumbrated by him. We have also subscribed to the creed of Truth and Non-violence and the rest of his well-known eleven vows. And we have done this honestly and lovingly. Those who possessed money spent thousands of rupees at his command and entertained him and his entourage without heeding the cost or personal inconvenience, when placed away for him rather to serve him personally or to conduct his institutions. And yet when we examine ourselves we find that we do not seem to feel the shock of Truth and Non-violence, which was self-evident to him in every deed of his life. This must be as leads to constant lackings which are individual self as also with our organisations. A and B and C all intensely devoted to Gandhiji and his programme and yet none of them able to pull up with one another and still highland, demagoguing from one another like the physical elements of his dead body? Is not this a betrayal of the Constructive Programme and the creed of Truth and Non-violence? Surely there is something wrong in our approach to the whole subject and we must try to find out the defect.

The questions given at the beginning of this article, I believe, provide the key to the examination. It is the seed which grows into the tree, brings forth the fruit and seedling was more seeds. So it should be the initial Truth and Non-violence as it that should guide our various

survive whether in private or public life and lead us to this or that activity whether in political economic religion, education languages literature, art or any other field or also whether we should co-operate or non-co-operate, with any person or movement or cause or tolerate or not or an agency to which we do not subscribe or propagate or maintain silence regarding our personal opinions and theories. All large-scale programmes and policies are conclusions we have arrived at, no doubt on intellectual appreciation of Truth and Non-violence. But what is needed is the actual chords of Truth and Non-violence in every detail of our life and our conduct, acts and programmes must radiate out of that chord, which in turn should govern us by the inner current generated from the working out of the Programme.

Our differences will begin to disappear, our programmes will become brighter and we shall see and work with greater peace with ourselves and our people, if our activities spring from the Non-violence in the chords of our hearts, rather than from the intellectual comprehension of our brain waves.

Wardha, 29-2-49 K. G. MATHURWALA

GANDHI AND FUTURE ROLE OF CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

During the first half of December 1940, Gandhiji held a series of talks — one with the Hindustani Taluk Sangh group, the other with members of the Constructive Programme Committee appointed by the Working Committee. The gathering included numerous soldiers of many a non-violent struggle that Gandhiji had led during the last thirty years of his life. Some of them had been with him from the very beginning of his political career in India. These were practically the last full-length talks that he had with his co-workers and the words of wisdom that dropped from his lips on this occasion have an exceptional significance. They afford a glimpse into the working of his mind on the future role of constructive work in Independent India as he envisaged it and its relation to power politics.

Hitherto non-violence had been used to offer resistance to the alien Government, the problem now was to run the Government. He had made (in his) the terrible discovery that during the struggle for independence when he had taken to be non-violence was really not non-violence, but passive resistance only — the weapon of the weak, a temporary expedient which could be and was usually discarded by us as soon as there was an opportunity to resort to violence. The conception of non-violence as the weapon of the strong, he now must regard a chimera and a dream and non-violence had no future as world power and harbinger of universal peace, unless it could be shown to be capable of resistance and defending the power which it had helped to win in other words unless it could successfully set upon and guide power politics. His latest experiment with Gandhiji Sangh had brought home the fact that the moment non-violence assumed power it contradicted itself and began to degenerate. The

question was whether it could at all be used to influence power politics without succumbing to its corrupting influence, and if so how.

There were some who were worried at the paradox which the Free India Government presented. The Congress had sworn allegiance to the constructive programme for years, while it was in the wilderness. But having come into power, it showed signs of going it the by-by. Was not the remedy for those who had faith in constructive work to enter the Government and use it for the purpose of building up a non-violent social order? Gandhiji was opposed to it but he held that the purpose could be achieved if the various Sanghs which he had founded for carrying on constructive work came up to the standard which he had set to them. As a preliminary step to the discharge of that role, he recommended the purification and co-ordination of those Sanghs into one body. He placed the onus of the transformation on the shoulders of the Hindustani Taluk Sangh. It should be easy for them to do that if Nal Taluk was what he had envisaged it to be. What he had proposed was only a part of adult education. "Nal Taluk is not a school as such it has rather to transform the prevailing atmosphere or perhaps the attitude."

He then went on to describe another challenge that confronted Nal Taluk. It concerned all that we had stood for and fought for all these years. "There is a struggle in the country today on our minds, which holds that the Hindus and Muslims cannot co-exist; that either the Muslims should govern at Hindustan or live here as the vassals of the Hindu Sultans; or, Pakistan only the Muslims should remain. It is a poisonous doctrine. In a long time the word of Pakistan Pakistan has come into being, their dream has materialised but the word has remained. I have pledged myself to combat this doctrine and this ideology and to do so to the extreme. But to combat the wrong psychology of the people is really the business of Nal Taluk."

Being invited to express his opinion, Dr. Zakir Husain, Member of the Taluk Sangh said that while in principle what Gandhiji had said was unquestionable, still there was need to 'batten slowly'. Things had changed considerably since independence. Everybody felt the urge and importance to make new and daring experiments and the need for absolute a free hand. If the margin resulted in misadventures, it might retard instead of helping progress.

A suggestion was then made that they might discuss at separate branches of a tree that have sprung from a common trunk and a reference was made to that connection to the Gandhiji Sangh Sangh which was described as functioning as the parent trunk at one time. But Gandhiji said danger in that. He did not want the Constructive Workers' Organisation to be down into power politics and become a rival to the Congress or the Government in the contest for political power. "That Sangh is no longer there. Now it is a struggle to rally all constructive workers under one organisation. It did make a short-lived attempt to enter into and purify

the politics of the country has had no other defect," he said.

Dr. Zakir Husain went back to the argument.

Dr. Zakir Husain — "The six parliaments were created separately as an excuse to postpone serious political functions. If they are united into one body, it will not be possible to keep power politics out of it."

Goodall — "If the united Constructive Workers' Sangh tries to go into power politics, it would spell an end. On the other hand, why should I myself not have political power and tried to run the Government my way? Those who are holding the reins of power today would surely have stepped aside and made room for me, but while they are so charged they can carry on only according to their lights. But I do not want to take power into my hands. By sharing power and devoting ourselves to pure, selfless service of the nation, we can guide and influence them. It would give us far more real power than we shall have by going into the Government. A stage may come when the people themselves may feel and say that they want us and we are able to wield the power. The question could then be considered. I shall never probably be so alone then. But when that time comes, the Sangh will produce from amongst them someone who will take over the reins of administration. By that time India shall have become an ideal State."

Dr. Zakir Husain — "Shall not we need ideal men in order to inaugurate and run the ideal State?"

Goodall — "We can send men of our choice, walking along into the Government's corridors. Today everybody in the Congress is running after power. That produces inner change. Let us not be in the same cry as the power-seekers. Today many Congressmen say 'Pandit Jawaharlal is getting so much salary, why should we not?' They forget that a person of Pandit Jawaharlal's talents could any day have commanded a far greater emolument than he is getting today. If an ordinary humble worker like myself, who neither needs nor has the capacity to earn independently, say Rs. 1,000 p. m., draws that much amount as salary, it is a bad thing. It is my firm view that we should keep altogether aloof from power politics and its intrigues."

In the meeting convened by the Constructive Workers' Committee of the Congress, Acharya Kripalani, Shrikrishna Das and Dwivedi posed to Goodall the question whether, if the Congress having assumed power, failed to give to constructive work sufficient importance or attention, it would not be better for all constructive workers to form themselves into a separate body for the vigorous prosecution of constructive work. Such a body should not attempt to run away from power politics, but go into the Government, take power and use it for the furtherance of the constructive programme. They would then assemblage in five years what, as a preliminary group outside the Government they would not be able to do in five. Today they were confronted with a paradox. For instance, they praised yet for their Government was neglecting the attention of new sugar mills. They talked of

expanding khadi production but the Provincial Governments were neglecting it. Why was it that the Congress leaders and their adherents in constructive work themselves say it was in the wilderness and postpone their policy as regards it to a time that is long, long the future?

Goodall — "It is difficult to answer the question — why constructive work is making so little headway, although the Congress has given adherence to it for years and was the Jawaharlal, Rajagopalachari and Vallabhbhai are at the helm of affairs. All the Sanghs except the Harmonious Sangh were brought into being by the Congress. Why is it then that the workers of these Sanghs lack the power to make the Government do the whole lot with them? The fault I suppose lies with us, the constructive workers. We had faith in constructive work but our faith was not deep or enlightened enough to stimulate our intellect and so our growth has been retarded. The criticism levelled against the constructive workers is that they are lacking in imagination and intellect. Our intelligences are not lacking in sympathy. Reason and rule follows in the footsteps of feeling. But we have not sufficiently penetrated these barriers to convert them into facts."

He then went on to describe how constructive work came to be adopted by the Congress as a part of the non-co-operation programme. There was a man up there! People thought it was a good way to fight the British. There was a counterproductive movement. In due course the intelligences too were drawn in. As a result we got 'Independence.' The fight being over our interest in the constructive programme waned. The constructive work is not a strategy or a technique of fighting. It concerns a way of life. It can be worked only by men who have adopted it by the heart as well as by the intellect."

The Congressmen had the Constructive Workers' Sangh in mind. It gave them the chance to hate now. But the Congressmen failed to come up to the scratch and shoulder the burden. Such is our helplessness. If the Sangh could come together and work under the direction of a jointly chosen representative it would make a big step in advance. To set our own house in order is the first indispensable step if we want to influence political power. If all the Sanghs give a good account of themselves work outside and in, no person would get a job or job, it would be a grand thing. But they must not do it for the sake of popularity or honour for political power even in their dreams. Soon we shall have adult suffrage. It is a good thing. But in regard adult suffrage as a means for the exercise of political power would be to put it in a corrupt use."

The objective of the Constructive Workers' Organisation is to generate political power. But it may say that political power having come, it must be ours for a year for our lifetime. It would degrade us and spoil our race. Take the case of the Christian Sangh. It has the largest membership of all the Sanghs. But we have never tried to get its members enrolled on the voters' list. It was suggested at one time that we should get them

names enrolled in the Congress together I opposed it. Do we want it merged with Congress? I asked them. That would be equivalent to killing it. The Congress will function with a spirit of service. Today we have two Congresses. Under whose influence if we are much the wiser we should have that held over the people, the whomever we might choose should be admitted to Congress. I deprecated the proposal of our people enrolling themselves as voters. What actually happened was that the people from the village came and sought our advice as to whom they should give their vote, because they knew that we were their true servants and had no use of our own to give.

Today politics has become corrupt. Anybody who goes into it is contaminated. Let us keep out of it altogether. Our influence will grow thereby. The greater our moral purity, the greater shall be our hold on the people, without any effort on our part.

'My eyes have now been opened,' he continued. 'I now see that what we pursued during the fight with the British under the name of non-violence is a not really non-violence. God had purposely misled my eyes as He wanted to accomplish His great purpose through me. That purpose being accomplished, He has restored to me my sight.'

How what I am doing today promoted your health? he asked. 'Then you should have the strength to remove all corruption wherever it may be. You have not been at the constructive wing of the Congress. For that you need not go into any committee. Your work is among the masses. The Congress Assembly is today lacking the constructive. Do not bother about effecting changes in it. *Shrimanarayana* has written to me that is the construction that is being framed, there is no mention of Green Panthayat, whereas Congressmen have always said that the Green Panthayat must be the foundation of our future policy. We have no resistance the village, make it prosperous, give it more education than power. What good will the construction be if the village does not find its due place in it? What *Shrimanarayana* says appeals to me. But we must recognize the fact that the social order of our dream cannot come through the Congress at today. Nobody knows what shape the construction will ultimately take. I say leave it to those who are laboring with it. Let constructive workers consolidate their strength and the way to do it is through the embrace of the various constructive works organizations. If we cannot do that, let each Sangh continue on its way and develop its strength as best as it can, making intelligence more and more the hallmark of all its activity.' The Charkha Sangh is the largest Sangh. It has funds. It is pursuing the policy of decentralization. I am not aware of its plans and difficulties. We have to create a superior, more advanced type of Sangh worker. Not all these shall *Saras Pandharya Raj* become a deity. The workers of the Charkha

Sangh are not there merely to earn a living for themselves or merely to distribute some wages to spinners, weavers, etc. by way of poor relief. The only goal worthy of their attention is to create a non-violent order of society, in that they have not made much headway. If our Sangh workers are there for wages only, then we had better let goodbye to the dream of creating a non-violent social order. Success will depend on our utmost policy. Importance would be final.

'Today most of our workers are drawn from the cities. The really poor villages are haunted by the spectre of destitution. He cannot see beyond the satisfaction of his primary needs. He does not understand atoms, nor do I talk to him of it, but try only to see that he becomes a good spinner and gets a fair, minimum subsistence wage. I do not mind if the volume of our work is small, so long as it is solid. Constructive-making will be over in a few months. What next? The responsibility of working it and making of it a success will rest on you. Supposing you get a construction after your heart, but it does not work. After two years, someone will say, 'You had your chance, now give us a chance.' You will have to give in and then may try to make power, set up a dictatorship and manipulate the Congress. For mercy, suppose you do not take power, but give hold on the public, you will be able to create at the polls whomever you may wish. Forget membership as long as the voters are in your hand. Think of the poor, take care of it as much as you can, make self-purification the sole criterion. Even a handful united with this spirit will be able to transform the atmosphere. The people will soon perceive the change and will not be slow to respond to it. There is an awful and difficult task, but it is full of rich promise.'

Q The people are weak, but the Government obstructs our effort. What are we to do?

Gandhi—If the people are with you, the Government is bound to respond. If it does not, it will be set aside and another installed in its place. Even in the days of Lord Wavell I used to tell our people that they did not know their own strength or they could get Lord Wavell removed at will. When the British saw that they could rule over us only by martial law they removed him. It is a tribute to them, for they could say we will have imposed martial law.

Q Should there not be an overall organization which would include and coordinate all the Sangh activities?

Gandhi—A separate organization is not necessary for the purpose. What is needed is the coordination of the work of the Sanghs. The various Sanghs have so far worked separately and independently of one another. We tried to set up a coordinating committee for the purpose of *Saraswati Green Sewa*, but it did not work. If we all unite, we shall function like the departments of the Central Government. The members of the Charkha Sangh will do the work of Green Udyog too. There is the question of the role of temples. Why should

not the 1,000,000,000 who are? Our workers children brought to be educated. Shall we build a separate school for them? Is that not the function of the Taluk Sangh? If we will not co-operate even in such matters, it will show that we have not understood how things work. The central body will lay down the general lines of policy which all the Sanghs would follow. If we are determined and pledge ourselves to "Do or Die", we are bound to succeed.

Arjunsinghji — Let the presidents and secretaries of the various Sanghs meet first on a preliminary informal gathering and after discussion place before Gandhi the explanations and difficulties of each.

Shankaran Das — This is the wrong way to go about it. The workers should meet first. A discussion of the presidents and secretaries will not have the requisite atmosphere. It is a narrow and subjective approach.

Gandhi — It is neither narrow, nor subjective. The workers' conference can follow and provide. The Charika Sangh has an Board Shri Jyoti may consult it first. The average worker will not even understand.

Dev — We have quite a number of intelligent, constructive workers in them he called.

Gandhi — We seem to be talking at cross purposes. The discussion that I have proposed involves technical matters. It needs specialists. The general workers will feel themselves at a disadvantage. Let the scope and pattern wait. All will don't lose the glow of strength. President Dr. Balar Hassan is a great exponent. He has suggested that nothing should be decided under the spell of my previous year now. He has therefore recommended that the matter be taken up at Sangham. I like it. The atmosphere there will be calm and free from the emotional wave. When I came here I did not know that I would have to speak on these things. I was told that in the constructive conference of the Congress, there were some constructive workers how could they make their influence felt in the Congress? I had gone to tell you that you must not expect to get the construction you desire through the Congress. Nor need that worry you. It should be enough if the construction you get does not actually stand in the way of constructive action. The second thing I had come to tell you was that the various Sanghs should become research laboratories in their respective fields. Our constructive works institutions are not democracies, they are instruments for the building up of democracy. The Congress has lent us its name and prestige and in return derives prestige from us for the service which we do for services we render. The connection of the constructive work organisations with the Congress is special. It can be severed at any moment. As specialists, we should be able to render to the Congress our advice on what needs to be done.

Q Who must we get it done through the Congress?

Gandhi — ~~Through~~ the Congressmen are not sufficiently interested in constructive work. If they were, it should not give them necessary for us to meet here.

Q This being an English propaganda, what is the use of these lines on constructive work organisations in the Congress programme?

Gandhi — I know that in various moulds the propaganda of the past, I am afraid, may not do the things that I know but it should be our duty to see that through our action our case does not go by default.

Q Labour is represented in the Assembly through its representatives. There are special seats reserved for the Harijans. Why do not all the constructive workers' organisations have functional representation in the A. I. C. C. who would act in the general way too?

Gandhi — No, not the workers. Functional is all right. But in the general there is so much corruption today that it hampers me. Effectively we can carry so many votes in his pockets because votes give power. Under which village anybody who is eligible has a vote. Let all such members of the various Sanghs form themselves into one body and let the Working Committee and the A. I. C. C. take from among them their members, to advise and guide them in matters and policies pertaining to constructive work. There are so many labour organisations in the country. There is the Ahmedabad Labour Union, the Charika Sangh, the Gollia Sangh, the Chamber of Commerce and so on. The Congress chose to represent them all. (The Congress of course chose to represent the Princes too. But I would not ask you to include the Chamber of Princes in your scheme.) Take all the living organisations with you. Fully conscious of all these Sanghs the very idea of capturing of power and you will be able to guide power, and keep it on the right path. There is no solution. There is no other way.

Datta, 3-3-49

FRASER

SAPU — MY MOTHER

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Mahadevi Gandhi

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TWO ANNAS

SETTLEMENT OF THE LANGUAGE CONTROVERSY

On the 28th and 29th February the members of the Rashtriya Bhaskar Chet, a Hindu Rashtriya Sabha met in a Conference at Wardha under the patronage of Baba Gheruldas of Jalgaon. Pandit Deshpandeji Malviya, Home Minister of C P inaugurated the Conference. Shri Vasudeva and I attended it on the first day as witnesses. After the speeches of Pandit Malviya, Baba Gheruldas and other members of the Conference, Shri Vasudeva and I were requested to address a few words.

Pandit Malviya had referred in his eloquent address, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's recent article on reviving a "National Language for India and subject to a few more" welcomed Pandit Nehru's thesis and declared that it considerably reduced the difference between Hindi and Hindustani and was capable of putting that controversy to an end. To translate his own words he said

"I am not a linguist and do not know in clear detail the extent of the difference and of such a great distance from Pandit's (Nehru's) as is supposed. I have reason to be satisfied, however, that your proposal, I believe that by making my time in Hindi and Hindustani controversy we are playing into the hands of those enemies of Hindi who desire to retain the separation of the English language, or at least have presented that they stand back to the Hindi being included in the national language of India."

Pandit Deshpandeji Malviya is a great Hindi scholar and poet. His right to speak on that point with authority is unquestionable. Baba Gheruldas and others who followed him also welcomed Pandit Jawaharlal's approach though with less warmth than that of Shri Malviya.

These speeches prompted me, who called upon to speak to put the following suggestions before the Conference. Having no formal connection with either the Hindi or the Hindustani organisations, I did not speak on behalf of any organisation or such. But I had taken interest in the common language problem and was convinced that the controversy which was being vigorously carried on in the country on this matter, and the war in which the great language was being handled and sought to be handled and developed were not in the interest of the people — the masses — as the language itself. It simply postponed the day when it could begin to function fully in the life of the nation. It was necessary to find a

remedy for ending the controversy once for all. The protagonists on both the sides had made the name and the common object of their respective passions and prejudices, and reason and logic in their advocacy could always find suitable arguments to defend the side for which it held the line. This was the usual role of one's own reason when one attempted to resolve matters which had become objects of one's passion and prejudice. No amount or length of time would bring them near to a solution by itself. Reason is useful and an appeal to statement of personal duty and principle. For the same reason that is not a reason which is satisfactorily decided by common sense. A decision may might create peace but not satisfaction and unity. A new language like Hindi-Hindustani is capable of allowing its writers a variety of choice. It is written and will be written even by the same writer in various moods of his life. Arabic, Persian, English and Hindi words in the choice of the Hindi words also he will cover in words and forms of various dialects made it. Let writers and speakers make their own contributions according to their own tastes or the needs of the people they deal with. The language would take form through these attempts. Perhaps a night sleep as a dream of considerable richness. What is needed is to settle down to work by putting an end to the too long-drawn debates. This can be done by choosing some one in whom writers, large-breededness and vision as much as in his scholarship and general knowledge persons of both the schools could agree and who has to give the name and define the contours and lines of development of the language for the time being. I say "for the time being" obviously, because all these things are always liable to change in course of time. We must accept his decision even in the present. Pandit Deshpandeji of Wardha has said that they all accepted that of Vyas, Kavi or Krishna as the next step. Whether the decision brought them, Sanskrit or Hindustani, they accepted them jointly and bravely and never tried to by-pass them in the same way the matter should be decided by referring to a third umpire.

I put them then before the audience (perhaps in a different language from that used here) and suggested that even Pandit Jawaharlal's article had been covered with protest, approved by the Hindi school than any pronouncement made by him and since he was also a Vyas Minister whom we have already arranged the power of fixing the destiny of the entire nation on matters of far greater vision

to get them, the Government should encourage the local labour force to work on the land properly.

Upon this issue, one suggested further suitable idea. First, some idea as to what amount of work is offered. Having heard generally, suggestions by Shri Gopal Singh are worthy indeed. I am appreciative to begin with, however, that Shri Shastriji's view is that the Government should be asked to arbitrate. I will suggest to that that the way the President of the Constituent Assembly and of all parties to it will act as President should be empowered to think out and himself it would be a very welcome plan in resolving the issue.

Let us work through this the main object of the suggestion and see if the above cannot be applied more fully.

I was glad to find that the suggestion met with general approval. I will then do, first, as well as directly from some of the members that they felt as if a great burden would be removed from all these minds if the issue is more decided.

I repeat this suggestion for the consideration of the members of the Constituent Assembly and the wider public. Let the public first concentrate upon the solution of both the subjects that they should accept the united of Hindi (Devanagari) and of Sanskrit (Vedika) and of Dr. Bhabhadracharya, or all or any one of them on the same and constant and least of development of the National Language. There is a country midway between the Far East and the Far West and the meeting ground of peoples of various cultures, languages and races. As the midway was spread up and equally in all directions, so too we are in Saravali, the well-being of every one. Let this be the development of the use of our common culture and our common language. Our country is Saravali-Saravali and our common language too should be Saravali-Saravali.

March 3-4-49

K. G. MATHURWALA

WASTEFUL CUSTOMS

There were well upon just before the Holi. The processions accompanying the celebration of this festival are numerous at a period when India must have been extremely prosperous — at least in terms of food and fuel. Millions of food and fuel and spending money are burnt on the Holi day as an offering.

I doubt if this burning was ever profitable. It might have been valuable against the background of general prosperity and plenty of means of transportation to express needed the burnt wealth. It is neither profitable nor valuable in the present material crisis. The waste must be regarded as an ignominious waste.

I understood that there is a custom in Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa of flying bonfires all over on one another on certain winter occasions. Millions of rice are thus wasted when people need every grain of it. It is a wasteful practice. The rich and the high-placed people, who, regardless of the

well-being of the community, are over-indulgent in the burning of their rice. They cannot take notice of it that it is appropriate in celebrating social functions. Though the money has been spent on burning the wasteful practice may be ending to them, the practice is ended in itself and shows lack of the sense of responsibility. They are expected to derive and change old customs wisely so that their less prosperous countrymen have no reason to feel small before them or to feel envious of them.

But even if they led to see what these plans do and what they do to the people at large must not remain there. They must keep clear of these wasteful ways.

March 3-4-49

K. G. MATHURWALA

CITIES

There is great backwardness upon two different languages, provinces, the great provinces become a town of confusion among provinces. Bombay is one of them. Madras maybe by another. Some years ago, I made a suggestion that every city with a population of say more than one lakh should be made into an independent unit. Its local government should vest in its municipal corporation which might have some enlarged powers and right to legislate on specified subjects. The municipal legislative power should be divided into the Central Government, I feel that a decentralised and non-voting approach towards this problem would suggest the solution at the best in the interests of every one in India. These areas would necessarily be multi-lingual and would affect the present scope for the development of a rich common language as well as the enrichment of various provincial languages through mutual intercourse. Being subject to the jurisdiction of the Central Assembly, in which there would be members from all parts of India, they would be linked together, though started far away from one another in lower institutions. The provincial governments with their own or under them would have greater freedom as well as direct relations of the people of the rural and backward areas and the provincial assemblies would be free from the city atmosphere which often makes the Government of provinces backward. I request politicians and legislators to give this matter consideration.

March 25-2-49

K. G. MATHURWALA

All India Food Production Conference

Under the auspices of the Adarsha Seva Sangh, an All-India Food Production Conference will be held at Patna on the 12th and 13th of April, 1949. Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru, Food and Agriculture Minister for the Government of India, will preside.

Those who wish to participate will please communicate with the Secretary Adarsha Seva Sangh, Patna, Madhya Bharat.

EARTH HOUSES—VI

Each house should not be built on low, wet ground or where the level of the inland water is high or in places liable to get flooded. A mud wall housing compact well drained under water, unless it is embedded substantially in the water house with asphalt or cement is greatly reduced. It is usually enough to build the plank some high and to fill the space under the floor with gravel.

The foundations for rammed earth walls must be built strong enough to carry the very considerable weight of the house. They should run at least 12" above the ground and their thickness should not be more than the thickness of the wall as is set to form a step, on which the rain water may collect. The foundations must be so high in order to prevent running water and rain drop splashes from reaching the wall.

A cheap and adequate RCC foundation for rammed earth houses can be built in the following way.

Dig a trench as usual, about 36" or more deep and 18" or more wide. Fill it with sand measuring and ramming a down layer after layer. When the sand reaches about 6" below the ground, cast an RCC foundation with an inverted T across the trench. The horizontal part will be 18" wide and 6" thick; the vertical part will be at least 12" high and as thick as the wall.

The earth wall must be separated from the foundation by a waterproof layer of asphalt or pitch or any other suitable material to prevent seepage of moisture up the wall.

When the foundation is ready and the earth prepared the form is set up, beginning with some string. Fast the sides on the foundation with the smooth and oiled surfaces facing each other and the bolts are inserted into the bottom holes in the sides. Then the bolts are made to rest on the foundations and the sides to clamp with their bottom edges the foundation hatchwork. The ends of the bolts are inserted in the slots in the braces with the spacer washers outside the house and the bolts are slightly tightened. The top bolts are then inserted in the top slots of the braces so that the bolts rest on the top edges of the form. The distance pieces and the end plates are then put in to secure the correct thickness of the wall and to keep the sides apart. The inner surfaces of the sides are made flush true and all the bolts tightened up well. Attention should be paid to the upper ends of the end plates which should be turned round.

The walls should be rammed in layers running round the building, each layer 3" high. In these settings a true face wall can be created. The end plates in each layer should be so adjusted as to keep the joint between the sections of the wall.

Openings in the wall can be provided for in several ways. When many openings of the same shape and size are required, a collapsing box can be made, as deep as the thickness of the wall and

to the dimension of the opening in length and width. The box is strongly braced internally and inserted in the mould and the earth rammed on both sides. On the top a horizontal plate is provided just like a very thick wall.

While ramming the wall on the two sides of the box tapering pieces of wood will be inserted flush with the opening by making the door and window frames go to them.

The other way of providing openings is by adjusting the position of the end plate so as to stop the wall where the opening begins.

The third way is to cast on place on both sides of the door or window frame so as to form a box and to fix the assembly in the form. The frames must have some projections to be embedded in the wall.

When small openings have to be provided, the frame is simply fixed in the form with the aid of small domestic pipes and the earth rammed all round and inside, so that the frame is buried in the wall. The earth inside the frame will be scraped out afterwards.

After the form is levelled up and all the bolts are tightened the prepared earth is pressed into the form in 3" layers. The actual ramming should be very uniform and systematic. The quality of the work depends as much on proper ramming as on judicious mixing of earth and the appearance depends on the correct setting up of the form. The ramming should be considered as completed when the layers of earth are reduced to half their thickness. At this stage the rammer coils make hardly any impression on the compacted earth.

When the form is rammed full, then first the nuts are loosened and the braces removed. The sides are removed from the bolts and shifted along the foundation to the next position so as to overlap the end of the freshly made portion of the wall. Then the entire process is repeated.

For front up the form for the next layer, the lower bolts are put into the top hole holes of the layer below unless other considerations make it necessary to put them elsewhere. To hasten the work the long bolts have their heads removable by cutting a short length of thread at one end and using a nut for a head.

The handling of the heavy sides of the form is sometimes a problem. Strong iron handles screwed on to the two edges of the sides are very useful.

When inserting the lateral plate care should be taken to allow a gap of 1"-1½" between the top of the frame and the lateral bracing the wall will shrink with time and if the lateral touches the frame, the frame will bend as cracks will appear in the wall.

When the outer wall of the house is completed, the partition walls are rammed on their foundations. When all the walls are ready an RCC collar plate is cast on the top of the wall 4½" high and as wide as the wall. Molds will have to be left in the collar plate for the bolts so in the wooden wall plates, if a sloping roof is to be created.

If the house is on a high "JCC" corner, and the collar plate is not straight, one should be there for all other firms — leaving even for mud roads, that is, aligned.

A beginner is warned, early work should start with building the compound wall first, then the entrance and then only the main house.

MAURICE FRYDMAN

HARIJAN

March 23

1945

SHRINATI SAROJNI NAIDU

The sudden death of Shrinati Sarojini Naidu only this morning is the end of the career of a great women-leader of our country. A great poet, a great linguist and writer of words, a great orator, a great social reformer, a politician and valiant in fighting rank of the Congress leaders. From India I feel the honour of appointing her as the first lady Governor of one of the largest provinces of the Union. That glorious trail had the great privilege of filling up the same time another great and brilliant lady to save the country along an equally glorious mission.

A French by birth, a Hyderabad by marriage, a Bombay by long residence and political leadership, Shrinati Sarojini had the capacity of identifying herself with all places and peoples. If a democracy were to be made between a poet and a perfect artist of figurative language and masterly expression, realising the former word to mean one who had the capacity to belong to and respond warmly and robustly to all places, peoples and situations with generous understanding and understanding word with a sense of honour, she was not only a literary artist but a true poet as well. Though not known to be a voluminous writer of poetry as such, she created the fame of being a great English poet even before she was thirty. But her whole life and expression and bearing was poetry and art. She was popular wherever she went, not excluding colour-conscious South Africa. She was widely called India's (Bibi) Indira Gandhi. That was how Gandhi loved to address her. The youngsters used about Gandhi affectionately called her *Shachi* (sister-in-law's name).

After strenuously working for just over seventy years, she has ceased to bear witness by her visible presence to the further development of India's life, in the making of which she had played so large a part. Her name will be remembered in the songs of Gauri Manoranjan Barman, Maa Akola and to many others of India's great daughters of the past. May the love she always bore for us bless us and make us worthy of her.

Akola 2-3-45

E. C. MASHRUWALA

ELECTIONS IN TERMS OF MONEY, MATERIAL AND WORK

In a previous article in the *Harjan* I mentioned the tremendous nature of the elections which will have to be held under the new Constitution of India. I propose to give here a few facts which will show how big the affair will be.

The population of India at today according to the census of 1941 is 31.5 crores and if we add 35% on account of increase which will have taken place by now, it comes roughly to 35 crores. The estimated number of electors would be say, 50% of this, that is 17½ crores on the basis of adult franchise. The electoral roll therefore, will have to contain 17½ crore names. If there are 25 names to a page, we shall require over 70 lakh pages to print these names. The paper required to print 200 copies of the electoral roll of 30 lakh pages would be over 1200 tons if we take paper of 4 lb. per ream. It is easy to understand how difficult a job it is to get the requisite quantity of paper, which I understand will be made available in provinces shortly. It will be a problem to get 70 lakh pages printed. Some idea of the scale of the electoral roll will come can be gained from the fact that a book of 250 pages roughly covers space 1 inch and at this rate the roll will be something like about a quarter of a mile in thickness. The number of pages will require a large quantity of paper for their programme pamphlets, such as map, handbills, posters, meeting covers of the electoral rolls etc.

The conduct of the elections will be another mammoth job. Assuming that one pending officer manned by two polling officers, one to check the names of the voters on the roll and the other to issue ballot papers will be required for every one thousand registered voters per day, we shall require at least 1,75,000 pending officers and 3,50,000 polling officers if the elections is to be completed in one day. If the elections spread over say 5 days, then one Sunday or another Sunday both days inclusive, the number required will be one-sixth of this that is, about 73,000 pending officers and 1,46,000 polling officers. Each polling station requires some policemen to maintain order. Assuming that each polling station needs one officer and four constables, we shall require 12,000 officers of the rank of sub-inspectors and 48,000 constables. There should be no difficulty in getting the requisite number of police sub-inspectors, inspectors, head-constables and others. There should be no difficulty in providing the police but the real difficulty will arise in finding dependable pending officers. The pending officers must be persons of sufficient authority and experience who can manage the officials, control the candidates and their agents and the voters and must also be capable of understanding the law and procedure relating to conduct of elections sufficiently to enable him to decide any dispute that may arise. It is feared that officials of requisite status and capacity are not to be found in sufficient numbers and assistance will have

in the future from now on, of holding a general conference with non-Governmental organizations and persons of foreign descent were very promising. The difference is that no complaint of political motives against them. The number of polling stations will have to be considerably increased, if not seriously doubled, if the elections to the Provincial and Central Assemblies are held simultaneously, as they should be held to avoid duplication of time. If the election has to be completed in a shorter period than 3 days, the number of polling stations, of polling and polling officers and of police officers and constables will have to be proportionately increased.

I have mentioned only what the Government will have to do in getting the electoral roll prepared and looking men for running the elections. Other things connected with the elections cannot be calculated with any precision as much will depend on the nature of the constitution, the number and quality of candidates and the experience of electoral parties. It is difficult to estimate the quantity of paper that may be consumed and the number of copy of various notes and guides that will be required. The cost to the candidates as a very modest collection will run into lakhs.

28-2-49

MAJIDIANFARUQ

THE INQUITY OF VIVISECTION

IV

ANIMALS AND MEN DIFFER

It is not obvious that man is possessed of a self-consciousness much more keen in a different than from animals as to manipulability and resistance to and overcoming of distress. Lord Monckton once wrote in *The Lancet*:

The material of the human body is neither the same nor subject to the same influences as that of animals treated by man, and above all the mind of man is infinitely capable of suspension with that of the most intelligent of animals.

Many physicians have challenged the applicability of laboratory experiments on animals to man. Dr Andrew S. MacNair, for example, wrote in *The Medical World* for the 3d February 1945:

The inadequacy of medical men relying on laboratory experiments carried out as a result of experiments on animals or animal tissues is clearly shown by the distress that shocked doctors, nurses, medical, and hospital experimenters found as a result of deproteinization on animals that diptiles raised the blood pressure and as a consequence it was not until ten years ago on human beings that the blood pressure is raised by diptiles was found absolutely to be incorrect in the case of human beings. The nearest order any low endlogy has animals to man.

Dr L. A. Dury declared before the British Medical Association: "The practice of vivisection is highly harmful and unwise."

Dr John Forbes Nichol, Registrar at Guy's Hospital, once wrote in *The Lancet*: "opinion of the

advocates of vivisection has been a series of unbroken retreats, from vivisection."

Of all those, representing, as we presume, the "ethical" side of the medical profession, who have written and printed, and even signed, books, articles, and pamphlets, denouncing the practice of vivisection, hardly a single one has ever, in any of his numerous books, articles, or pamphlets, said:

It was a blunder for the Government to allow large sums of money for the financing of the vivisection and various systems of living, its exposure for several hours daily to extreme unaccustomed heat, that the experimenters did not permit the conclusion as to the potential nature of the human body to the same conditions (*British Journal of Medical Science*, October 1939).

AND SO TO HUMAN VIVISECTION!

The progress of the efforts of animal experimenters for light on human diseases is bound, in long of the body as not give anything reveals so hard to change as human subjects on whom to experiment. We do not refer here to the brave men and women who voluntarily submit to tests for the benefit of the race. The ones whom medical researchers in their quest for knowledge that will help humanity relieve their own bodies to pain are reluctantly true. All honour to those who do so, outside their conduct as was done by numerous physicians, medical students and nurses who in 1940 in San Francisco volunteered to have their arms and legs pierced with dolls and needles for the convenience of a "new map" to enable doctors to locate unobtrusively when and where.

Human experiments with frequent dose and sometimes fatal results of which the human subjects are not adequately warned is involved in the *Lancet*, *Proceedings of the Society for the Relief of Distress*, according to Dr Ernest Joseph, M.D., who wrote in *Human Experimentation* in the December 1945 *Asian Post*.

Not done infrequently in the terrible experiments in the Nazi prison camps. Those the rest of the world are down to a warped morality the experimental vivisection of human subjects was consistently demanded in a book published in England over a decade before the Nazis came to power in which condemned experiments were suggested on warlike subjects. And both opinion and vivisection experiments are reported to have been carried out on helpless children in concentration, in dose dispensaries and hospitals and even in elementary schools.

The hopelessly insane and the tortile-minded are sure to occur in the vivisection as terrible material if they have not already done so and from there it is only a step to the experimentation, which all of us may be some day. There is already alarm at the growing burden, represented by the increasing proportion of the population that falls in the advanced age group and requires support by the rest of society.

CO-OPERATIVES IN SEVAGRAM

Co-operative life is a great aim, so social workers in the Adult Education Committee (Department of the Madras Legislative Council) the object of Adult Education is stated to be the imparting of a general and useful education to adults in order to make them better fitted, happier and more useful in the sphere of the individual and society. A man cannot be happy unless he gets enough food to eat, enough clothes to protect him from the weather and clean surroundings to live in. In short, he must have, if not luxury, at least all the necessities of life which his mind

A villager in India today is single-handed though he lives in a community of his own. His business is so poor and his strength so feeble that he has no way of making his life better or richer. Hence real happiness is far from him. Is despair his rather poor and poor lands with a Marwadi in Malabar in the city that trust his own neighbors in the village. The spirit of enterprise is lacking in him. The lure of his own weakness and weakness in others pervades everywhere; therefore, he becomes self-centred and narrow in his outlook of life. Conditions of life of a village labourer are even worse than that of a farmer.

COMMUNITY CO-OPERATIVE

Co-operative work became very common in Sevagram village when the system of rotating time was effect in 1925. The people of native villages were so poor that one never saw them short of food and bareness of. The day for receiving money was fixed. The labourers had to bring their daily wages to go to the centre to buy their ration quota and sometimes had to return without getting anything, as the quantity received at the centre was not enough. Much inconvenience was felt by them when cholera broke out. It was still more dangerous for them when the people from all round areas had to come to the one centre.

The Government had no other plan for distribution except that. So we decided to bring the whole community together, make a plan to bring the same for the whole village and distribute it in the village itself. The question was where to get the money from? Unless the whole village contributed something, we could not bring the grain. Had there been any rich man who could have brought the grain for the whole village, then it would have been his own shop, but that was to be the shop for the whole village. Therefore all rich and poor contributed from 5 annas to Rs 5 according to their capacity. Thus we started our co-operative store with a working capital of Rs 20. This is now expanded as a multipurpose society with a capital of Rs 2,500 which belongs to the whole village. The main idea behind it is that it is not a profit-making body. Whatever profit they get from the sale of the articles to the community goes back to the whole community as

in the old days. Instead of the whole village. No womanly thing, any one. This is a. One of the whole community. Every intelligent members were selected to hold responsibility as trustees and to carry on the work. No one is paid for the service. The work is done by voluntary helpers from the village. The service is demanded, because it is the work for all and everyone is benefited by it. I do not see that there are no heart-burnings, but people get over their own and continue the work.

THE GRAIN BANK

There is another co-operative activity of farmers and farm-labourers in the form of a grain bank. At the time of sowing and while waiting about the crop, a cultivator or the poorest man. But at the harvest time, he feels like the others. During time if he gets his food without spending for it, he is saved for the whole year. It is at this time that he either goes to a Marwadi or a landlord for his food. We thought over it and started a grain bank to save grain for the rainy day. The idea is not a new one. At many places the people have worked it out, but they take it as a business. There is no restriction on sale. In Sevagram the main idea is not business. It is to help those villages that by pooling the efforts of many together they will help each other and what they now pay to the Marwadi or landlord will become their own saving. Thus by helping each other they can help themselves and need not depend on outsiders. The method of work is as follows. At harvest time some of them draw some portion of their yield as a fixed or share. Then on the beginning 30 annas were collected. They contributed the share just to have a right to borrow from the bank. They made their demands according to their needs. Those who had contributed more may take less and those who had given less may demand more, but both borrow the grain at harvest time with 20% interest share, that the general month increases every year. No one is allowed to deal with the grain bank as cow. The grain cannot be sold outside. It could be borrowed and returned only in kind. Even outside interest charges are calculated in kind. Now in three years time the interest has given us 50 annas. The more is not idle. It is circulating. Every year bank work will come in and be distributed. Thus the cultivator, instead of going to a Marwadi or a landlord goes to his own bank to borrow and deposits his saving there. The management is their own with voluntary service. The administrative expense is very little. The same system supplies also seeds, manure, etc.

CO-OPERATIVE DAIRYING

Thus comes the co-operative dairy work. It is taking good shape in four villages. In this way producers and consumers are brought together for common good and common interest.

HOUSING SOCIETY

We have to solve the question of housing. We talk so much about space and architecture in houses

and come planning his life around it. I remember the dirty and disgusting appearance of these houses reflects the picture which I had of one who lives in it—no air, no light, no noise of beauty. Earth is heaped up to form the walls, the top is covered mudstone and men and women live in the dungeons so formed.

Gandhi was very conscious of the fact that healthy living conditions with light and air are essential in food and clothes. He had discussed in detail what type of houses are suitable for villages. But the idea took a long time to take proper shape.

This year in September the Co-operative Housing Settlements has formed a nucleus of a housing society. A small plot of land has been acquired from the village and plans are going apace for model houses to be put up on a co-operative basis.

However with all these efforts we cannot say that we have reached the ideal of Gandhi's co-operative plan. His ideal of co-operation is that only he who labours for himself and for others to build up the common good of everyone in society should be a member of the co-operative life and every share in society should mean to be a member of such co-operative life.

SRANTHA NARAYAN

ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION

VII

REMOVAL OF UNPUNCTABILITY

The Ashram was founded in order to serve and if necessary to die in the service of Truth. If therefore while holding that unpunctability is a useful thing it did not do something positive in order to end it it could hardly deserve the name of Satyagraha (adherence to Truth). Ashram, even in South Africa, was recognised unpunctability as a sin. When the Ashram therefore was founded in India, removal of unpunctability easily became one of its major activities.

Within a month of the foundation of the Ashram, Dadabhai applied for admission along with his family. I had no idea that the young sons of the Ashram would arrive so soon. Dadabhai's application was supported by Shri Amritlal Thakkar. I felt bound to admit a family which was recommended by him.

The arrival of Dadabhai was the signal for a new breathing upon the placid atmosphere of the Ashram. Karmacha, Mapadal, Gandhi and Mrs. Mapadal had each of their own struggles in living with so-called unpunctables. There came to each a pain that Karmacha should rather observe Ashram rules or else leave the Ashram. But the argument that a woman in following in her husband's footsteps rather than an appeal to her and she quitted down. I do not hold that a wife is bound to follow her husband in what she feels upon or not. But I welcomed my wife's attitude

in the present case. Because I looked upon her joining it as unpunctability in a matrimonial home. Karmacha, quite rightly, considered unpunctability and even live in the Ashram. It would have been certainly a painful test if my wife had had to leave the Ashram, seeing that she had borne up companion all these days at the cost of great suffering. It was hard to be separated from her but we must put up with every hardship that comes her way in the discharge of his duty. I had therefore no hesitation in accepting my wife's demonstration of unpunctability not as an independent person, but only as a faithful wife.

Mapadal Gandhi's case was harder than mine. He packed up his things and came to me to bid goodbye. But who was I to bid him goodbye? I put him on his guard. I told him that the Ashram was his constant as much as mine, and would be destroyed if he left it. But he certainly did not want that it should perish. He did not want to quit my possession, to leave an inheritance which he himself had brought into existence. But to leave the Ashram should be something unthinkable for him. This appeal did not tell on him even. Perhaps Mapadal had thought of leaving in order to give me a hint that I could isolate him by separating from all the world leaders but not from Mapadal. I therefore suggested that he should go to Madras with family. He and his wife would leave more of working there and would have more time to ponder over the situation that had developed. So they went and lived in Madras for six months. They renewed the art of working and their mature consideration also washed their hearts clean of unpunctability.

The interval seems thus brief now. But there was a storm outside the Ashram too. The chief person who founded the Ashram discontinued his attendance. There was even a possibility that the Ashramites would not be allowed any more to draw water from the neighbour's well. But all difficulties were surmounted by and by. As regards finance, something happened which was not unlike Narayana Maharaj's bank (left of exchange) being borrowed at Dharwad. A sum of thirteen thousand rupees was received from an unexpected source. Thus the Ashram solved its living. Dadabhai as my son was not so serious as it might well have been. The Ashram passed the rest of its early life unpunctable unpunctability. Unpunctable's families come to the Ashram freely and live in it. Dadabhai's daughter Lakshmi has become a full member of the family.

(Translated from Gujarati by V. G. G.)
(To be continued)

RAPG—MY MOTHER

By

Narayana Gandhi

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TWO ANNAS

MOVEMENT FOR RIGHT ACTION

Next. One of the reforms which engaged the attention of the Sarvodaya Conference was to seek practical ways of creating a moral atmosphere in the country for checking the evils of corruptly professing Hindu-nationalism, adulteration, high prices, bribery, corruption etc. which everyone complains about and for which everyone blames everyone else but himself. It was realised that the first appearance, thing to do was for everyone to awaken his own conscience and make a personal effort to set right. Sri Gulabadi Mahto had given some thoughts to this matter and had put down his ideas in writing. He placed them before the conference in the following shape. It is a suggestion to the whole community and if men and women with a moral urge take up the matter seriously and work for it, they would help in creating a wholesome change in the moral atmosphere of the country.

— K. G. M.

A profound reaction is developing in the country of ours. A moral sickness has at the root of all our troubles. If this sickness is not soon cured, India will be expelled in political decadence and moral and economic chaos. This sickness has to be prevented at all costs.

The Government has a duty to do. But it is for the people to create the conditions in which the desirable policies and measures of the administration can flourish and a Government negligent of its obligations to any nation is compelled to take the right course. Such conditions can arise only if men and more individuals and groups begin to promote enlightened action based on right thinking and adopt as their lives standards which they profess and preach, and avoid on their part conduct which they deplore in others.

PLEDGE

Inasmuch as it may lead to the strength and worth of an individual and a nation depend on how much of the virtues of love, purity, unselfishness and honesty are embodied in their lives or taken thereof I declare

- 1 I will not sell or buy in the black market
- 2 I will not accept or give a bribe
- 3 I will not knowingly make for sale an article subject to the specified order or govt. short measure.
- 4 I will not adulterate an article for sale

5 I will not bring false accusations against any person or group

6 I will not repeat an accusation of which the truth has not been ascertained

7 I will not evade tax payment

8 I will not be influenced by any consideration of political or sectional advantage in the sphere that I enter or the part that I take in connection with any public body or public agency in an advisory or administrative capacity

9 I will not stand without a ticket in public conveyances

II

I hold the following to be non-social acts which I will keep away from and discourage in the nearest future

1 Procuring or providing a job by unfair means,

2 Securing a contract, licence or other advantage by unfair means

3 Incurring unnecessary or wasteful expenditure

4 Causing nuisance by negligent disposal of dirt, refuse, etc.

III

To any person who has joined this movement, I shall render all such help as lies in my power to prevent or remove injustice arising on account of his fulfilling the terms of this pledge

11-3-46

GULABADI MAHTO

SOME USEFUL BOOKS BY GANDHIJI

An Autobiography	7-6-0	0.150
Key to Health	0.150	0-0-0
Non-violence in Peace & War		
Vol. I	7-6-0	0.100
Care For Cost Savings	2-0-0	0-0-0
From Yarns to Mahto	0-0-0	0-0-0
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Constructive Programme	0-0-0	0-2-0

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24 SEP 1946



THE MORAL EQUIVALENT OF WAR

Generally war has been used as a means of settling disputes, wringing vengeance and conquest for the purpose of acquiring land and other material resources, of gaining power over other men and nations or for obtaining slaves to enable the conquering nation to lead a life of luxury or to secure the hoarded wealth of other nations. Of course wars with the increasing mechanisation of warfare, it has also provided an excellent market for the industrial products. For these reasons the war has been waged by the warring few without the help of the majority by false propaganda, offering them with short-term benefits and ignoring their future welfare and security.

In spite of all this, philosophers of the type of William James had recognised that there were some good points involved in belligerency. If only we can take out the destructive elements of war and the desire to exploit the weak by the strong, we may be able to make the mixed blood from being a poison on society into a tonic for the cultural development of the nation. Such philosophers recognised that war afforded scope for the development of the various faculties of man and therefore it also performed a function in the growth of humanity. Hence they were seeking ways and means to discover a moral equivalent of war.

The military brought out certain qualities of the higher elements of man such as the processes of conquest, reconquest and creative expansion, though the scope for these was within circumscribed organs. It also promoted the spirit of adventure, enterprisingness, courage, co-operative action and the willingness to sacrifice for a cause. They argued that if a proper care could be given to the discipline organisations of the military forces it would be possible to use the good elements that pierce a path to war for the benefit of mankind. Various methods and means had been suggested. In our country at the present moment the Government is busy in introducing military training in our schools and colleges. The desirable reason given being that military training can be made a nation-building activity to introduce discipline and orderly life amongst the youth as well as develop their physique.

In a general way, Gandhi has given us a programme of activity as constructive work which gives the fullest scope for the development of that which is latent in an individual. Constructive work is one through which the individual grows. It promotes all that the mixed blood can give and yet improves on them. Instead of discipline imposed from outside it develops self-discipline and self-control. The spirit of sacrifice and the devotion to a cause along with the will-power to create the necessary co-operation is also called for. A constructive worker is a person in every sense. He has launched forth to build his destiny into a hostile world with thought, courage, meaning against him. This gives him scope to lose courage and adventure. The whole of his constructive programme is based on a group of people working out their claims in co-operation

with the world. They have not a military spirit. From co-operation, the constructive activities are evolved. 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NOTES

The Truth of the Matter

A correspondent has sent me a cutting from *Truth* of December 24, 1948, a London newspaper. After cutting from a Sunday journal a paragraph which denounces Pandit Nehru's Government for extravagance and the Congress for having taken from us high standard and succumbed to giving the money and power the paper commands.

The correspondent attributes this greed and lack of power to the death of Gandhi. It would be too much, perhaps, to expect him to recognize in the present situation the considerable work of the withdrawal of British troops and honest administration. That however is the truth of the matter.

I am tempted to believe that truth is always necessary and particularly so when it concerns to peace of oneself or one's own people. I wonder if *Truth* has a different standard. What is the truth of the matter? It would be wrong to generalize but it would not be wrong to say that some of the causes of the deterioration is the bad legacy left by the past administration. They are too-hasty administrations too much departmentalism and nepotism, wrong and artificial standards of proper conduct to social and public functions, lacking ability and respect with salary performance, and wrong training of public servants leading to less work, more talk and still more reaching drafting and reporting.

Windsor, 3-20-49

E. J. M.

Cups and Glasses

One's tendency can sometimes hardly over-estimate of honorarium decorations. But with the advent of National Movements as honorarium decorations from some one or other of the universities seems to be an unavoidable accompaniment of high office. Is it customary to make a gift of a silk gown on these occasions. These gowns can sometimes show Rs. 5000 each. Such expenses is not so low with our students. We do not give these honors to our great ones but why must we follow our own tradition in the West? Our custom has always been to present the names with a memento or a shawl.

Incidentally such a presentation will be more like the Japanese will have a thing of beauty which he can use to cover himself, instead of a gown which can never be an article of everyday use, to remember the wardrobe. Secondly, it will encourage the art of embroidered shirt-making an industry which needs to be encouraged.

It seems to me that even the regular graduates should be relieved of the unnecessary expenditures on such trophies and a more rational national order should be introduced.

Japanese Subsidies

Many industries come on support that is not generally apparent. Recently an effort has been made in India to develop bicycle manufacturing in spite of the protection given the industry is in

a professional condition and is seeking the help of the Tariff Board.

In Western countries cycle-making is a kind of subsidiary industry of automobile-makers during spare time. Therefore they can sell them in by-products cheaply in competitive markets.

The system helps the automobile industry to be large strong and the maker is possible to dump cycles in foreign markets. Deprive of such orders therefore automobile manufacturers if we accept to make cycle-making as a separate industry it will be an uphill task with foreign competitors being automobile factories.

J. C. K.

Cloth Self-Sufficiency

With a view to encouraging self-sufficiency schemes and increasing the production of self-supporting cloth the Bombay Government has decided to render help at the rate of eight annas per square yard instead of five paise per lbs. 124 paise. The maximum help to be given to each individual of a fully self-sufficient family will be for twenty square yards.

Self-sufficient schemes will have to design their share of self cloth. Anyone who wishes to avoid himself of this help will surely like design to be underplayed so that the running officer of the ward concerned may be informed that he has designed his share in the self cloth. In this way the people will help the Government in increasing the production of cloth.

The rate of eight annas per square yard comes into force from the first February 1949.

RAJESHWARI MATHURAM PATIL

Organizer, Gram Udyog Samiti,

Gujarat Branch

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

An Acknowledgment

It has been brought to my attention that in my report of the Gandhi Jayanti Programme I gave no credit to co-operative organizations and individuals. That was not my purpose. I was but trying to show what I thought might be helpful experience with fellow-workers in the important village work. I used the name "Gandhi Gram" but to identify the place whence the service rendered and not as an indication that deserved credit. In fact not less than three major organizations made substantial contributions to the work. And one of the main contributions the work received is that of the Karmaveer Memorial Trust. Several individuals and groups including those from the villages we visited, made most helpful gifts. From now I dare not take the space to mention all by name. But may this be taken by all concerned as a sincere expression of our deepest gratitude — gratitude for the fact that this work among the truly is possible because so many do support our hands as we try to serve selflessly.

12-3-49

RALPH RICHARD KUTSHAHN

HARIJAN

March 20

1940

THE SARVODAYA CONFERENCE

The first Sarvodaya Conference has met and departed at Ran (Indore) under the presidency of Dr. Rajendraprasad. It ended yesterday evening. For practical purposes it was a continuation of the one held last year at Sarvodaya shortly after Gandhi's martyrdom.

SARVODAYA SANGH

It will be remembered that the concept of the Sarvodaya Sangh, made its birth at that conference. It had also initiated the formation of the Sarva Sava Sangh. That conference also popularised the idea of an annual mela (fair) on the anniversary day of Gandhi's death. A part of the work of the present conference was to take a review of these movements and suggest what definite shapes should be given to the various ideas then conceived.

CLARIFICATION

It appeared that there was some of clear understanding about the place and scope of what was held as two "institutions"—the Sarvodaya Sangh and the Sarva Sava Sangh. Both declared allegiance to the same aims, objects and ideals and also to the same work. The Sarva Sava Sangh was brought into existence in being about a federation of the various institutions which were in existence and were working out the aims of the constructive programme severally. The Sarvodaya Sangh had no responsibility to organise any such activity. The only item discussed as it was the holding of the annual mela and the maintenance of a register of the work of the Sarvodaya Sangh. The word *work* was perhaps naturally understood in the sense of a regular full-time work. The reputation of all such people and the organisation of the annual conference could be easily taken over by the Sarva Sava Sangh making the other body superfluous.

It was therefore necessary to explain again that the Sarvodaya Sangh was not an organisation at all in that term as generally understood. Dr. Keshab Dasgupta in his *Mahatma Gandhi*—an Interpretation has explained the idea as the *Want* by revivifying it as the "Sarvodaya Movement". Perhaps this phrase explains the idea better in English. Like the words *Sava Sangh* or "the Kingdom of God upon Earth" this phrase places before the public not a fully worked out scheme and yet a valiantly suggestive hope and dream of what the goal of humanity and the way of life should be. That the word Sarvodaya was at once unanimously accepted by all the workers both in India and abroad shows that it became somehow fitting to the thinking people and was accepted by all as something after Gandhi's ideas and their own near aims. The maintenance of a register of work, that

is, persons' gifts and having parties and wanted to take Sarvodaya Sangh's ideas, would enable them to get very genuine contacts and fellowship.

CHANGES IN THE MEMORANDUM

On a review of the last year's resolutions giving the Memorandum of the Sarvodaya Sangh and the developments during the year, it was thought necessary to make a few changes in its wording. Most of the changes were verbal. The word *negotiations* (organisational) had loosely appeared in the preamble and the first clause. It was expunged superfluous. So the word was dropped. An important clause was added about the object clause to emphasise the central idea of the way of sarvodaya life. It was at least aimed—namely, working on the path of means in the same way as of ends. The change and a few other minor amendments were all agreed to unanimously.

MELAS

According to the last year's resolution, an all-India annual fair should have taken place somewhere in India on the death-day January last. The Sarvodaya Sangh Committee had decided Sabar-mat to be the venue of the mela. Along with the mela the Committee also wanted to convene the annual conference of the work at Sabar-mat. But even to become conditions in Gujarat that place had to be abandoned. It was therefore decided that the first mela might take place at Raigarh, Delhi, and the conference might be convened at a later period. Expenses showed that the Sarvodaya Day could not be confined to one place only. As a matter of fact it was observed all over India and the idea of the mela day took a strange shape at almost every place at which Gandhi's ashes were scattered last year on February twelfth. There it had taken a wider form than the one originally conceived. It was thought that the same should be accepted in place of the original one. So it was decided that the Sarvodaya Day should be observed on the twelfth January in every house and every village and the mela should be held on the twelfth February at every place where ashes were scattered.

CONFERENCE

There remains the Conference. This was held here (Ran). Though the plan was well-intentioned, it was realised that the timing of the Conference was not happy. This is the busiest period for all our legislators and members of Government. No one might leave his place conveniently when the budgets are discussed. That absence was marked. They could not be blamed.

After a long discussion it was ultimately decided that the National Work (this April to this April) might be more appropriately called *harvest* for the holding of all Constructive Workers' Conferences and with it might be joined also the Sarvodaya Conference. The idea was fine. It was found necessary to hold every year a number of all-India conferences for various objects. For instance, the Charlie Sangh, the Green Uday Sangh, the

Takara Singh and Harman Singh Singh, the Gurmeh Singh for Kanabha Tauran have in most cases at least a year further business and commercial documents. The Gurba Singh and Singh might also have to do so hereafter. There are several persons who are common to many of them. Under the present arrangements attending conferences one after another had become almost an all-year continuous programme for them. It meant too much time, expense and suspension of day-to-day work. If all these conferences could be arranged at one place during eight or ten or more days it would mean considerable relief and be more business-like. It would also be the right opportunity for the Shroddha Samaj to come for mutual contacts, study and exchange of thoughts. An exhibition could also be arranged.

The Christmas Week and the Surrounding Festivities had already a full socialized programme for the masses. It required the presence of all active workers near their homes. Moreover they were easy and cold seasons respectively and therefore, not very suitable for holding large gatherings. (Though it had been often so about)

The National Week had a special meaning before August 1947. It was a week of protest against Britain's war. That purpose is over now. But it is a well-marked one week with a historical background. It could be utilized to its fullest capacity in a better way, if it became Sarawak's Square Week. The reason is—though undoubtedly true in some places—not yet oppressively so. People could go with less elaborate and fatigue and there was less change of scene interfering with the arrangements. Our leaders would be able to attend these conferences with less difficulty. The venue would most probably be a place where some good work had been done or many of the constructive work items. On these considerations it was decided that hereafter the National Week should be made the days for the Sarawak Conference.

Continued on page 5

Figure 1

E. E. Mousavizadeh

QUESTION 808

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Q There have appeared recently several magazines in various languages bearing names such as *Super Super Star Sunday*, *South Sunday* etc. Is it safe to use *Sunday's* name in this way?

4. I do not know whether it is *not* right. But I do think it is *not* desirable to do so, except where the confidence is awarded to someone Gaudin's own wrongdoings, or arises in Gaudin by other means. But if the purpose is to protect Gaudin's destiny through various intermediaries there is a likelihood of Gaudin's being mismanaged. No one can claim that he understood Gaudin: not just now and every interpretation is likely to be a mixture of Gaudin's views and the writer's own. I myself do not possess the confidence that I would ever make a mistake in interpreting Gaudin if I were asked to do so.

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VIEWS ON THE NATIONAL
LANGUAGE²

1

What Happens on the Internet now is not

As the very outset, let me make it clear to you that I do not hold any dogma regarding the national language. The question of the national language is the affair of the masses and the language takes its form by unconscious change. Therefore the future alone will decide as to which of our national languages will take. I wish that the representatives of Hindu and Mohammedan respectively should agree among themselves so that a unanimous decision can be placed before the nation. Controversial and heated discussions over the subject are repulsive. Let us consider why we at all need a single national language. We need it obviously because we want to establish unity in this early populated country. Then why should there be so much conflict over the national language which helps the cause of unity? The people differ in their views over this matter is not a thing to be surprised. What is remarkable is the bitterness against one of such differences.

Let us see what our national language — call it Hindi or Hindustani — claims to be. What do we expect Hindi to our national language? Is it better Hindi is rather than other languages? We neither claim so in favour of Hindi nor can there be any such claim. The Bengali claim — and perhaps they claim to do so — that Bengali is as rich or even richer than Hindi itself because it is now thousand years old. I have a lot of words in the Kannada language which number about two thousand. Besides the large number, the Kannada language has the capacity to remember all the roots in the Sanskrit language, so that they can be used without any difficulty both in prose and poetry. We can say in Kannada *ಏವಂ ಏವ* (*i* contemplate) but we cannot do so in Hindi or Marathi. In both of these we have to say *ಏವಂ ಏವ* (*i* do contemplate). Similarly we can say *ಏವಂ* (*no love*), *ಏವಂ* (*no hate*) in Kannada, but in the other two we would have to say *ಏವಂ ಏವಂ*, *ಏವಂ ಏವಂ* (*no make love or hate*). Sanskrit sentences can be straightforwardly translated into Kannada without changing their construction. The same can be said of Telugu. A language which possesses thousands of roots of its own and in addition has the capacity to remember all the Sanskrit roots can certainly claim that it is rich.

Now, can it be claimed on one part that it is easier to learn than other languages? I say that it cannot claim so although it is easier to learn than Spanish from the point of view of grammar, English is far easier than Hindi. In Hindi's case, we are unchanged with the change whereas Hindi requires seven days to learn the grammar of Hindi. It will require one day to learn the grammar.

² Speech delivered by Don Wanda Davis and the members of the Washington State Teachers' Association held at Walla Walla on 24th February 2005.

of Bengali in the South Indian languages the working of verbs in Malayalam is very simple. Roots in Malayalam remain unchanged by change in gender and in person too whether they are used in the past tense, present tense or future tense. The working of gender-inflection in all complicated on top of the languages of South India. In case of the animal world the gender of males is masculine, that of females is feminine, all other cases being the same gender. In Hindi, however, the gender of the word **वृद्ध** (vuddh) is masculine, while the gender of the word **वृद्धा** (vuddha) which is made of same is feminine. All these words strange to the people in South India and they therefore regard Hindi as a difficult language.

Then what is our claim on behalf of Hindi? It is that it is the mother-tongue of fifteen crores of people. Besides this right to ten crores of people whose mother-tongue is not Hindi, can understand it easily. The numerous rivers might create people, although they had Hindi difficulties, can learn it with some effort. Thus the humble claim of Hindi can be that it can become the national language of India with less difficulty than any other. While we make this humble claim for Hindi it is not good that we go on different words its name and form. Why should there be such acute differences over its name and form? There is not much difference between Hindi and Hindustani. I shall not therefore enter into the controversy of the name. I have certainly my own views about the form of the national language, which I shall presently put before you. But even in this respect I do not mean upon them. Thus, however, does not mean that the views of the opposition are acceptable to me. But I do not mean upon my views because of the fact that it is another you nor I who will decide the form of Hindi. It is the numerous sages which is the deciding factor.

FORM OF THE LANGUAGE

My opinion about the form of Hindi is that it should neither displace Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian words nor should it be flooded with them. Those words which have been and can easily be assimilated in it then becoming part and parcel of it, should be accepted. Our national language should be one like an ocean and not like a river which has many provincial languages are like rivers whose currents follow different courses. Our national language should be like an ocean which is wide enough to accommodate the different currents in its fold. It shall contain several words coming from different provincial languages and different grammatical constructions and rules about gender shall be made easily understandable. Many word will have to be permitted to be regarded of other gender. When I talk of making the form of Hindi as wide as an ocean, some people fear that this would affect the purity of the language. Now if Hindi were to contain the purity of a river, it can very well do so by remaining a provincial language. We however want to make it the national language. Then why should there be any fear? How can an

ocean maintain a purifying character? It would only look a stream in the midst of a river. But even this fear is good for nothing. Because it has no magic itself in the context of the river. Therefore we should gladly accept in Hindi any number of words coming from other languages, all sources, with discretion as to whether the particular words are easily assimilable or not. While accepting such decisions, we should accept in Hindi simple words from Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian to also the various provincial languages. I see the word **बैत** (bait) in my Hindi lessons at Delhi. I could not find a better word than this in Hindi. **बैत** is regarded a Marathi word. I do not know where that word originally came from. But my Hindi teachers understood it. If we claim to make Hindi as our national language, let us not become purists. Even after admitting several words from other languages, it is certain that a majority of words will be from Sanskrit.

I have a great respect for the Sanskrit language, and when Dr. Karmakar urges for making Sanskrit the national language, my mind inclines toward his views as much as even mine is a paper. It does not incline to the extent of mine mine as a paper, because I know that the proposition is practically impossible. It is certain that our terminology will be mainly based on Sanskrit. Thus does not however imply that of suitable simple words are available from Persian or any other language they are not to be accepted. The character of Ben Yehudimism with following in this manner. He has used thousands of Sanskrit words in his Ramayan but he has skilfully chosen and formulated simple words. In the same way we should also choose simple words from Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and other provincial languages. Tish Mahajan had to coin many new words when he wrote in the Koran. He coined the word **मोहक** (mohakshah) for the word hypnoticity. This word is neither Sanskrit nor Marathi. In a way it can be called an Urdu word. Tish Mahajan fell upon it by a happy chance, but afterwards the word became colloquial throughout the country. Similarly in his famous story—*which has contributed a great deal to the enrichment of Urdu*—namely, *what is my mother's name*, (Koran) is my language), he has placed an Arabic word **रफ** (raf) which is often used in the Koran, only by side with the Sanskrit word—**बन्धु** (bandhuk) Tish Mahajan was a great scholar of Sanskrit, second of his country and a master of languages. But he never felt that the language was being abused by the participation of two words of different origins. The great scholar spread throughout the country. The conclusion is that Hindi as a national language will become rich if it is enriched in itself the simple and easy words chosen with discretion from other languages.

(To be continued)

BAPU — MY MOTHER

By

Mandela Gandhi

Part No. 6-120

Page No. 6-120

NAVJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Part No. 105, AHMEDABAD

GANDHI CHETRALAYA

Shri Kama Gandhi has issued the following statement:

I had the rare good fortune of staying and working with Gandhiji for the last 24 years. During this period I had the opportunity of seeing him engaged in various acts and in unique conversations and gestures. I began to take his photographs from about 1927 with the desire that I could thoughtfully reveal to Gandhiji to the people in some of the most telling and expressive acts and emotions. It was difficult to make him in the camera too frequently, but I tried to do so whenever possible.

I was apt a photographer, yet had I been in born photography. My main object in starting with Rajag was to serve him personally. Consequently I had his consent to take his photos only on the condition that I did not in any way neglect my duties and also did not disturb him or detract his attention from his work. Owing to these limitations I was often obliged to wait some good moments of waiting him in the camera. After the commencement of his fastidious manner in 1942, I was deprived to work in the collection of that Rajag. This separated me from him till his death, when the result that I could not take any photo of him during the protest and the last collection of his life in the name of Gandhiji. Gandhiji lived in Calcutta, Bihar and Dacca.

Along with photos I also have some comic films of 35 mm. in Rajag's Rajag. I used to receive demands for copies of these pictures from various quarters. Even his death the demand continued and has come from various provincial governments, municipalities, schools and the public. I fully appreciate that Gandhiji in Rajag and their representations of his on account of my collection.

To order to satisfy these demands and hopes, I have started a studio called Gandhi Chetralaya from August 1948. Its name and objects are:

- (i) To publish arrangements of some of the best photographs of Gandhiji in my collection.
- (ii) To sell copies of his photographs which are both good and cheap to suit the people of limited means.
- (iii) To exhibit the same films in my collection and if possible, to sell their copies.
- (iv) To supply blocks or copies of my photographs for books etc. at reasonable prices.
- (v) To receive and exhibit photos and films of Gandhiji presented by others. In a film Chetralaya Taped of Rajag has kindly made a present of the film taken by him in 1926 when Gandhiji paid a visit to Rajag.

It will be appropriate here to declare that I never had nor have any intention to sell my collection out of these photographs. Since one of Gandhiji's wishes taken by myself or obtained by me from others. Whatever earnings I made from Gandhiji's photographs I handed over to him during his lifetime or donated them to a public work with his consent or according to his directions.

Encouraged by and under the supervision of Rajag, I had the occasion of conducting some training

courses. I met in this interesting field others, as a helpmate and had practical training. As I was unable to do so, I had obtained the permission and the message of his photographs for their training. I propose to do the same business in the first instance. My intention regarding Gandhiji's film, to spend training from also of the constructive programme. I am considering the appointment of a board of advisers who would see that Gandhiji is no longer available guide me in this work and also help me in the management of this activity, so that I could remain free to render service to the people in literature. This board will manage the Chetralaya, keep accounts and handle all questions concerning it and also as to how the cinema would be expanded.

I have issued this statement immediately, on the appointment of the Board will take some time.

Shri Kama Gandhi was being advised by the late Shri Jambhavanthi Gandhi in this work. He used to remind me also ever since the idea of creating a trust engaged his mind. He has shown upon me the responsibility of getting this done. The above has been published so that the public might get an idea of his intentions and objects.

May 12-3-49

K. G. MAHESHWARI

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

THE INQUITY OF VIVISECTION

V

ALTERNATIVES TO VIVISECTION

We have seen that classical vivisection, now largely abandoned, is held by some even among Allopathic physicians to be of infinitely greater value than vivisection even from the point of view of results alone.

Sanitation and proper nutrition are better protection against disease than anything preventive medicine can offer.

Naturopathy, Homeopathy, Ayurveda, Osteopathy, Chiropractic and related systems all offer alternatives to vivisection and have to their credit many cases of successful treatment. While the vivisectionists were busily working on inflexible medicine in their laboratories, Wm. Knapp was pioneering and applying his technique for its cure against the resistance of orthodox medicine. It was the same medical orthodoxy which not many years ago was opposing also Sir Richard Barker's manipulative surgery, now triumphantly vindicated.

If we must observe biological research for a new technique of growing cultures on bacterial agar is infinitely preferable to vivisection. Its possibilities should be thoroughly explored before the biologists declare animal experiments unnecessary for their research.

But the recommendation is drawing of the fact taught by the great nineteenth-century physician Paracelsus, that the whole nature of man must be taken into account and not only his physical body. It is the patient that has to be treated, not only the disease. He wrote:

Those who merely study and treat the effects of disease on the person who supposes that they can drive the disease away by treating the man from the door.

Psychomatic medicine, tracing physical ailments to their roots in thought and emotion, is on the right track.

THE MORAL ISSUE

From the moral point of view, the case against vivisection is overwhelming. Convinced that this is a question of law, we believe with Quete that 'No remedy is needed.' Sooner or later the conscience of the vivisectionist liberates him from the moral laws upon which it itself depends. Robert G. La Follette wrote in December 1936:

Brave without heart is far more dangerous than heart without brave. It may be that the human race might be physically improved if all the ability and defuncted talent were haled and if all the proper, hard drinkers, thieves, robbers and vivisectionists were punished. All this might in a few ages, result in the production of a generation of physically perfect men and women, but what would such bones be worth—men and women healthy and lawless, unscrupulous and cruel—that is to say, intelligent wild beasts?

As long as experiments involving the most revolting cruelty are managed usually as 'secret' matters, as long as vivisectionists are helped with honours, propensities to the reader they claim, as long may we expect human morals and human relations to be on the down grade. The public is usually responsible for condoning vivisection, and to share in the responsibility is to share also in the onerous burden to visit all offences against the unity of Life. The public should inform itself as to what it is condoning, by reading such publications as *The Animal Defender*, organ of the National Anti-Vivisection Society (132 Victoria Street, London, S. W. 1) and *The Abolitionist*, that of the Branch Union for the Abolition of Vivisection (45 Whitehall, London, S. W. II).

There is a hue and cry for a downy time when a particularly heinous experiment comes to public knowledge, as when some American vivisectionists some twenty years ago dropped dogs from a high cliff to produce the effect of shock. It was no worse than the secret tortures in the laboratories, but it aroused considerable public comment at the time. Today there is a strong movement of protest against vivisection in the United States, and restrictive legislation has been introduced in several States, though not yet passed. Vivisection should be made everywhere a criminal offence.

It has been claimed that man alone has a soul and that, therefore, animal vivisection in the supposed interest of man is justified. Madame Blavatsky wrote in 1888:

...why when the world has advanced—and it cannot avoid coming one day to such a conclusion—that animals are creatures as eternal as we ourselves—more than other permanent tortures, daily inflicted on the poor brutes—will offer relief forth an outbreak of nihilism and threats from

science gradually, leave all Government, in part or in toto, to these barbarous and diabolical practices.

Compassion—in the Law of Love—opened Harmony—the light of everlasting right, and freedom of all things the Law of Love stands!

—*The Voice of the Silence.*

ANTI-URDU SPIRIT

Has the Ministry of Railways taken a decision that the Urdu script should be removed from all name-boards and signs on its system?

On the 6th March I happened to arrive from Akola (Bomb.) As I crossed the platform, I saw that the name of the station in Urdu script had been recently white-washed from the sign-board the corner becoming Mark. I cast my eyes on the sign-board on the opposite platform. There I noticed that the Urdu script had been removed and Nagesh had taken its place. But the Nagesh name was already there at the other end. Why should the name in Nagesh have appeared twice on the same board? I could see from the angle of the letters that while the letter 'N' (N) was written in the Bombay style as the new and it was written in the U. P. style at the other. Is the doubling of the Nagesh meant to suggest that one of the languages is Marathi and the other Hindi?

The matter is a trifling one by itself, but it raises serious issues. Why should an alteration in the existing practice have been ordered as a department of the Central Government, when that Government has not come to any decision regarding scripts? Probably the Railway Minister does not have anything about the change. But it shows the hasty manner in which a working railway is ordered, whoever made it.

Whatever might be decided hereafter, the officer responsible for the removal of the Urdu letters had no business to monopolise the domain. He should not also have given the double forms of 'N' and some other letters of Nagesh a hasty suggestion. I hope the Railway Minister will order cancellation of the Urdu signs wherever they have been removed on the railway lines.

Ran. 4-3-40

K. G. MADHUKHAWALA.

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TWO ANNAS

QUESTION BOX

ROMAN SPELLINGS OF INDIAN NAMES

Q It is not high time that we begin correcting according to our official pronunciation anglicized Indian proper nouns which are wrongly spelt by the English residents? Ganga, Yamuna, Hindan (not Hindan), Karmun, Sarayu, Lakshmana, Bangla, People Bharat (not Bravat), Madras (not Madra), Tago (not Tago), Normada, Yama (not Yamun), Dhaka (not Dacca), Bombay (not Man-bayed etc.) can be cited as specimens. Though the attempt is already begun in Northern India, it is still deficient and half-hearted.

A It is quite proper that these spellings should be corrected.

K. G. MANGRUKWALA

B. C. G. VACCINE FOR TUBERCULOSIS

The Director-General of Health Services of the Government of India has published a Press Note dated 21st February last declaring its full agreement with the views expressed in a statement issued by twelve well-known doctors, namely Dr. B. C. Ray, President of West Bengal; Dr. Jivan N. Mehta, President of Baroda; Dr. K. S. Rao, President of the Indian Medical Council; Dr. C. C. E. K. Raja, Director-General of Health Services, Government of India; Dr. B. B. Bhatnagar; Dr. A. C. Ghai; Dr. R. B. Lal; Dr. D. B. Yasho; Dr. K. Vasudevan Rao; Dr. K. L. Waj, Dr. S. K. Sen and Dr. P. V. Nagappa—the last eight being members of the Standing Technical Committee of the Tuberculosis Association of India. The conclusions to which the experts have arrived is stated as follows:

"As the result of a careful study of the literature on the subject we are convinced (1) that B. C. G. vaccination is efficacious and that, if it is carried out on a strict scale, it can be expected to reduce tuberculosis mortality in India very considerably. (2) that it is entirely harmless and (3) that segregation of the vaccinated is not essential.

"We are also convinced that B. C. G. vaccination is only one of the many measures to be employed for the control of tuberculosis and that other steps such as improvement of the standard of living including better housing, improved sanitation and adequate nutrition are equally necessary.

It would be foolhardy for a layman like me to challenge the opinion of the eminent and trustworthy experts, supported as it is by the testimony of

experts of other countries also, regarding the efficacy of the drug. Nevertheless there are a few cogent reasons for my suggestion that the vaccination should be voluntary and must not be unthinkingly pushed, namely that it is a vaccine however small which has religious and moral objections to its acceptance and the use of animal products. The struggle of the vaccine must be accepted. There is also a vaccine, which is not kindly disposed to the research of other systems of treatment of disease—one of them being nature-cure. Every system finds some people who willingly offer themselves to be the subjects of experiments even at the risk of suffering and death. They should be allowed freedom and chance to do so. And finally, though I may not be qualified to challenge the opinion of the medical authorities, I hardly deem the liberty to make their conclusive assertion that the vaccine is "entirely harmless" with some doubt. I have still to know a drug—whether allopathic, homeopathic, ayurvedic or yonni—and I may add that I have still to know a non-vaccine vaccine also which is "entirely harmless." I may hardly say that if my physicians have been consistent and experienced practitioners of the various systems, I have the experience of having been a patient of failing standing. I understand that physicians use a term "patient's incompetency" when a drug expended by them as harmless proves otherwise. They also explain some evil effects under the term "allergy." They might then shift the blame from the drug to the patient but the fact stands that a so-called harmless drug is run up to every one subjected to it. It might be that those medical authorities who have objected to the use of B. C. G. have had the experience of idiosyncrasy or allergic patients who I also understand due doctors prefer to use the term "allergy" when a disease has caused in slow response of resistance. I think they should rather prefer to say that no harmful effects of B. C. G. have yet been discovered by them so saying that it is "entirely harmless." This is all the more important because the eminent doctors who have issued the statement have made a careful study only of the literature on the subject.

If my arguments are reasonable, I request the Director-General to modify his policy accordingly. I am glad that the Government is alive to the necessity of other positive measures.

Weeks 28-2-49

K. G. MANGRUKWALA

GANDHIJI ON TRUTH AND PRAYER

(1)

[The first paragraph of the following letter of Bapu is a reply to my question whether in the statement 'God is Truth', was God is equal to Truth? God has Truth?]

The second paragraph is Bapu's comment on an illustration I gave. The picture of children's heads is not with their mouths open outside it is with the illustration. And underneath the picture was written, *The Nose that Ties Fire*.

Bapu was a hermaphrodite. So the place of work in women's duty is emphasized in the last paragraph. — P. G. MATHEW.

2-7-32

My dear Madhav

In 'God is Truth', it certainly does not mean equal to, nor does it merely mean, 'is truthful'. Truth is not a mere attribute of God, but He is True. He is nothing if He is not True. Truth is *Sat* in Sanskrit means Sat. *Sat* means is. Therefore Truth is equal to is. God is nothing else is. Therefore the more truthful we are, the nearer we are to God. We are only to the extent that we are truthful.

The illustration of lion and her children is good but better still is that of the Lord and his wife. The lioness is far lovelier than the lion, because both are naturally so far apart though physically so near. Hence, Mahatma 'Mind is its own place' and the God's place is the author of his own freedom of kindred.

It is to realize that freedom that I would have us to labour in parole and labours.

Love

Bapu

(2)

[Bapu was not only a man of prayer but also a believer in strenuous prayer. The following letter addressed to me certifies to that. On the extreme limit has less improvement Bapu had to face a very difficult situation. He would then turn for 'lucky light'. My impression was to do so occasioned the writing of this shorter of all his letters to me. When his heart was full, his words were few. — P. G. Mathew.]

Sevagram

13-21-1944

My dear Mathew

Your. Pray that God may guide me aright.
Love,

Bapu

[Now the first volume of Mahadevadas Datta's *Gandhi and Hindu Duty* for the period reproduces the first of the above letters. In both the first sentence omits the word 'one' between 'God' and 'man' and the translation by the editors follow the point. I therefore asked Prof. Mathew and Mrs. Mathew Pankaj to re-examine their English. Prof. Mathew certifies that the reading as given by him above is correct. Mrs. Pankaj reports

that the original in Mahadevadas' Diary reads 'does does again'. He thought this the repetition of the word 'and' was a slip and read it as 'does mean' and translated it accordingly. On a re-consideration of the context, however, he agrees that the second 'does' is a slip for 'one'. The possessors of the Gujarati and Hindi editions would do well to correct this mistake both in the original and the translation. I suggest that hereafter all both the original letter of Gandhiji and the page of the Diary might be made and preserved.

Rev. D. S. S. S.

— K. G. M.]

A FORTNIGHT OF WHOLE-TIME KHANDI PRODUCTION

To commemorate the first anniversary of the martyrdom of Bapu, the members of the Nax Taluk Society at Sevagram performed a whole-time khandi production from 20th January to 13th February 1943. All the various processes connected with the production of khandi were carried on simultaneously for 12 hours from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. every day.

The Nax Taluk Society at Sevagram consists of three groups:

1. The Junior Division or the House School.
2. The Ustaz Bakhsh Shiksha or the Post-graduate College.
3. The Nax Taluk Shiksha or the Graduate Teachers Training College.

Members from all these sections co-operated in the work—khandi-making being taken up by the Ustaz.

The average attendance per day was 90 and during the fourteen days, 80 square yards of cloth was produced in 2,400 hours. The net income came to Rs. 99.15—the average income per hour thus being 8 paise. This figure would have been higher if all the members had been at the standard of the seventh grade of the House School. 325 hours of work was put in by the members of the Nax Taluk Shiksha (Teachers Training College) who had only 30 to 35 hours of training in spinning. The Junior Division, Ustaz Bakhsh Shiksha and the staff contributed 320, 420 and 120 hours respectively.

SELF-SUFFICIENCY OF SCHOOLS

Bapu always used to tell us that Basic Education was and should be self-supporting, or that for him 'self-support is the end and not of an end'.

Khandi-making could be treated as a sort of co-operative work for the three highest grades of the House School. During the period the average per hour came to 8 paise per student. In a school where the strength of the three highest grades would be 33, including three teachers. If they work for two hours for a day, the earning of the group would be Rs. 5 per day or Rs. 140 for a month of 30 working days. The average pay of a teacher being Rs. 30 per month, it is clear that the pay of the members of these three grades can easily be met.

CLOTH SAVING Experiments

In 2-400 hours, 30 square yards of cloth was produced, or at least 30 % saving in material. In 1948, in a month of 30 working days, suppose, two hours a day, a child could thus produce 10 square yards which would mean an annual production of 30 square yards of cloth. This would be enough to meet the clothing requirements of our children.

MASS PRODUCTION VS. PRODUCTION.

IN THE MADRAS

In 30 hours, one square yard of cloth was produced or in one hour at least 1/30 of cloth can be produced. According to the latest statistics there are 9 crore children of the school-going age. If all these children were to devote two hours per day to the production of cloth as a part of the educational programme, then on the average 36 crore yards of cloth could be produced in a day. This would mean a production of 360 crore yards of cloth in a year of 360 working days.

The present annual output of the textile mills of India and Pakistan is 4675 crore yards.

So it is clear that if Khadi Talim is introduced throughout India, it would help to solve the clothing problem. Here I would like to draw the attention of the Education and the Commerce and Industries Departments of the provincial governments to this aspect of Khadi Talim.

One of the fundamental objectives of education is to help in solving the economic problems of the nation. We are glad to place before the nation the results of this small experiment of ours which shows how easily universal Khadi Talim could help in solving our clothing problem as a by-product of the sound education of the children of the nation.

M. A. SATHANATHAN

PROGRESS OF KHADI IN MADRAS

The Government of Madras Public Development Department has sent the following for information:

You might know that the Government have drawn up an intensive Khadi scheme which received the blessings of Gandhiji himself and have been implementing it since 1946. I enclose a copy of the latest report showing the work so far done by this Government in the Khadi field. We are going further ahead and expanding the scheme on a modified basis in more areas in the province and also to regulate the production and sale of Khadi in order to ensure its convenience and the payment of the prescribed wages to the artisans engaged in its production."

Statement showing the progress of work in the Government Intensive Khadi scheme from the inception of the scheme up to 10-12-1948

	Crores sold	Yards per clothed individual in 1941	Khadi production in lbs.
Vellore district	11,2001	258000	487500
Aranyankudi	83178	215880	299720
Pattanamalai	12458	33744	98700

Sub-regional	1948	1949	1950
Chennai District	14478	15000	15000
Chennai District	1800	1800	1800
Chennai District	43248	43248	43248
Total	206121	206121	206121
Sold in 1948	17070	17070	17070
Yielded in 1948	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1949	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1950	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1951	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1952	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1953	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1954	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1955	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1956	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1957	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1958	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1959	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1960	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1961	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1962	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1963	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1964	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1965	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1966	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1967	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1968	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1969	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1970	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1971	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1972	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1973	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1974	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1975	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1976	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1977	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1978	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1979	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1980	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1981	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1982	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1983	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1984	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1985	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1986	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1987	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1988	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1989	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1990	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1991	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1992	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1993	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1994	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1995	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1996	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1997	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1998	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 1999	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2000	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2001	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2002	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2003	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2004	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2005	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2006	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2007	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2008	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2009	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2010	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2011	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2012	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2013	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2014	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2015	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2016	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2017	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2018	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2019	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2020	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2021	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2022	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2023	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2024	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2025	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2026	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2027	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2028	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2029	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2030	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2031	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2032	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2033	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2034	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2035	189051	189051	189051
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Yielded in 2053	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2054	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2055	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2056	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2057	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2058	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2059	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2060	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2061	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2062	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2063	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2064	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2065	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2066	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2067	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2068	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2069	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2070	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2071	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2072	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2073	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2074	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2075	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2076	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2077	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2078	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2079	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2080	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2081	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2082	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2083	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2084	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2085	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2086	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2087	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2088	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2089	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2090	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2091	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2092	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2093	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2094	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2095	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2096	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2097	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2098	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2099	189051	189051	189051
Yielded in 2100	189051	189051	189051

Total
Madras 10-2-49

TRAIN BEARERS OR TORCH BEARERS?

In the West, the bride wears a wedding robe which has a long train—a superfluous flow of garments sweeping the floor. This wholly unnecessary and cumbersome appendage is carried by little boys—Pigs—the train bearers. Our country is lagging because a train bearer of unneeded methods of Western countries.

The Government of India is going ahead with the putting up of artificial fertilizer factories and sending out young men to be trained into the 'secret' of the industry. Agricultural countries like Australia and the United States of America have found from experience that stimulating the soil by chemical manures produced amazingly good crops but that these products were deleterious both to man and to animals and even to the plants themselves. They were work in demand resistance to pests and diseases that attack them. While these chemical fertilizers helped in saving up the human already present in the soil they did not help in replacing the needed human for the new crop that helped mostly in the rapid exhaustion of the soil. With this experience they are now turning towards ways and means of feeding the soil by following the technique of organic farming.

To this end their scientists are hard at work to discover methods of feeding the soil rather than merely stimulating it. It is reported that J. W. Foster and Eric Swenson have developed a method of converting organic waste of cities in their plant in Pennsylvania they use factory waste and sewage matter. They claim that soil already exhausted can be recharged in two years by the use of such compost manure.

It is not high time that the Agricultural Research Department turned its back to its old methods and be torch bearers of progress rather than train alms of the discarded chemical bearers?

J. C. KUMARASWAMI

HARIJAN

March 27

1949

THE SARVODAYA CONFERENCE

II

I have referred to Dr. K. Sankar Jeyaraj Mahatma Gandhi as an *Amhersthamer* in my last article. He has introduced to the Western world the concept of Sarvodaya in the following words:

The idea is a Movement to be called Sarvodaya, literally "total uplift." This Movement will have no opposition. It will be the proposition of a spirit in which those who will eventually accept his central principle of Mahatma Gandhi—truth and non-violence—will be persuaded to follow. It will be a spiritual fraternity. Once a year as many as possible will meet in a hall or some religious site and discuss what they can do to further the spirit of the Mahatma in India and in the world. Membership will be open to anyone anywhere throughout the world. One can send a card to the Secretary, Sarvodaya Movement, Windsor, G. P. India, stating that he wishes to become a member, but this is not necessary. Simple acceptance of the Gandhian principle of truth and non violence will automatically make him a member.

This conference brought a number of letters from various parts of the world from friends during acquaintance with the Sarva. The general reaction passed at the Conference welcomed these friends to the Sarva and pointed out that not less than eight years of the constructive programme were common in many parts of the world. For instance, basic education, handicrafts, prohibition, resolving racial and colour conflicts, service of the lepers and so on. And of course, the cause of Peace and the message of Ahimsa. The message of the last two might cause surprise. But it was pointed out by Shri Kalamchik Kalchik as one of the informed messages and by Shri Vinoba as his first days address to the Conference. Ahimsa is the centre of Gandhi's constructive programme not only for India but for the whole world. It must be remembered that Ahimsa is not confined to cotton fabric only. Home-made and home-woven woollen and silk apparel is also Ahimsa and on a full consideration of the Sarvodaya ideal, it should not be difficult for one to realize that not only in India but in the most mechanized and industrialized countries of Europe and America also every home must become as self-reliant as possible about the necessity of life. In fact as Shri Vinoba had pointed out some months ago, in a civilized country the first necessity of man is not so much food as cloth. You run an shop anywhere in the world without feeling ashamed even if you have remained longer for some days. The modern civilized society must not allow you to move about naked even in all the parts of your house and hence even though it may not

be possible for every man to grow his own food he should produce at least his own cloth and fortunately this is much simpler and more within one's own power than the production of food. Besides, in the social plane Ahimsa is particularly the emblem of peaceful and non-violent order. In a suggestion of industrialism, hand labour, contemplation and self-expression. I do not know how far this will be matched by the advent of the Sarvodaya Movement. But as Shri Kalamchik Kalchik boldly proclaimed a day will come when the proposition perhaps will be accepted as obvious and an Indian going abroad will not hesitate to put the character and the demands before the most industrialized people of the world.

Thereafter Shri Vallabhbhai, Secretary of the Sarva Sarva Singh placed before the Conference the report of what had transpired between the last Conference and this one in the matter of the co-ordination of all the constructive activities under a common name and organization. I hope he will publish a detailed report on due course. But I may point out here two of the decisions made by that body. First that it will hereafter address the Sarvodaya Sarva Sarva Committee from the task of covering the Sarvodaya Conference during the National Week and recently, it has decided to publish a monthly magazine in Hindustani called Sarvodaya under the editorship of Shri Kalamchik Kalchik. Details of this magazine have not yet been worked out, but it is hoped that the new magazine will not take long to appear.

After the conclusion of this business, the Conference discussed some of the pressing problems of the day. The people were groaning under the evils of corrupt practicing black marketing, bribery, corruption, dishonesty, etc. It was felt that there was an increasing tendency to look to the Government alone for the removal of the evils. The Government is at present concerned how only one way of fighting against evils and that is through punishment. But the experience is that punishment hardly ever puts an end to evils. Unless the people themselves are awakened morally, mere penal measures cannot check them. For those also who actually educate the Sarva come from the same society as the people. They cannot have a much higher moral standard than the society in which they have been brought up. This is particularly so when the task of education is not confined to a selected and well-trained class but is open to all classes. This makes it necessary that the morals of the whole society should be raised if evils have to be put a stop to. This topic was only put forth by Shri Chakrabarti Mukherjee and his suggestion for a Movement for Right Action has been already published last week.

Shri Manmohan Pradhan of Godehra in a very interesting speech brought the Harijan problem in the context of the Conference. Since the removal of racial disabilities of the Harijans through the machinery of law by the various Governments of Free India, a bitter strain

of complacency had arisen in the mind of several workers. They felt that the Harijan problem as such was now over and that the Harijans were now placed on an equal footing with the backward classes, who though never regarded as untouchables like the Harijans, were economically and educationally equally backward and oppressed. Some people thought that it was possible now to consider the whole problem from a common angle. As a matter of fact, Mrs. Vaidya pointed out, there was a great difference between the problem of the Harijans and the problem of the backward classes. In the first place, though the backwardness of the Harijans was legally removed, they were still treated as a matter of fact as untouchables. Secondly, touchable backward classes generally lived in compact areas where they are placed in large numbers. The Harijans as a rule live in small groups of a few houses, scattered in various villages and there was hardly a place where they were in a majority even when they were. Thirdly, they had always to remain at the mercy of the untouchable Hindus and it was impossible for them to seek the aid of law even when they were entitled to do so. Political workers were criticised in parrot fashion the claims of backward classes because they commanded votes on account of their majority. It was not so with the Harijans. A social worker with political aspirations had no work to do by becoming a Harijan worker. The uplift of the Harijans therefore, could only be really achieved if there was a change of heart in the masses.

Shri Kalamchik Kulkarni also took the opportunity to place before the audience his opinion of the Gandhi Museum and the collection of Gandhi literature. One it is decided what things connected with Gandhi are to be ultimately preserved, it has been arranged for the time being to collect and exhibit three at the Prince of Wales Museum and the Gandhi literature in the Royal Asiatic Society's Library, Town Hall, Bombay.

Naturally the most important thought-experiments made at the Conference were by ex-President, Dr. Rajendraprasad Shri Vaidya and Shri Kulu Kulkarni. Shri Shastriji Das, Acharya Kripalani, Mr. George Alexander, Miss Arjuna Harrison and some others also took a prominent share. Some of these will be reported in these columns later, for a detailed report of the Conference the readers must await the publication by the organizers of the Conference. A detailed report in Hindustan of the Conference held last year is now available from Shri R. S. Chatter, Secretary, Sarvodaya, Samaj Samak, Wardha.

Wardha 16-3-49

K. G. MANGHURWALA

(Continued)

CASKETS AND ADDRESSES

Shri Kalamchik Kulkarni the Organiser of the Gandhi Samak Sangraha, has issued the following statement—

Gandhiji had made it a regular feature of his tours to arrange away the caskets containing the addresses presented to him. They are, therefore, scattered all over India instead of being preserved in one place.

It is proposed to collect all the addresses presented to Mahatmaji for the Gandhi Samak Sangraha.

We want to prepare a day-to-day summary of Gandhiji's travels all over the country during the thirtythree years that he spent here after his return from South Africa. The addresses will help us to check the dates of the summary.

Gandhiji had as his characteristic habit, moved continuously in all people at institutions wishing to present him with addresses not to lend them with unnecessary lag to give a short history of the place and a detailed account of constructive work being done in the locality. All this information will now be useful to the biographer of Gandhiji as also to the historian of India's struggle for Independence and its parallel representation.

Those in possession of these addresses should kindly send them to the Manager, Gandhi Samak Sangraha, Town Hall, Bombay.

Those who wish to do so, may kindly send the caskets also to form part of the Gandhi Museum. These will represent contemporary Indian art both traditional and popular.

VIEW'S ON THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE II-

SCRIPT

Now I want to say a few words about the script. In my opinion the Nagari script can be a first instrument to unify India. Not only the national language but the provincial languages also should be written in it. This does not mean the condemnation of the provincial scripts. Provincial languages may be written in their own script but it would be easier for students to learn languages, if all the provincial languages could be written in the Nagari script. I speak this from experience.

It was necessary for me to learn many of the Indian languages and as long as I had to spend a considerable time to learn a new script for each. If all these languages could be written in the Nagari script I could learn them with one fourth as much labour as I had to undertake, and my energy would not have dissipated. If all provincial languages are written in the Nagari script, everyone would find it convenient to learn the author's language. At the same time, it is my opinion that our national language should be written in Telugu, Malayalam, Bengali, Kannad etc. which are perfect.

Concluding notice of work delivered by Shri Vaidya Shree at the meeting of the Maharashtra Provincial Teachers' Soc. held at Wardha on 26th February 1949.

BAPU — MY MOTHER

By

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script. If a Kanned man desires to learn Hindi, he should in the beginning learn it through the Kanned script. That would be a very easy way of learning. Once he learns the language, he will be able to learn the Nagari script in a short time. To conclude, I think that all the languages should be written in the national script and the national language should be written in all the scripts. To give special attention towards the national language does not mean that the provincial languages and scripts are inferior. They have their own specialties and their study should continue. My suggestion will prove helpful in such study. Everyone would benefit from the other and the nation as a whole would progress.

The work of national language should be done with the motto, *१. २. ३. without opposition to anyone*. Lord Buddha propagated his ideology in the Pali language. Shriharacharya took the job of Sanskrit. There was no conflict in their choice. Lord Buddha was solely devoted to service. He wanted to serve the whole of mankind by serving the people around him. He therefore preferred the Pali language. Shriharacharya was national and he wanted to spread his ideology all over the country. Therefore, he took Sanskrit as Sanskrit—the then national language. That is an instance which illustrates two different views-points, namely devotion to service and wide diffusion of knowledge. It is frequently cited by the supporters of Hindutva that the national language should be such as would be fully understood at least by the masses of North India. The supporters of Hindi say that the national language should be such as would be easily understood by people all over the country. These two lines of thought are not contradictory but they are complementary. Those supporters of Hindutva are the followers of Lord Buddha while the supporters of Hindi are the followers of Shriharacharya. If both of them understand the distinction in the right perspective they can agree and the problem would be solved soon.

SCRIPT REFORM

In the end I would like to speak something about script reform. It is my opinion that there is need for some reform in the Nagari script. It is not my intention to say that the present Nagari script should cease to function, so long as it is not reformed. It may continue as it is, but reforms are necessary on scientific grounds. Others also need reform in the script but they look at them from the point of view of convenience in the typewriting machine. I regard the convenience of the machine as a minor thing. To think in this way is not fitting mankind. I want the reform from the point of view of knowledge. To chisel a script for machine convenience, is just like cutting the foot to suit the shoe. We have to make the shoe to adjust the foot. If, however, the script is different from a scientific point of view, then it is subject to reform. The reforms I need in the Nagari script are published in a Marathi booklet called *धर्मशास्त्र* (Dharma-shastra) (2). I shall not speak to you about them all in detail here. That is not our primary subject.

But I would like to reply, before you what I regard as the fundamental—*धर्म*.

The practice of writing compound consonants (पञ्चम) in the present day Nagari and other Indian scripts is scientifically wrong. This thing became particularly clear to me when I spelled different scripts. The words are wrongly split up in the present day Nagari script. If in English we split the word "godown" as "god-own", it would be ridiculous in the same way if we split up the compound word पञ्चम as पञ्च and म, it becomes equally ridiculous. In fact the two separate parts are पञ्च and म. पञ्च is the main word and म is the suffix. पञ्च means 'to cultivate'. पञ्च therefore means one who cultivates. The word पञ्चम means the black colour because cultivators who work in the sun are black. Similarly, if we separate the two letters in the word पञ्चम as पञ्च and म it would be wrong. The right division would be पञ्च and म. पञ्च means 'to fall down'. The word is thus assigned the meaning, namely a thing which falls down a tree, a tree, a lot. The word पञ्चम is again wrongly split up as पञ्च and म. The right division would be पञ्चम and म. The prefix पञ्च means 'high up', the root म means 'to go' and म is a suffix. The whole word thus comes to mean 'to go high up'. A garden should be developed on a place above the level of the city to get fresh air and thus a garden on such a high level comes to be known as पञ्चम. Today this word is commonly used for the term garden.

In the present system of writing compound letters it is not possible to find out the right meaning of the word. For this reason, I suggest that all compound consonants should be written with the help of the पञ्चम sign. This will render Nagari and other scripts scientific and simple. Compound consonants in Bengali are the most difficult. Similar difficulty is experienced in Kanned. In the system as it continues today, children require three years to learn all the compound consonants. In the first year of their education, they learn simple letters. In the second year, they learn simple compound consonants and in the third year, the remaining ones. Missing three difficulties, a doubt arises in one's mind as to whether the garden who introduced such scripts were cruel masters of the interests of children. If, however, the पञ्चम sign is used, much of the time of the children can be saved. Those who are engaged in the spread of literacy know very well the difficulties experienced and the time wasted in teaching compound letters. If they practice the reform, they should come to know as to how easily compound letters can be taught to children. I can say this with authority as I have a personal experience of this while teaching students. By the reform, time will be saved, and at the same time it would be possible to increase the knowledge—perspective of the students. I have suggested other reforms as well. But I shall not take your time in explaining them to you.

There are some of my views regarding the national language, the Nagari script and script reform which I have placed before you in brief.

ADAPTABILITY

Finally the characteristics of mankind in adaptability to environment. The lower orders of animals have all sorts of traits that being under the conditions defined by nature. Man alone amongst the members of nature can within limits control his environment. To the extent we are able to do this we could be said to have advanced from the jungle world. Many of us who are too lazy to find our things for ourselves and who have too much money to take an active part, take the easy course of entrusting those who have controlled their environment.

With the advent of luxury all types of people in India are anxious to mould our surroundings in a way that will indicate advance in the various walks of life. With the great desire to become rich quickly, we are inclined to receive the word of the United States of America, imagining that the conditions in America are vastly different from those prevailing in our country. If the Americans have set us a pattern of life and have gone about conquering nature by its rule, this pattern it does not follow that that same pattern and the same methods will apply to our country. There is a great deal of effort made from abroad quarters to export all things American. This tendency may spell ruin to our country, especially in connection with the efforts made to increase production through agriculture.

The conditions of land and land management in America reflect a set of circumstances which do not prevail in our country. The United States has barely 10% of the world's population while it controls about one fifth of the crop land of the world. This indicates that America has enough land to be wasteful in their agricultural methods. Their goal to produce more does not take any consideration the loss in fertility of the soil. As time in land shows, any decrease in fertility they can easily shift on to more productive land. Therefore they are still in the stage where increasing conditions prevail. Under such circumstances the recuperative power of the land does not enter as heavily into the equation. They can afford to exhaust land at its extreme. Under such circumstances they have taken to mechanization. Of course they can produce a great deal with mechanical power when it is calculated on per capita basis.

In India, on the other hand our land is considerably limited. It has in fact nearly one fifth of the world's population. Hence we cannot afford to be wasteful in our methods. The recuperative power of land becomes a very important factor in our calculations. When we cultivate a piece of land, we are taking certain elements out of it and these elements go to regenerate it. The land recuperates itself through various means within a certain time. We have to allow that time as well as saving the crops grown so as to fit into this cycle. This is highly a technical proposition as the recuperation conditions, the pace of our production from land. If we produce larger crops by more intensive cultivation, we shall be reaching the stage of exhaustion sooner, after which the land will become fit only

for single growth or will remain a desert. Hence it will be necessary for us to draw on our resources with considerable thought.

We may say in some respect America is in the position of a rich man's son, who draws on his capital to address to his income by his current requirements, while India is like a self-made person who is concerned his expenditure with his income. Therefore, the rate of production in India has to be well-balanced with the possibilities of the soil conditions. In America they are constantly converting valuable land into waste-land and forests with the depletion fertility and draining a better land by reclamation. Lands that have been defoliated are open to the ravages of erosion which washes away the valuable soil. And because of their constantly drawing on veins and it becomes increasingly important to use tractors. While they use tractors they also have access to the necessary fuel in their land. If we produce food on the basis of mechanization while the needed fuel for the motor power is not available in India, we shall be in a very permanent condition. Our tractors would have died out and at a time when fuel is made of oil and lignumite — a coal available we shall have to do like them — substitute for the needed power source by some alternate.

What we can learn from America is their agricultural process which is strongly backed by the government. Their constant are there to carry on research in a comprehensive way to produce loans, vegetables, food grains, animals and poultry while in our country all that the corresponding department does is to produce for mixed breeding sometimes results. They have not attempted still the long term process of breeding up the local stock.

Against the land management itself, the American government looks up the services in almost farming crop cropping, irrigation, making roads, etc., but our government up to now has only planned on huge schemes such beyond the capacity of the country to bear and they are still on paper largely. The Americans was about emphasis prevention rather than cure. They are able to forecast the advent of plant diseases and warn people to take preventive measures. We on the other hand wait till the crops have been damaged and take out remedies which are more expensive than the crop itself.

Our methods have not been suited to the conditions of our country. Our agricultural practices are little conditioned by the vagaries of the monsoon. In attempting to control this, the authorities have tried in some parts schemes of irrigation based on power. Where electricity is available cheaply electric pumps are used for irrigation. The effect of this has been that we have been drawing on a very small fraction of the water that is stored on the land during the monsoon, increased at about 50%, while the balance runs waste over the sea and even out of that 50% the benefit is for the rich. Those who can afford to install electric pumps draw whatever water is available for their own fields. The poorer farmers live even that which they have, as their own wells and tanks, in which alone they have recourse, dry up as the pumps work. With the advent of the pump

the subsoil water from the ground, getting very near the wells and ponds in the country. Now many canals have even old roads die out as the subsoil water comes below the level of these roads. These small canals are run down and the land is exposed to famine.

The drawing of subsoil water in this manner may not affect the land in considerable the Chittur, place and the area below which are sometimes even water-logged but in most parts of the country where the water level is already low it will have a very adverse effect. Conditions in our land therefore, indicate that what is needed is not the more intensive exploitation of the subsoil water, but the conservation of the upper part of the water that runs down into the sea. In other words, more than the electric pump we require small channels across streams, rivulets and rivers to hold back some of nature's gifts to man. Here is a circumstance where the much-vaunted mechanical aid in the form of the electric pump, backwaters, runs and deepens to the countryside.

These measures only show the need for a comprehensive well-thought-out plan, undertaken to the good of several seasons bearing closely on the natural conditions that prevail in our country and which will be within the powers of the Government by nature for a tropical country like India dependent on the monsoon. At the present time the schemes that have been put out do not give any sign of having taken such a comprehensive view of our needs. So we must work out schemes from taking a step in the dark, with promises which will prove to be short-lived. J. C. KUMARAPPA

Elephants to the Rescue

Amongst the more problem-laden the country one of the serious ones is the reduction of valuable wild lands. The Central and Provincial Governments have obtained considerable sums of money for this purpose. They are all reported to have been laid down. Their attempt to do a great deal on one aspect at the end as well as upon some have to be abandoned from abroad. It is agreed on all hands that there can only be used to open up the land.

The situation being what it is it can be seen cannot be relieved if our Government officials will turn to the elephants too and. A great many of these faithful animals, had been manured by the ruling powers and commanders. With their dwindling income they would be glad to part with these animals. Each elephant will cost about Rs 20 to Rs 25 for daily maintenance so against several times that cost for the maintenance of a machine. They can do practically all that a machine can do though at a lower speed and will be more in keeping with our economy.

The difficulty is the lack of co-operation in the Department concerned. We have not developed the necessary economies of an elephant—plough, harvest etc.

We must an effort will be made to discover our possible through exchanges by utilizing the large resources to the fullest extent possible. J. C. K.

A MINISTER'S "GOOD FORTUNE"

The *Minister of the Day* February, 49 repeats its title as

The Minister Baidh said that it was his good fortune to declare upon the first vegetable glass factory in South India. He referred to the cultivation of this industry in particular due to contribution of the results of the interests by the Government of India regarding the use of the reference as an edible product. The Minister spoke of it that had been in use as a food product all over the world for a number of years and a more complete in the method of production and not taken up as an edible product. He hoped that the factory in South India would produce enough vegetable glass for the Government to supply in the P. B. Indian market and thereby save the necessary outlay to be made needed to buy our food requirements abroad.

Mr. Srinivas Baidh's good fortune is very costly indeed. It will cost the health and souls of thousands of people and the improvement of Indian life. It is disappointing to find the Minister of a great province admitting on the one hand that the results of the research about the value of this substance as an edible product were still uncertain and at the same time confidently opening that it "need not alarm any one as regards the edible value of the vegetable glass". It is still more disappointing to read that one involved with the effort it will have upon the people at his own province, badly dependent on rice, the Minister hopes that his factory will produce the substance in quantity sufficient to replace and replace our rice-supply of the Far East.

In my opinion it is high time the Government of India, once for all declared what priority it lays down that vegetable industry. The constructive workers should at least know whether their efforts to improve the cattle wealth and agriculture of India and to improve the health and souls of the people are going to be created or helped by the Government policy.

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TWO ANNAS

REGRETTABLE SPIRIT

The reader will find in another part of this issue my colleague Shri J. C. Kumarappa's article *Police Thaw and Police Now*. It was unfortunate that Shri Sahebkaras Das took up a note from Shri Kumarappa for developing his ideas. He could have done so independently. He had been referred to specifically Shri Kumarappa's reply to a letter also so he given place to Shri I do not propose to follow this debate to develop in the *Harjan*. It pains me to see that Gandhiji's 'constructive' followers should adopt an attitude of hostility towards his policies, followers and spend their energy in reading criticism. It does not benefit the country in any way, nor does it advance the constructive programme even an inch.

Let us in all honesty remember that though Gandhiji inspired Vinoba, Kaba, Kumarappa and others, he had no hesitation in saying that Vinoba Jawaharlal was his heir and successor and he had not wished even his co-operation from him till the last day of his life. Indeed, he was that within two minutes after he had finished talking with the Sardar. And he had made an agreement with the Government before giving his co-operation in respect of the constructive programme. All these names for most of them, whose existence on the Board of Trustees of the Gandhi Memorial Fund is recalled above, were Rajaji's co-workers in the *Kamarkha* Trust also, and he did not regard them as unreasonable. Why should we? The mention of percentages is misleading. Assuming that Shri Kumarappa's classification is correct, I know at least two constructive workers who did not accept membership on the Gandhi Memorial Fund. If they had their percentage would have been more than 100. What but they themselves are responsible for inflating their percentage, if more numbers matter? If the Congress leaders do not have sufficient confidence in us, constructive workers, it is for us to create that confidence by proving our capacity and power to win them over and by our work directly among the people. If the people follow us, what does it matter that the Congressmen or even governments do not? Confidence cannot be created by merely casting criticism. We have extolled non-violence night and day and taught unacceptability of Rajaji. Let us show that non-violence is not confined to the political field, and not regard them as a new case of unreasonableness. He whom Gandhiji viewed as his

successor and sought out to be an object of our devotion he be Jawaharlal, Nehru, a junior inmate of the Ashram in a Slump of the Velachery Colony.

Certainly, Gandhiji said that he would have a Kama Prasad, employing Jawaharlal in his secretary. He also said that he would appoint a Marathi girl to be the Governor General. At the opening ceremony of the Gujarat Vidyapeeth he had said that he would have an Marathi man of high character to be the Principal of his college. But it was he who had taught me the late Acharya A. T. Chavara and made him the Principal and Vice-Chancellor of Gujarat Vidyapeeth and I am sure the appointment of Rajaji must have been made with his full and approval. His words must therefore be regarded to have a better meaning than literal. If he had written out instructions of instructions, he might have perhaps said so Jawaharlal, your loss is the gain of the poor Kama of India to Rajaji. 'be as humble as a Marathi girl to Acharya Chavara' your learning is of no use if you are not a man of character'. If we think that Gandhiji showed weakness in not giving up his colleagues in the Congress or his connection with the rich, we had ample opportunity while he was alive, to discontinue with Gandhiji himself as a matter of principle. If we think that his co-operation was all right, because he had confidence enough that single-handedly he could carry his own point since he wished to do so, then let us build that strength in ourselves in the same way as he did. Gandhiji found fault with himself when he found that his words failed to carry conviction to others and started personally all they did. But for his patience, I wonder how many of us would not have been dominated and abandoned by Gandhiji long since. I believe with Shri Kumarappa that the constructive programme is the only salvation of the country and that it has to be accepted sooner or later by the State or the fundamental force of all its policies. But a more dramatic repetition of this belief cannot carry conviction to those who are unable to see a clearly order. Only this truth should be sufficient for us to work with hope and patience and love even with those who do not possess it.

Wardha, 22-3-48

K. G. MADHUSWALA

P. S. A collection also read this before it was despatched to the Press, properly got out a file and gave me a copy of the following letter written

by Gandhi with Sir J. R. D. Tata. It is an introduction to the Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Trust and shows Gandhiji's attitude and way of thinking.

Saraswati via Wardha, C. P.
October Feb. 44

Dear Ishwariya

In order that I may be understood by you as fully as possible I write this in English, though I should love to write to you in Gujarati. For similar reason this will be typed.

Thank you for your cordial letter of greetings. I would like you to make the cordiality concrete by attending the next meeting of the trustees to be held at Wardha on Saturday the 4th November. Saturday has been specially chosen in order to enable the original trustees to attend with maximum effectiveness. That you have readily accepted the additional name proposed by me for the Board of Trustees and say the small Executive ought not to hear the meeting that the original trustees are to be sleeping members.

I know I am guilty of having given currency to the thought that the administration of trust funds should be put into the hands of the trustees. In my choice I discovered my mistake before any mischief was done. The more I think about it the more I feel the narrowness underlying such a conception. The whole Board is a very happy conglomeration and most of the trustees take an active interest in the administration of the fund. We may expect even outgrowth of beneficial results. An active conglomeration and co-operation of rich city men and simple village-minded men and women is not an everyday experience. I trust therefore that you will make it convenient to attend the forthcoming meeting and even provide the opportunity to do likewise.

Yours,

(M. is Gujarati) M. K. GANDHI

Sir J. R. D. Tata,
Bombay House,
Breach Street,
Bombay

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POLITICS THEN AND POLITICS NOW

In a series of talks, the Congress and the Construction Workers Union Shri Shankarrao Dev, taking as a text an introductory paragraph of my note on the Akhil Bharatiya Karmacha Samiti League, has tried to make men aware for constructive workers to take part in politics. Running right through his writings there is a continuous misconception of the place of politics in defining forms of government. Politics is a three quantity is one thing; politics of imperialism is another. Politics under a constitutional government takes one shape but politics of democracy is of a different mould. Since politics is not necessarily the same as Ramkrishna politics, the call to constructive workers remains one of the bugs of the old nursery rhymes 'Come into my parlour, says the spider to the fly'.

Taken in the context of old imperialism, our politics was definitely directed towards getting rid of an alien government. Under that stress we had developed certain techniques which will scarcely have no place in self-government. Those of us trained in the old methods find that it has become a part of our nature and it is almost impossible to shake it off. Such hardened old soldiers have to get off the road to make way for the newer type. As long as tool-making is reserved to by the old工匠, who have the advantage of the momentum, it is fairly to be expected where. Shri Shankarrao remarks that 'there was no doubt that the present Congress leadership has come in for much abuse and criticism; criticism bordering on anger was only from their political opponents. But surprisingly enough, from their friends also, especially from constructive workers. The fact that friends also are dissatisfied should have turned the spotlight towards the power politics has no time for self-criticism. So Shri Shankarrao passed by the opportunity.

Shri Shankarrao recognises that Gandhiji wanted his constructive programme to be the 'dynamic of a non-violent social evolution and not a palliative in the form of social reform,' and he himself wrote, 'the constructive programme of Gandhiji's constructive programme can only be realised if it is accepted and worked as a whole and in the form of a new non-violent social order.' Does Shri Shankarrao protest that the present day politics is directed towards the establishment of a new non-violent social order? If not, as the constructive workers can have no part in any other political activity, they cannot respond to his call.

Gandhiji has no mind the difference in political organisations and politics of Ramkrishna when he says 'Congress in its present shape and form is not a propaganda vehicle and parliamentary machine, has achieved its one task has still to attain moral and economic independence in terms of its own hundred thousand villages as distinguished from its cities and towns.' Therefore what we want is not the old technique but the development of a new one to take up Ramkrishna.

This does not mean that we need to discard our comfortable old wisdom as Shri Shankarrao fears. Gandhiji himself had suggested that instead of being a Premier, Jawaharlal should rather be the Secretary of a Kisan Primary. Politics should cease to be as real but become a means to attain real social and economic freedom. This is the type of politics where constructive workers can usefully play a part. This is the Lok Satta Singh of Gandhiji's conception where politics is not abandoned but it is subordinated to a constructive movement.

Shri Shankarrao confesses that the idea of a non-violent society has not found favour with the Congress Members. "Incidentally it is often forgotten that though the Congress accepted non-violence, non-co-operation and Satyagraha of Gandhiji in 1930 it was mainly as a means to achieve political independence and never as the basic principles of the Gandhian way of life or of a new social order. To the vast majority of Congressmen Gandhiji was essentially a political and not a moral leader. The moral and philosophical side of his programme was accepted by the leadership of Congressmen more as a price of his leadership than as a matter of inner conviction or acceptance of a higher, moral and spiritual code. No one was more aware of this than Gandhiji himself. We see the crash of the movement in the present day attitude of the majority of Congressmen towards governmental power and service of the people through constructive work. Today it is a sad sight to see them jostled more back to power than to service."

Can we wonder at it that the constructive workers of the Gandhian ideology stand apart from such a Congress and its politics?

If the Congress desires to get the co-operation of these workers, it will have to offer full scope for the ideas such workers stand for. The present day leadership does not indicate any such move on the part of the Congress Government or the Congress rule. On the other hand, its leaders express a lack of confidence in constructive workers and exhibit tendency to hold power in their own hands. To cite only two instances, the recently formed Government of India Congress Industries Board has hardly any constructive workers on it. An overwhelming majority of the members are government representatives of the old administrative order. Even the Gandhi National Memorial Trust, it made up of 64% politicians, 25% business magnates and only 11% of constructive workers. The state of affairs has to be reversed if constructive workers are to be attracted. "More revisionism of Manoj Das et al. at the Indian Congress will not do. Constructive workers have to be reassured by actual practice. Shri Shankarrao himself says, "If the

Congress, with authority, encourages its own members then it must attract a great deal of constructive work in its social reconstruction programme. The various constructive organisations that are already there and those which may be formed in the future must become an organic part of it. The Congress must adopt a plan of decentralised production which should form part of the permanent economy of the country. It must give special attention to the rapid development of cottage and small scale industries and it must aim at national and regional economic self-sufficiency at least in the essentials of life. When the Congress adopts such a policy and a programme to implement it, we are certain the constructive workers will not wait for an invitation. They will then know they can only realise their ideals through the Congress and will flock to it. Is the Congress prepared to change its power politics for the politics of Ramrajya?"

Fighting British imperialism called for political struggle but to combat the demons of social injustice, poverty and disease requires constructive work of a high order with staying power and steadfastness of purpose and pure determination. It also needs the backing of a definite governmental policy and drive.

The acceptance of the politics of Ramrajya, therefore, will involve a complete change over in our standards of values. Material considerations will have to yield place to moral, human and spiritual values. This in its turn will have to be reflected in our simple mode of life. Unless this social order is in the horizon, constructive workers cannot by any 'haphazard' operations be brought into old time politics. They have to be drawn into it and not hurled into it by social machinery. Let us hope the light will dawn on the leaders before it is too late.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

* Try to combine with sleepiness

SOME USEFUL BOOKS BY GANDHI

An Autobiography	7-0-0	0-10-0
Key to Health	0-10-0	0-2-6
Non-Violence in Peace & War		
Vol. 1	7-0-0	0-10-0
Vol. 2	2-0-0	0-6-0
From Yervada Memoirs	0-6-0	0-2-0
Hind Swaraj	0-6-0	0-2-0
Self-Reliance & Self-Indulgence	2-0-0	0-6-0
Women & Social Injustice	2-0-0	0-6-0
Dolls Diary	1-0-0	0-6-0
The Narayan Vase	2-0-0	0-10-0
Gandhiji's Correspondence with		
the Govt. (1912-46)	2-0-0	0-2-0
Constructive Programme	0-6-0	0-2-0

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HARIJAN

April 3

1949

AN APPEAL TO CONSCIENCE

Everywhere will be found the reminder of Pandit Nehru as reported to the Kheda Brothers and the Kheda Khedwargar. Their continued inactivity constitutes a challenge to the evolved conscience of the world. If ever there was a case of martyred conscience sacrificed by devotion to the highest ideal in them—particularly the Bahá'í Kheda. The world will not easily forget the sacrifice which he nearly performed of maintaining the non-violence of the force on the larger world: the Pathan. Whatever the political differences they may have with the Government in power, their integrity is above question. They have declared their acceptance of Mahatma. I remember how, after noon, during my last stay with Gandhiji on December 1943 and January 1945, Bahá'í Kheda was with Gandhiji that he should not worry about them as they had deliberately decided not to meet him or write to him as they wanted to put their heads below those weapons. It would be doing them cruel wrong to suspect them of double dealing or treachery. They are men of both. They love their country and its people with a deep passionate love. Bahá'í Kheda is straight and simple by nature and position as much as the purest of entrepreneurs. This is what Gandhiji who had tested them through and through, wrote about Bahá'í Kheda in 1935 after his historic tour of the N W F P in his country.

Wherever the Kheda Khedwargar may be or may ultimately run out to be, there can be no doubt about what their leader whom they delight to call Bahá'í Kheda is. He is unquestionably a man of God. His behavior in His living presence and knows that his movement will prosper only if God wills it. Having put his whole soul into his cause, he remains indifferent as to what happens. It is enough for him to realize that there is no deliverance for the Pathan except through him and his acceptance of non-violence. He does not want to see his Pathan as a people of slavery. He believes that the Pathan has been exploited and kept in ignorance. He wants the Pathan to become freer than he is and wants him to add true knowledge to his poverty. This he thinks can only be achieved through non-violence.

There is no hiding about him. He is an open stranger to affection. And so when we parted, at Tanali our eyes were wet.

In the course of the same tour Bahá'í Kheda once placed his soul into Gandhiji in words that lay bare the innermost springs of his being. Here are his exact words taken down as they

dropped from his lips: "I followed in the Mahatma at the time."

"Mahatma, that led us into the forest and gave might well have been a smiling high Eden upon the earth, but it has today fallen under a high. My conscience is daily growing deeper than more than anything else, violence has been the force of us Pathans in the presence of his devoted and noble and now so much watched internal leads. The entire strength of the Pathan is today bent on thinking how to cut the throat of his brother. To what fearful way this spirit might not be put if only we could be rid of this curse!"

"Whatever may be the case with other provinces, I am fully convinced that so far as the Frontier Province is concerned, the non-violence movement is the greatest boon that God has sent us in. There is no other way of salvation for the Pathan except through non-violence. I see this from experience of the marvellous transformation that even the high nature of non-violence that we have attained has wrought in me under Mahatma. We used to be so cruel and selfish. The sight of an Englishman would frighten us. We thought nothing of warring our way to victory. Your movement changed all this. It has modified (my) life and made us more unselfish so that a piece of land that formerly used to yield hardly ten rupees worth of produce, now produces double that amount. We have shed our fear and are no longer afraid of an Englishman as far as the matter of this, of any man."

Expulsion or threat of our non-violence. A non-violent Pathan, they say, is more dangerous than a violent Pathan. If we could understand and can we embrace the whole of the doctrine of non-violence as you have explained it in so few words, it would be a blessing. We were at the brink of some war. But God in His mercy sent us the non-violence movement to save us in our extremity."

Such a person can never be so much of a Slave that calls itself Islam. The Kheda Brothers are of the world of which heaven and earth are made. They face reality towards non. They have no personal aim or goal. They would be content to lay down their lives for the cause for which they lived in the confusion of all else. It is, therefore, well with them. But surely a better one would be found by such servants of God than to bury them alive.

A word to the Kheda Khedwargar. They are on their trial. Let their heart be hard the prophetic words of Gandhiji from the same article from which we have already quoted.

"It is the last hour the Kheda Khedwargar place names to the sound they profess to believe non-violence was certainly not in their hearts. The proof will soon come. If they seriously and faithfully follow the constructive programme, there is no danger. They will be found among the harvest of men when the test comes."

Non-violence has no depend up on others' assistance. It is its own soul and soulion. It conquers through meanness, suffering and what may look like defeat. It never fails.

Datta, 21-3-47

PRABHAKAR

KHAN BROTHERS AND THE KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS

With reference to the communique issued by the N W F P Government in which allegations had been made about a plot, in which the Red Shirts in Hazara District had been implicated with collusion against the Government of India, Pandit Nehru, replying to a short notice question in the Indian Parliament on Saturday last, said almost other things.

'The Government have seen this communique with surprise and great regret. While the communique does not mention the Government of India specifically, the entire wording of the communique envisages that the Indian Union is a party to some plot against the N W F P Government and the Pakistan Government; and it is stated that money has passed from India to the Red Shirts. So far as they are concerned, the Government of India repudiate these allegations and they have made a strong protest to the Pakistan Government in regard to the statements contained in the communique of the N W F P Government which must have an important effect on the relations between the two Dominions.

'The Government have refrained from expressing any opinion so far as, related to the very latest happenings in the Frontier Province as well as the Tribal areas in the North-West because of their desire not to interfere in any way, with the internal affairs of other Governments. They have, however, noted these developments during the past year with increasing concern.

'It is well known that the Khudai Khidmatgar, or the Red Shirts as they are sometimes called, under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghafoor Khan and Dr. Khwaja, played a very notable part in the struggle for the freedom of India from foreign domination. The high courage, selflessness and patriotism of these leaders have been admired not only all over India but in other parts of the world. They showed a remarkable example of peaceful action, even under the greatest provocation, and set a standard which it was not easy to follow even in other parts of India. Khan Abdul Ghafoor Khan took the doctrine of non-violent action to the brave and warlike Pathans and passed their great energy into peaceful channels. Persecuted by the powers of India, he nevertheless accepted in all humility and publicly declared his adherence to the new order of things, claiming, however, that the Pathans were entitled to autonomy in regard to their internal affairs. He followed the policy of accepting Pakistan, but at the same time standing peacefully for the internal freedom of

the Pathans and it is regrettable that this attitude was combined with the greatest ignorance and readiness to believe that he can be associated in any way with any underhand activities. His outstanding qualities are straightforwardness, integrity, courage and a devotion to the cause of his people.

'While the Government and the people of India, having accepted partition and its consequences, legally shielded by these changes and did not wish to interfere with local happenings within Pakistan, it was impossible for them not to take the deepest interest in the fate of some of the bravest and largest soldiers of freedom that India had produced. They were distressed, therefore, at the news of happenings in the Frontier Province during which serious violence took place at the presence of Khudai Khidmatgar and their leaders were more specially subjected to treatment of a kind which one would not expect any Government to mete out.

'Khan Abdul Ghafoor Khan, a man of the highest standing for a generation past in India, has been kept in solitary confinement for over a year and his health has suffered greatly during this period.

'I do not wish to recount all that has happened in the Frontier Province during this past year and more, but the tale that has appeared in the newspapers from time to time is a sorry one. We have remained quiet and we have not had any kind of contact with the Khudai Khidmatgar or their leaders ever since the partition, but the sufferings of our old comrades of the days of our fight for India's freedom have distressed us exceedingly.

[Note: Since the announcement of the above, the Government of Pakistan have issued a statement saying that it did not suspect that the Indian Government was involved in the alleged plot. —Ed.]

NOTES

The National Week

This note will appear shortly before the commencement of the National Week. I take it that the Congress leaders will have made their announcement as to how it has to be observed. As I think of it, it seems to me that at this stage of our national life, the Hindu cause deserves to receive our first attention. In spite of injudicious measures passed in their favour, their social conditions continue to stagnate in an adverse form as ever. Those who have really shed untouchability are only a handful. The social structure remains in various bondage in getting water, admission into schools, occupations, and of course, temples.

The Madras Government announced some time ago in response to Mr. Shastri's hint to observe one day in a month as Harijan Day. In Maharashtra Mr. V. N. Bhave, President of the Provincial Harijan Sevak Sangh, has organised a sweeping programme for men and women of all castes and communities

an enormous task-master. One hundred is the right figure. The Marathi Wari girl is a good example to work such workers.

Wardle, 25.3.49

L. G. M.

Your Money or Your Life

Ganeras have made familiar the statement the hold-up-men present in his case the demand is for the one or the other.

In case of the runaway milk there is no alternative. It demands both money and life.

In 1947-48 there were about 1 crore of acres under production and 25% of the production went to the runaway milk. That means 25 lakhs of acres were earmarked for these milk. These lands can grow jowar and even acres of jowar land will easily support a family of five. Hence the producers of the runaway milk last year you got 125 lakhs of families that is more than half a crore scolded their food to live out of their mouths by these milk. Besides during the period lands had improved over 125 crore's worth of food stuffs. Is this not a subsidy to milk to release food lands for new materials?

J. C. K.

Shameless Work

Principal W. S. Fernando of Universal College, Pondicherry, Ceylon, who has been organising Shameless Work in Ceylon for some years past has issued an appeal from which the following is taken. — E. D.

We hereby request all to co-operate with us in observing the Shameless Work which falls on the first week of May every year. The following three principles have to be observed during this work:

1. To abstain from killing.
2. To take only vegetables diet.
3. To give rest to animals from 11.30 a.m. to 1 p.m. and to abstain from travelling in vehicles driven by animals during that time.

Further in order to increase food production in this country and to keep our fingers free gradually away from eating the flesh of animals, we hereby request all to plant as many food producing plants as possible commencing on May 1st at 6.30 a.m. and continuing throughout May and June.

Working Food at Railway Stations

The necessity is experiencing shortage of food. There is ill health due to bad feeding habits. These can facts can be helped through in a limited extent by controlling the feeding of food on railway platforms. All the restaurants house the vendors about themselves, houses at every station. During all times in domestic had. It makes the station platform a dirty, noisy, noisy every one a main poison.

It would seem simple enough to regulate the catering and have a set menu, hours, and during these hours, to make the train to halt longer at particular stations.

This will conduce to better health to check, not on the platform and in the carriage, and will generally make for orderliness. Will the railway management take up this reform also except the many it is seeking to introduce?

J. C. K.

The travelling public can only wish to think of bad service at the station. Some people want to give a severe reprimand to the railway management. But, these railways they are trying to drink up completely in all cases of the law and right while travelling. The main, the and unhealthy habit. They should also remember that no management can succeed in maintaining cleanliness if the people will not help it in the train. And the people are more to blame for the maintenance of our platform and carriage food than what they railway or municipal management.

E. G. M.

Veekhar-Jam

[Dear A. correspondents asked for an English translation of Gandhi's frequent hymn, *Veekhar-Jam*. The following is a free translation of it by Gandhi himself. — Ed.]

God's great name is his,
Who holds the whole of life to be his own.
No gods but he,
He speaks all of none,
He holds all this in his hand
He speaks well his speech
His presence and his thought
Always he speaks truth,
No faith not to hands on other men's promises.
Pure is he and alone
No self-interest, handspoke his eyes
His mind is drawn away from worldly things
No love, no ill desire, nor his soul
He loves well the name of God,
He says that well that God's most sacred thing
Is man's own body
Ganeras is he and free from coming
He yields not to water
One such man
Brings by his presence purity
To all around.

MATTHEW

REVIVAL OF MODI

The same missionary spirit which maintains itself in using Urdu is so to speak to work from the opposite direction in the Urdu recently issued for re-introducing the Modi script in the Bombay Province. In Modi he made the script of the Marathi language to that document, splendour, not matter be presented in that script as they used to be about a generation ago? Personally, I know Modi much better than I do Urdu. Hindi, without Urdu, I can hardly decipher intelligently. Modi letters and documents I can read and write with greater ease, but as a script it is infinitely lighter and more pleasing. It is not so short (i.e. space) as shorthand or even Urdu and though more complex than the Urdu, still it is compact. Like the Urdu, it has its own scenic beauty in calligraphy which one may achieve as an artist in a museum but not when it comes to reading manuscripts and letters written in it. And yet there is enormous and experience thousands written and printed in the Urdu script. This cannot be said of Modi. It was never the script for newspapers, magazines or books, even when it was widely prevalent.

But while Hindi is sought to be revived, Urdu has been condemned and opposed on the ground of its incomprehensibility and dogmatism and to ask all children of Hindustan to learn both the scripts is regarded as too heavy a burden. Is not the issue of simplicity for ideas and easiness of pronunciation quite obvious? How is the Marathi language and literature going to advance further by continuing to Hindi?

How many arrangements which could be made simply and naturally are turned into problems for us which lead us into unnecessary problems. Instead our approach towards them is not non-violent but one based on hatred and narrow egotism? Linguistic problems would be a natural accompaniment if it were freed from provincial bias, as also the question of the second language and script could be solved as a matter of convenience. But we have committed every one of these by polemic, that is narrow approaches.

Our aim must be to reduce the number of existing scripts. If the alphabetical order of the different Indian scripts is the same why do we not seek a way to reduce their number? One can understand different ways of writing when the scripts are based on different systems like Nagari, Devanagari and Urdu. But why should the Marathi language have two different scripts, while Hindi-Urdu-Devanagari which has always been written in two and even those scripts between, cannot be allowed to have three alternatives? My appeal to the scholars is let us be generous and compatible and make for unity.

Box 9-3-69

E. G. MASHRUWALA

NEW INDIAN POSTAGE STAMPS

Recently there was the news that a new archaeological series of postal stamps is to be issued in the near future. It will depict the Glory that was India.

It would be cruel to deprive Indians of the satisfaction of being proud of their past. It is particularly so at this juncture when they had set about to rid themselves of the gloom of their heritage.

But this sport, it is legitimate for us to look to the past only? The Government and the people of India dream of a new order. That is to say they look to the future. Certainly the past is to be taken into account. But if the future is to be secured, stress on everything done by the people in the Government should be placed on the future aspects of things. If this is admitted and it carried as its logical conclusion in respect of a new series of stamps the series should symbolise and depict various patterns which formed us, from day to day of our goal and of the ways leading to it.

Everybody and all concerned are unanimous in and insist on the importance of the constructive programme. It is fit and proper that all conceivable measures be sought to make the people construction programme conscious. So I suggest, with all the humility, that now that the series should contain symbols and pictures depicting the conscious and ideal behind them of the constructive pro-

gramme. I suggest again to add something to regard the importance of the constructive programme and/or the past that such a series may play a role or influence in making people constructive-minded.

One thing more and I have done. The denunciations in this series will be in English and Hindi and the word *INDIA* will be in English as revealed by the specimen. There also we should move from the past and the present (English and Hindi) which has never influence in the future (Hindustani). As the two there may be indications of the respective areas of the programme. As herein the denunciations may be in corners — two scripts in two corners and word *HINDU* in the middle.

S. M. MISHRAJALAL.

[Note — The suggestion derives to be considered Indian old achievements in art, use of some great and many and worthy to make our first proof of it we depict only the past, we are able to show only a little out of the new self undevoured by time. The Jews have possessed that their spiritual riches ought to have found a place and when the Jews are studied, some others are well equipped of having been inspired. Even after every important representatives of the past are has found its place it will still be a dream long more sustained and cherished. The past memory is not even twenty thousand years old, while the future India is a subject. So it is better that we think of the future and give pictures of our dream of Sarvagya which we wish to achieve to-gether. All of all things present things perfect pictures disappear into the night and it is in this that the people as well as the foreigners should see things continuous depicted on the stamps. If we want to grow more bold, more rich, we might show the plough, the chariot, the handloom, the cotton, some etc. These implements deserve places of honour in preference to buildings and stone images, however imposing and serene.

On the question of script I think the Roman script should also appear along with Nagari and Urdu.

Wardha 18.1.68

— E. G. M.

FROM VINOD'S SPEECHES AT THE SARVODAYA CONFERENCE-1

INSTEAD OF THE CONFERENCE

The progress of the Sarvodaya week meeting in a Conference spirit marks the forming of united minds. Of course when friends meet they do discuss various matters and exchange views, and hence there can be no objection in adding that aspect also in the purpose chosen. But I attach less importance to exchange of views through the medium of speech than to that silent communion which takes place when people with like aims and faith sit together in a common atmosphere overcharged with a common ideal. The unarticulated opinion which we have just finished discussing may point the right of each opinion rather may be better rather than these days. But I think for them. So, when I see a gathering of men and women assembled to see together, I experience a natural eagerness which may well be turned usefully. To me

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MARIJINA GANDHI)

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TWO ANNAS

NO CONSECRATION BUT DESECRATION

At the time of the consecration of Gandhiji's ashes the question was raised whether the ashes should be used as whether a portion of the ashes should be set apart for distribution to individuals and communities. After long debate the former course was adopted as it would be contrary to the known wishes and the spirit of Gandhiji's teachings as his last commands became the basis of unadorned and worship and possibly give rise to unwelcome examples, quarrels and disputes such as have disturbed many homes since the death of the great prophet, great men and women in the past. Above all there was the danger of vested interests being excited on the remains of one who was an avowed opponent of sacred manures of all kind and form. But a conclusion was made in the case of close sympathy on those whose devotion and dedication to his ideals carried them to special consideration, and robes of sanctity of ashes were allowed to be assumed by them as souvenirs for personal use, as an aid to meditation and further dedication to what he stood for in life. There were some who questioned the wisdom of making any exception but ultimately they decided to face the risk. It seems their fear was justified. A friend writes from Calcutta to Shri Charan Gandhi:

During my recent visit to various temples I noticed that some religious of Rajput Park Ganga Taliganga (Bengal) had heavily occupied some hollow lands at Taliganga and constructed here there without the knowledge and permission either of the Government or the owners of the land, and that they had styled this unlawful colony as 'Gandhi Nagar'. Not only that they announced that they had collected and scattered some ashes of Bapu and are now collecting money for maintaining these ashes (I don't know how these people could get Bapu's ashes. I shall be grateful if you could enlighten me on this matter). I feel that nobody should be allowed to make such capital out of Bapu's ashes or to make it a commodity of personal interest.

The facts, if true as reported are disgusting. The "ashes" in question, it is clear are either dried or have been slightly or unconsciously steamed, and are now being put to unbecomingly and improper use. No permission, formal or informal, has been obtained from the next of kin as from the Gandhiji National Memorial Trust, or

any other responsible person so far as one knows for what is reported to be done.

Let us hope that those who have been misled will cease this action, will reduce their number and insure that steps to be up to the public to prevent Gandhiji's memory from this violence. They should refuse to use the shrouds or subscribe to the fund, that is, and so be saved and thus become party to the condemnation of one whom they revered. It will equally be the duty of our local authority to get the shrouds removed and notify the illegal company. To do so would be no mean to the ashes but endorsement of Gandhiji's wishes and a big education to the people. What is reported to be taking place is no consecration but desecration.

Datta 20-3-45

PUNJAB.

MANURES AND FOOD

Few people realize that the quality of the health, growth and reproduction of plants, animals and human beings depend a great deal on the quality of manures that are fed to the soil. When we put manure into the soil, we are feeding the soil and so the animals that eat the food that grows in the soil will also be manured, and the products of the soil are usually the basis of the requirements of animals and man. The cycle is not complete here if the soil produces good food for animals and man, then food when digested and excreted back to the soil again is also a better soil food, thus the circle of goodness goes round and round rising to a spiral for the benefit of plants, animals and human beings. There is an old saying "Who feeds well manures well." We may put it a complement of this. "Who manures well feeds well," thus completing the whole process.

With the development of our soil technique, the farmers also have deteriorated in their health, and with the deterioration of their health they have lost the energy for the saving power to cultivate well. They have not been too devoted to manure, conventional or chemical or both, as they should be with the result that our whole agricultural produce has gone down in quality and quantity. We have to regenerate our agriculture. Many have thought it is to solve this problem by the introduction of mineral or chemical fertilizers.

A STIMULANT

Mineral fertilizers do not feed the land. They merely assist it to a certain extent like a stimulant and thereby a sparsely increased production

without a proportionate increase in the nutrient values, with the result that mineral deficiencies progressively diminish the health of animals and men as the food produced on fertilizers are not products of a soil that has been fed but one that has been merely stimulated. This effect has been brought out by many experiments which have led to the following conclusions:

1. Animals fed with wheat grown on land fertilized by inorganic manures were relatively stronger though their weight may be less than of those nourished with manure grown on lands fertilized by chemical manure.

2. Eggs brought upon lands grown on fertilized manure fed more egg than those brought upon lands from naturally fertilized lands. Though the latter were heavier, put the larger number of the heaviest were thin, weak in quantity as well. The birds brought up on the former were stayed out of their pen longer than the birds brought up on the latter feed, thus leaving manure to their greater ready than the weakly of the eggs of the birds fed on grain from fertilized manure was greater so that the larger percentage of weak eggs were hatched and few of them were spoiled by fungus.

3. The manure produced from the excreta of poultry fed from grain raised on fertilized manure was very effective compared with the manure of birds fed on grain raised on fertilizer lands, showing that the quality of the manure itself is influenced and improved, even growth in the form of seed and feed. In this way the fertilized manure produces a cycle which leads to a mutual improvement from production to production.

Apart from these experiments it was also noted that when animals are given a chance of choosing between food that is grown on artificial fertilizers and the food grown on fertilized manure they consistently prefer the latter.

A DANGER

In our country scientific fertilizing of our land by mineral fertilizers is an responsibility as we have not got sufficient soil chemists who can analyze samples of soils sufficiently extensively to be able to feed the soil accurately even of artificial manures as to be avoided. Any excess loading of the soil with such minerals creates danger of all kinds. Many experiments have been carried out which show the danger of an excessive mineral content in the soil. The data obtained by Prof. Rose of Manchester demonstrates that an excess of potassium in the soil is likely to lead to diseases such as chlorosis (magnesium or calcium of the blood) as well as to potassium. He observes "In comparison with the potassium nitrate fed animals they showed a tendency, a pronounced inclination to excessive potassium, somewhat chlorosis." He also states that in recent years chlorosis has increased in human beings to about four times as earlier prevalence.

DIETARY RECOMMEND

The many experiments done that have dated out show that the seeds and leaves and the leaves of plants fertilized with substances increase the capacity for disease resistance when fed to animals as compared with seeds and leaves of naturally fertilized plants thus showing that the manure not only improves the soil necessary for the consumption of manuring process, itself for use the animal bodies pushing out to man himself. Therefore, a balance mixture of as to take care that each feed as we eat is grown on land fertilized with fertilized manure and not with chemical fertilizers, especially where there is a danger in our land of excessive application of fertilizers for lack of soil analysis. It is not only the farmer who is interested in the manure, but perhaps to a larger extent the consumer should be made conscious of this as it is he who is likely to suffer by food raised on artificial fertilizers.

MEDICAL USE

Taking advantage of this effect, doctors are now treating their patients on food which is grown on fertilized manure which are generally called "Biodynamic products." Such foods are used to affect the functioning of the stomach and increase liberality. A German doctor writes, "I have recommended these products to patients with many stomach trouble and sluggish intestinal activity and they have been extremely enough to get over these ailments without medical treatment." "My wide experience as a doctor with many patients has convinced me that especially with artificial diet the biodynamically treated products are preferable in every way to those which have been obtained with chemical fertilizers."

Clarence Aldrich, the famous physiologist, wrote, "In connection with various diseases of man and animal it has frequently been desirable to trace them back to the method used in fertilizing food plants." "Though we may not be able to say anything very definitely yet as regard to these matters, it is clear that soil bacteria do play an important part in relation to our health. We have, therefore to consider whether it is worthwhile to disturb the complex of soil organisms by bringing it straight to the form of potassium nitrate and by using lime and phosphate acid, as does Dutch and hinder the working of the soil bacteria."

The Government of India is spending over 25 crores of rupees in a fertilizer factory in Bihar and in Travancore also a large fertilizer factory has been established. It is true that the Food Department takes up the case on behalf of the consumer. Already our people are threatened by diseases of malnutrition. Now we wonder the health of our people by introducing chemical fertilizers? This is a grave responsibility. We hope the Health Department also will combine with the Food Department and set things right in the Agricultural Department.

J. C. KUNABAPPA

FROM VINODH'S SPEECHES AT THE SARVODAYA CONFERENCE—II

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

Our treatment of Economic questions will be the practical and down-to-earth. I did everything with my feet firmly and consciously with the regularity and enthusiasm of a praying devotee, that, nothing, I would have been at it still. But it was village sweeping. It is much easier than sweeping in a town. The latter is too swift to be a lasting occupation. At one of the meetings of Sarvodaya in New Delhi, Shri Jagannathan, the Labour Minister, definitely advised the Sarvodaya to give up this occupation as too swift for a human being. One of the arguments which he advanced was that through every other occupation was accompanied an amount of keen competition, as much as that even business, look to the competition of both-having and also working (one) which is automatically accompanied, the Sarvodaya had no need. The reason was that in self-respecting person considered it as worthy of man. Shri Jagannathan asked my opinion on the matter and I could not but agree.

You all know Shri Apperiah Paimattur. He had offered Sarvodaya to be the paid in order to be allowed to take part in sweeping work, after his release he took to this work as a hobby. But he told me that the work was too difficult and he had to accept defeat in a few days. Indeed it was a work which was too much a human being to do by only depending him a money, and then expecting him to do to the substance of everything else. The Sarvodaya must be accompanied from the secondary nature. It can be done only if we all take part in this work and improve it so that it can be performed by every one.

LEGISLATION

With this and Shri Apperiah suggested that the proper meeting of this the Law would be Sarvodaya (Right of the Law) rather than Sarvodaya. Of course the last one's spirit is included in the spirit of all but in emphasizing upon the last, the object of that work should begin from that and I agree that the Manu should be our last concern. But the word Sarvodaya should stand by it is not that all others have been rejected and only the Manu remains. In this unfortunate world of ours, we are all fallen and every one needs to rise. The rich is fallen long since and the poor has not risen at all. The need is that both need right. In one of his lectures Vinodh said "Lord, Thou alone knowest the right method of Grace. Thou reject away the weakness of the weak and the weakness of the great."

NOT POSSIBLE

I had referred to economic non-possibilities last year. Possibilities has to be removed in the same way as sweeping. The confusion of our country demands it. Confusion cannot be prevented otherwise. I agree I am all feeling growing between Marwadi and British. It is becoming more, because British have been making other plans of Sarvodaya. But we I will have as long as the present miserable condition of the country continues. Every well-to-do profession of food all feeling will grow between various sections of the people under some pretext or another. It might

take the form of a Hindu-Muslim disturbance now, Marwadi British rivalry tomorrow. Between Marwadi and British the day after but violence and hatred will not end.

If we want this to end for good, we must understand the necessity of the two forms of right life, namely physical labour (both physical) and non-possessions (Sparshadha). Every one must take part in physical labour and get a share in his possessions.

Possession takes various forms. Some have money, some have lands. Some do not have land themselves but allow themselves to do so for their contribution. It is like a man who will not till for himself, but will devote the name of a woman or his own country. In my opinion both possessions are equally bad and lead to non-possessions. For instance, the British though has got labour which it deposits in India. This is done in order to get returned. Obviously it has more lands than it is able to utilize for the needs of the shuffles. But how can lands be used to pay the interest? They employ the loans in various profitable industries. How look at the self-contribution being accepted for charity, namely the British though cannot convert its lands in India, although it is one of the richest of the countries progressing rapidly by it. But they can be well as returned through the weakness of lands in contribution. This contribution arises on account of our greed for possessing money even though it may be in the name of our contribution. The same is the story of the Marwadi Fund and it will be the same with the Gandhi Memorial Fund. Why do we need to collect so much money? If that amount is really necessary, it should be possible to spend it in one or two years. But this does not take place and so one sees the wrong involved in giving money by converting these lands in India. The reason is that we have been brought up in a society in which not to care interest is regarded as folly. This idea has to give up all possessions (non-possessions). This includes possessions of charitable institutions also. For if we go to let possessions in any form we have to collect all these things which are accompanied with possession by private ends.

CONTRAST

One more subject I shall touch before closing. The one availability of goods has been increasing as it treated as when controls were lifted, and sometimes in spite of their non-availability. It is saying hardship both ways. I have been thinking of it for a long time as I get plenty of opportunity of studying the subject in my travels. I once stated at Bangalore and also suggested to the Working Committee of the Congress that the hardship would be removed to a certain extent by collecting money in India. The difficulty of which can be solved only through this. This suggestion should be examined by you and if found good you should express your opinion upon it. If otherwise, it should be abandoned.

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

BAPU—MY MOTHER

By

Manabala Gandhi

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HARIJAN

April 10

1946

SCAVENGERS' DILEMMA

Severe staffing problems are being sent to me by writers and correspondents seeking their solution. The scavenger's dilemma is one of them. This involves a very delicate and indispensable service to society. The conditions under which scavenging has to be done in our towns and cities is so appalling that even the best of them who have fully woken to them for moral reasons would be unable to accept that service even for three times their current emoluments. And yet, except in large cities like Bombay, Ahmedabad, etc., a continuous and a very low paid service, though in other parts of India wages have gone high.

What should they do? In 1945 the scavenger of Mumbai organised a great strike. Referring to it Gandhi wrote in the Harijan dated 23rd April 1946:

There are certain instances in which strikes would be wrong. Scavenger's govt. strike came to this category.

He also advised newspapermen to leave the art of cleaning their own and the city's drains in the hands of a regular scavenger force, (that is, workers go on strike) they are not indispensable and can render the necessary emergency service. They may not be allowed to go on strike as to say that the sanitary who know this work should be used for such emergency."

Sympathetically with the above advice, he also told the newspapermen that

it is the duty of every one to speak out the hand of fellowship on the streets, educate them, see that they are properly housed, permit them like any one else to live wherever they choose, look to the matter of an equitable wage for them, and see that justice is served out to them without their having to demand it."

Referring to the last part, he wrote again on 12th May 1946:

I have often said that every kind of ignorance is rooted out in Mumbai. I have no doubt that scavenge do not hold their obligation to them. Thus it is their duty to see that the Harijan dwellings are built properly, the waste employed on cleaning are decent, that they have a special welfare system given to them, and that they and their children have facilities for education etc. These and other problems should be solved without loss of time.

The Mumbai may not go on strike for lack of their workers, but it is up to all citizens to see that there come no hindrance of them."

The last part of Gandhi's judgement namely that it is wrong for members of a service like that of scavenger to strike is wholeheartedly welcomed

by newspapermen. It was as if it were a "Dandl come to judgement". The second advice, namely, not to refuse to continue, but take to scavenging work themselves has also gone home to a certain extent and young men and women have prepared themselves for running a scavenger's strike if need arise. There have already been instances in which strikes have been successfully broken in some towns.

But what is to look to the third part of the advice? Gandhi had asked "every one" to see that service was treated not as Menial but as a crown of perfection, and the rule "every man's business is no one's business" is generally applied to that part. The newspapermen believe that they have elected a municipal committee to discharge that part of the advice and there is no need for them to bother about it.

And the poor municipal bodies! Their budgets are surely their needs are many. Scavenging is no doubt the most essential service of a town. But municipal bodies by run without a chief officer, sweepers, office-staff etc. and without a decent building and a meeting hall. And there have to be paid and built in accordance with modern standards. So after providing for these there is not much balance left for being divided among scavengers. Their number is so great that per capita share becomes almost negligible. So all talk about educating them and properly housing them and giving them an equitable wage etc. must be regarded at best as distant goals.

In face of Gandhi's ruling that members of an essential service like that of scavenging may never go on strike, what should the poor scavenger do if his conditions of service are not improved? Some one asked Gandhi, "Is the House to continue his service on starvation wages living in dirt and squalor? He gave the following reply in his question in the Harijan dated 22nd June '46:

"The question is appropriate. I think that in such cases the proper remedy is not a strike but a notice to the public in general and the employing corporations in particular that the scavenger must give up the scavenging service which compares those employed for that service, to a life of starvation and all it means. There is a wide difference between strike and its consequences (not improvement) of service. A strike is a temporary cessation in expectation of relief. Discontinuance is giving up of a particular job because there is no expectation of relief. Proper discontinuance presupposes far more on the one hand and prospect of better wages and freedom from squalor and dirt on the other. This will make up accounts for the deplorable condition resulting in a proper scavenging of the city, growth that has smothered public conscience. As a strike the Mumbai will have scavenging to a time not and give it the status it should have had long ago.

"But", says the son of Yashwantrao, "in this Gandhi gave us an advice which we do not know how to

are open. He has drawn his shirt across where collar buttons, doors and windows, all look like windows, screens and garden paths. It always shall be free from this job and doing something else. The Harijan San Jagdish Ram, supported by San Vaidya perhaps are looking hopeful of the former employees coming into existence in the near future, have called only of the latter, and advised us to give up that wretched occupation altogether and take to some other work. But this too though full of kind sympathy for us leads us nowhere. What shall we do instead? Who is going to employ us? What profession will allow us to work with them? One or two of you might take a hint for a bright boy at once and give him a lift. But most of us are what we are—difficult to my men or half-men? We are supposed to be somehow related to the great Vedicists. It is said that he could not speak Sanskrit, and so rejected the system as *apara vidya* (the dead). It often seems to us that our case will die away in course of time before it is recognised. And so as we do not see any bright future, it is to be wondered at that words and other good practices about which you say so much, do not appeal to us—and we are rather disposed to go in for vice and for strikes, sabotage and mischief of this type? Have you anything to offer which we can take up immediately?"

I have put the case in my own language because it is the aspect which has troubled me for some months—not only in respect of the language problem but also of other similar problems like that of primary teachers, landless peasants, farm labourers, a part of refugees and others. Until they are helped through an effective non-violent method it would be difficult for them to resist the call to violence by the communists and the communistic workers. What can be offered to these people rather to calm them or to convert them non-violently? And one day I read somewhere in Shree's utterances the Gajanan proverb, "The father's tongue might lead to give one support, but the mother's clasp will never." And it came to me that Sage had already indicated the solution.

I shall explain this more fully in my next

Wardha, 24-3-49 K. G. MANDWALA

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REPRESENTATIVE MUSLIMS ON HINDOOSTANI AND URDU

It is unfortunate that the following appeal from 41 respectable Muslim signatories from all over the Indian Union did not receive the wide publicity it deserved. It will be evident from the appeal that they do not press the claim of Urdu under the name of Hindoostani. They have readily accepted Nagari as the principal script of Hindoostani and say that every Indian, whatever his mother language, must know it. Their plea for the recognition of the Urdu script also deserves sympathetic consideration. —KAKA KALEDKAR.

The Committee appointed by the Hindustani Prachar Sabha to press the claims of Hindustani has published a representation made to the members of the Constituent Assembly urging the adoption of Hindustani as the national language and of Devanagari as its principal and Urdu as its second script. We heartily endorse the arguments as well as the conclusion set forth in this representation, and sincerely hope that the members of the Constituent Assembly will consider it objectively and impartially, in view of the significance their decision will have on the development of our national life.

For centuries past it has been the privilege of a relatively small number to acquire education and so use their language as a means of literary expression. The democratic ideal of the Indian Union requires that the national language should possess the widest currency, not only as a *lingua franca* but in fact, and should derive its vocabulary and idiom from the living speech of the people. Literary Urdu has not lately got Persian and Arabic, and Hindi too much on Sanskrit. Thus both Urdu and Hindi draw their sentences and sentences from languages that are not commonly spoken in India, and that are too standardized to borrow freely from other Indian languages or from each other. But Hindustani, which is clear, bare and popular form, has both character and flexibility; it is modern, like all progressive languages, having taken words freely from Sanskrit, Arabic, Turkish, Persian, modern European, and Indian languages, and it has an individuality which stamps itself on all that it borrows. It was because of its representative character and its clarity, broad nature that Mahatma Gandhi advocated its adoption as the national language. We sincerely believe that Hindustani will be among the most potent means for promoting harmony and ensuring cultural co-operation. It is Hindustani alone that can create organic unity out of the diversity of Indian languages and cultures.

As regards the script, we readily agree that Devanagari should be declared the principal and Urdu the second script for the national language. Devanagari represents the largest common element of Indian tongues and every Indian, whatever his mother-tongue, must know it. Urdu has been an alternative script for Hindustani, wherever Hindustani has been current. It deserves recognition for historical and social reasons, and at the present

groves. It would have been no much better if it were done as it was in other parts of the country—in Tiruvannam, Madurai, Tiruchendur and Tirunelveli—by the free will of the people. It is rather sad that one should have a serious portion of our people so unlettered, but I hope that when all that has happened, the people concerned will realise their mistake and will then now welcome the Harijans as their equals, particularly in the Temple—the House of God.

However, it is heartening to know that groups of Harijans from all over Madhavai (now Sankaranthi) have been visiting the temple daily in good numbers for a month past with the cry of *Shankar-shankar* on their own leaders. It is hoped that when a little more time these people will welcome the Harijans worshippers with open arms. All is well that ends well.

New Delhi,

RAJESHWARI DEHIND

LET US BEWARE!

Let us beware that although we have landed on the shores of liberty we are not yet on the road to a national welfare or prosperity. In fact the Congress is just on its feet for its survival month and counter-attack today. It is one thing to create a people temporarily in a national cause, it is quite another to maintain hold over them during normal times. The latter can only be achieved by nation-building activities of far-reaching consequences, so that the mass in the report would appreciate the difference between the British rule on the one hand and the Congress Raj on the other.

For this we must build up public opinion of national consciousness on the broad basis of equality for all, where there is no room for any narrow caste or communal spirit. The recent outbreak of communal fury in the country was neither without a cause nor without a lesson. It has only too well revealed to us, as indeed sundry other would have, how deeply the communal psychology had been poisoned by the foreign rule. It had shown the present policy as it was designed. But let us hope and believe that much of the armed poison is already vomited out and that the national spirit has already in the process of healing. Should there be any of conservatism be allowed to run on ugly head again, we shall only be repeating history at our own loss. The only chance of its infection are of national freedom lies in destroying communalism root and branch, in way from wherever, and building new links on the bed-rock of national unity. Once that is achieved, we are as formidable as the Hindutvas themselves.

And this can be achieved only by right education, through the school the press, the platform, the pulpit and the radio given earnestly and unreservedly. It should extend throughout the length and breadth of the subcontinent. If the history of the Congress rule in India is not to be nightmare, this is the greatest work lying before it.

And it is not in the field of religion only that dangerous forces work. They are active in other forms also. Here, for example, have the Indian provinces and States behaved towards the free kids of religious persecution in our midst? How many men and women have opened up their doors of hospitality to these orphaned children of the Master, their *Asramas* broken in blood? Are not

the sufferings of these unhappy people possible enough to see their hearts? On the contrary, whether we cast a glance we would witness abundance of these people. While formerly it was religious communities that were growing in the midst of Indian nationalism, it is now persecution, religious less dangerous as crime is hardly argued well for the nation that even the leading spokesmen of the Congress at this most crucial hour in the history of the nation, should write the decadent tale of linguistic divisions of the country. Let it be remembered that when the Congress announced the principle of linguistic provinces and universities there were no religious from various provinces. The necessity of properly articulating them requires a reconsideration of the principle. Will it help Government (now already too hard a task of religious intolerance)? Will it be at all for the good of the nation and solidarity among the masses that we need today? Will it hurt every Indian citizen? Evidently not. The step is scarcely cognisance.

Quoting, therefore, my concerns provincialism and say the end is bad, it will undo all government efforts to establish the confidence of the country. Linguistic will help provincialism in its evil growth, and once it spreads over the country and gets hold of the people's heart the resulting consequences will be as terrible to imagine as those of religious intolerance! Should that happen the focus of unity is hard-earned, will slip away through the fingers and the masses shall find itself in emergency as ever before.

But the time is not gone yet, given fullness of on all sides we can achieve more in the shortest span of time. Only let us beware!

HEMANTHAN N. MANCHANDRA

OUR SMALLER FRIENDS IN AGRICULTURE

[Note.—The main Manthika specially obtained the following words by Dr. Gilbert Fowler, the veteran scientist and biochemist of oxpeas and a co-worker of the late Sir Albert Howard. He is also an authority on Economics. Though now over 80 years old his enthusiasm and industry are as great as ever. If I remember right, the regular visitors of the Harijan masthead have seen some of his contributions to their columns. During this Manthika Datta's editorship. The article is published this week in view of the All-India Food Conference at Poona on the 12th and 13th instant. —K. G. M.]

Many years ago when I was in charge of the sewage treatment works of the great city of Manchester, England, I had occasion, to learn a good deal about the habits and needs of our smaller friends. In the first place I was concerned with those so small that I could only see them after careful examination and examination under high magnifying power. These were known as bacteria and looked only like tiny lines and spots under the microscope. Millions might be present however in a cube-inch of what was known as a bacteria bed. The kind of stream into which the sewage was led for its purification. These were actually concrete tanks filled with bacteria, fragments of plants or food substances known as "dinkers". The sewage was run on to these "beds", allowed to rest there for an hour

to rise and then run out. In course of time the necessary bacteria developed in sufficient quantity to purify the sewage wash of the company remaining in the bed while a clear and purified "effluent" ran out. In due time other and larger septic tanks found a home in the bed and helped to maintain, or transform the accumulated deposit. The most important of these tanks were those known as "saggy" overflow tanks, viz. the humble anthems. One need not connect back to them and to the microcosmic bacteria, viz. air. Unless the bed was carefully controlled, so if the amount of sewage to be treated was more than the bed was capable of doing, it tended to become "clogged" with the accumulation of impurities or "sludge" so that neither air nor was not possible to meet the needs for the purifying activities of the bacteria maintained. The occurrence of such a state of things became manifest when hundreds or thousands of such worms suddenly appeared on the surface of the broken ground. This was a very striking example of what is going on under the surface of any area of fertile soil.

The bacteria which are present there as in the original bacteria bed used to purify the sewage in relation, while the worms kept having their way throughout the whole mass of the solid and easily pass the finer particles together with the attached organisms through their bodies with the production of well-disposed faeces, the fundamental excretion birds and in fact after a period the bacteria beds were "washed up", and the houses were drying because a septic system for which we actually had enquiries from the fine blown papers of Canada. Thus we may understand the great backward upon these lively friends by their famous observer Charles Darwin in his charming book *Papilio Haud and Lichens*.

The plough is one of the most ancient and most valuable of these inventions, but long before he sowed the seed was in fact regularly ploughed and soil moisture to be then ploughed by earth worms. It may be doubted whether there are many other animals which have played so important a part in the history of the world as have these lively unassuming creatures.

It may well therefore be considered in what way are we encouraging the helpful activities in the present days of agricultural dearth and difficulty, of these lively friends, whom a modern writer has termed the "plough of God". In the U. S. A. there are stated to be some ten or eleven big commercial concerns, firms from which large consignments of worms are sent out to farmers, these services were needed, e.g. to help recover the lands in Holland's Under Sea flooded and destroyed during the German invasion.

How in India it would seem they grow and areas of crops are being sown in the construction of works to produce a natural "fertiliser" ammonium nitrate, the natural element of which,

this nitrogen, can be produced in the form of ammonia or waste by our microcosmic friends the bacteria. On the other hand the ammonium nitrate tends to make the soil acidic and thus it itself destruction to the structure of our human producers the anthems. It may well be considered whether if the enormous expenditure of money and energy called for by the State Fertiliser Factory had been expended in the recovery and utilisation of all the available and useful waste materials capable of furnishing not only nitrogen, but also the many additional components of a complete plant food, results of a much more immediate and permanent value would not have been achieved.

It must be remembered that the Chinese farmer of whose competence there can be no question, has managed so far successfully for forty centuries without an ounce of factory-made sulphur of ammonia.

Actually, as they require though nitrogen is an essential element of plant food many other elements are necessary if a crop is to be raised with real success both in quantity and quality. Apart from the other two well-known elements phosphorus and potash, modern research has shown that if the crop is to be wholly satisfactory and the soil to remain fertile many other elements must be present if only in minute quantities in traces. The requirements can only be fulfilled with reasonable economy if the "law of nature" is usually followed, i.e. that everything taken from the soil must be returned thence. The Chinese farmer has consistently obeyed this law. All waste both of man and animals are returned either directly or after decomposition with the residues of crops, fallen leaves and droppings of man and all other natural wastes.

Here in India such a movement has been energetically set in motion with the warm support of Gandhi while he was still with us. It would be a sad pity if a government so concerned with a country's food and at the same time based on fundamental scientific research, should in any way hindered through expenditure of available money and energy on one issue only of the general question, concerning which, moreover there are many doubtful features.

Bangalore, 25-3-48	GILBERT J. FOWLER	
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TWO ANNAS

HIGH COMMITTEE ON LINGUISTIC PROVINCES

I was unable to welcome the High Committee's report on Linguistic Provinces with the enthusiasm which has been accorded to it by some of the Congress papers. Instead of putting us and its conclusions and opinions at long intervals. The principles which it has set forth and the counsel which it has given are good but it heads over the jump, and to agitate when it combines in so many words "More understanding what we have and share, if public sentiment is intense and overwhelming the prerogative of sending public demand with its implications and consequences must be examined" and also, "we as democrats have to submit to a law subject to certain limitations in regard to the good of India as a whole."

Agitation has to take up the clue and work it up!

Everyone knows that, in a democracy, ultimately every government has to submit to public opinion. But in a democracy there are two ways of submitting to public opinion: one is to accept the public opinion and work it out, whether it is wise or foolish. The other is to say that such and such a thing is in our opinion, good for the people and we cannot do anything else, but if the public want something else to be done, we shall get out of their way, and allow them to choose their own agent. Having given a deliberate advice in the matter, the High Committee ought to have taken the second road and not the first. To the extent it accepts the suggestion of certain new provinces under certain conditions, it should have set down a programme for doing so and accompanied the passage of boundaries and linguistic areas and given its definite and decided word. The Committee is not of the same type as the High Committee. It consists of three members and duly elected leaders and representatives of the people with power to decide on their behalf. Instead, they have chosen to act as if they were merely secretaries of certain government departments or organisations, awaiting further orders of the most effective group.

The problems of the creation of provinces are of the same nature as those relating to consolidation and merger of States. The latter problems were all solved at high level and the people have accepted the arrangements with faith. The reason is that these problems are too intricate and subtle for

the ordinary people to understand. They leave them to their leaders. How may we put this at Hyderabad, decide whether they should be in Gujarat or Maharashtra? Gujarat's agreement will close the former. Maharashtra, the latter. If the members are not decided at high level, the people can only be that both must rule at the top of their voices and hold a hundred meetings and send one hundred reports to the Press. And these reports would be read by far away people who will conclude what public opinion is according to the reports they have come by. Is it a democracy that we seek to create or government? Surely this was a much simpler problem for the three talented leaders than the more they have involved history without waiting for the development of "intense and overwhelming" sentiment!

Week-end 9-4-49

K. G. MADHUSWALA

PALL OF CABINETS

Recently the Prime Ministers of Madras, Bihar, Madhya and East Punjab have had all to say for the want of adequate support by the members of their respective parties. A similar thing had taken place in Madras some before and also in West Bengal. From what accounts appear in the Press it does not appear that these changes involve anything more than changes of influential power-seeking politicians. There is very little chance of any change in the policy or programme of the administration of any of the provinces by reason of the retirement of one group and the maintenance of another. And so beyond personal subjects for group or party sake, the changes in these governments do not mean anything substantial in terms of people's conditions. Surely, new ministers might be expected to get experience on the people day-to-day affairs. The game of politics goes on because in Indian States in the pre-Independence period there was no party government.

I understood that the various Congress Assembly parties have a rule that the election of the leader has to take place every year. I have not been able to see the written behind this rule. It is not difficult to see its inadequacy. If the Assembly is elected for four or five years the election of the leader for one year only may mean uncertainty of policy and no independence, time to place particular interests, and compromise of those of power and position, and too much expenditure of time in party lectures, parties, etc. instead of serious, day-work and attention to one's departmental work.

The last of our "Broomfield" men has returned to the ranks of the Assembly with others to give a better insight into the "Broomfield" men. The work given them seems to be in evidence.

Indeed more of the members of the three Cabinets that have fallen have the reputation of being men of high principles and character, ability and vast experience, and their disappearance from the administration is hardly in the interests of the people. But politicians have their own special points of view which laymen cannot understand and I am not better than a layman in this respect. All I can say is that these men do not retire well for the country or the Congress organisation.

Wardha 5-4-45

K. C. MATHURWALA

THE PROBLEM OF WAR

Struggle is as old as life, but war would be regarded back to the origin of civil life. It is not a law of nature, nor even a law of human nature, but all the same it is a purely human phenomenon. Animals fight against the members of other species. Man is unique in committing mass murder of his own.

Is war the natural outcome of man's nature? There have been people who believed so, but a study of the problem of war shows that it cannot have become man's work or his craft. Such a work has varied from an absolute zero to a limited maximum. History shows it. There is no example.

All war is calculated to secure an exact aspect being the physical suffering but reckless throwing of all the heat and hatred in mankind. Motives of right and wrong, good and evil are reduced to this biological righteousness of victory and weakness of defeat. The ends are all important and means of no consideration.

There has been for long an agreement with regard to the ultimate human goal. Peace is the common dream of all those who desire a better state of society. Every road to such a state is however blocked sooner or later by war. By threat of war and by preparation of war. With the advent of civilization ship and drift further and further away. All civilized countries are working. Relations are so complex of peace-loving men. European clearly war more than the Asians.

But is war merely a social disease? In order to study its causes and methods of prevention we have to go deep into the structure of the human mind. Broadly speaking, we have to know what conditions prevail in peace time that make the question arise whether the advent of war. War therefore is not a single problem but an amalgamation of many kinds of maladjustments.

First of all, commodities and man-maladjustments find war a welcome relief from the richness of peace. Life becomes more interesting for enjoyment of war industries, propaganda of the Government against the tyrannies of the enemy and various means of human. Artificial prosperity is enjoyed. All these factors provide comfort as well as excitement to

the common man. Hitler's "Warburg" Congress is but a manifestation of the effort the warlike forces always have to make. Such changes are used by divergent groups to justify their own but for public and I think a full view must, realizing all that is possible, be the least of every one of the things that are even like this. This is the effect of the war.

The main message of the day is a wrong type of civilization, and is significantly more satisfying. It is a good thing, it is a very simple message. The natural world possesses the idea of self-interest which cannot be, and emotion, its followers, is a kind of a thing. These are the things that are the disappearance of others.

Shared of this kind is when the preparation of war and ultimately the result of war is inevitable. In some cases not really because a single day, demanding adjustment and warlike. It is a human in strength, his soldiers in words. The feeling that follows is not a code for peace and not of civilization. It makes the lower in man. When the country finds it needs, even the "good" systems that a third of a day. However high the ideals of a nation, the process inevitably occurs during the war. Experience and observation of psychologists have proved that every man cannot but be the thing of things, including.

Some wars are fought for the sake of being valuable piece of territory, strategic point, or because from which it is easy to defend and to resist so much smaller, and some for the sake of furthering religious or political creed. In the latter case, there is the ideological motive permanent in doubt, but not without non-ideological considerations are the good for wealth and development with desire for glory.

In all war movements play a large part. The movement means that movement in that particular country are for purposes of defence only, when the same in other countries via a message to peace. Thus various words is spreading rapidly in the whole civilized world there is a race for their defensive movement. In such an atmosphere of hatred and suspicion, resentment and fear, even a small dispute may end in war.

The countries that work towards these movements must be called mainly weak. They are more play things in the hands of politicians. But for the development of newer type of armaments every defence which are now decided by war would be made by friendly negotiation. Today some countries which have no capacity for war have to work. Many such countries are over-populated, but a part of their population cannot engage in any other calling with an overabundance of time and lack of work, but it cannot fight for it in the right sense.

There is a large body of opinion today which believes in the outbreak of war, but no way but you have found to transport this greatest supply

of humanity. It signifies that a part of human nature? Is there a primary need to love and desire as there is to love or eat or drink? There are people who think otherwise because simple and uneducated people do not war. But if they have no war, nor do they have peace. In any case, unprovoked aggressiveness is not an inherent element of human nature. The aggressive is man, therefore, can be channelled into paths other than war.

War arises because of the conditions of peace. Peace is not a negative state in which conflict is absent. In peace disputes are settled by constitutional means. The basic cause which is fear and hatred, parents, fratricides there is the form of poor living standards, lack of prestige and opinion and prejudice. Every child requires their own-farmed products from the culture, education, newspapers and family conversation and all help to build them. Education for war is more openly carried out in many countries. Children are taught that human conflicts are natural enemies. These suspicions are, at times of war, exaggerated and the very time opportunity the child goes to combat against the hated enemy is welcomed by him. By a strong sense of logic these ideas are made to grow in others.

What the modern State needs to work for is, therefore, the betterment of the conditions prevailing in peace time. It should see that war is not a welcome relief from the barren, difficult and transient of life in the present. The good and peace-making in the life of the ordinary man must be killed as by making life more interesting. It could also be done by steadily increasing the individual's tasks. Variety in labour will be one important method. Any doctrine that wastes time and purpose to life will be immensely helpful. Wars, apart from all terrible evils they bring, being only a passing relief to the extreme. When they are over some of peace-making becomes all the more serious.

A new cosmology must spring which is more nearly corresponding to reality. War requires compromise, compromise and discussion, but men can live better only if they proceed in life through them. To achieve this ideal a new and better type of education for children and a kind of self-discipline for adults are necessary. Through them, aggressive tendencies formed in countries would in course of time find direction in relatively constructive channels.

The factor of inequalities of every sort must not be overlooked, but the teachers must see that this inclination of inequality does not result in black-white, Hindu-Muslim, or rich-poor classes. The State must see that every child lives in an atmosphere of comfort, self-respect and security. Respect, compassion and fair work towards the development of an inferior complex which later finds expression in compensatory cruelty. Time is ripe, therefore, for the emergence of a new cosmo-

nomy of men and women who should live and work together on the basis of love and freedom, devotion and happiness. We have seen for long now the nature of success that the disciples of violence have achieved. Their power has failed in the test of humanity. Following them will take us to the path of darkness and destruction. Let a new team lead humanity to its worthy goal!

SAVITRI NANDA

RELIGION, GOVERNMENTS AND POLITICS

When in England, America and Europe religion began to be separated from government and politics, the reason was that real religion had ceased to affect the individuals who professed it and that it had become more a sectarian popularity than a moral force, which should have affected the life and conduct of its followers. Thus it had lost its uplifting influence on its followers and had become merely a sort of communal and sectarian factor in human conflict. For this reason our Government is positively right in excluding it from politics and administrative activities.

The tendency to exclude religion from the public life is then based on the fact of the deterioration of the religious influence on the moral conduct of the followers of religion.

But if religion means the recognition and belief in the Universal Spirit which underlies the universe and all beings living here, and if its moral effect should be the moral uplift of its followers, and consequently a sense of peace and security among human beings, then there can be nothing more effective in raising society and civilisation, both governmental and social than incorporating real religion in all the activities of life. And the evidence of this factor means the deterioration of governments and social institutions through a lack and deterioration of belief in values which are really based on the essence of every religion when it is not misunderstood and misapplied. For where a sense of peace and fellow-feeling over these things that religion means even if educated persons do not profess belief in the Universal Spirit which is the duty. Because even if they do not believe in spiritual things they unconsciously accept the fundamental fact of universal life through their moral sense. Thus no Government or social institutions can properly function without religion in its proper sense. For a morally low people can corrupt society and governments whether they call themselves religious or not.

1-3-48

A STUDENT OF RELIGIONS

KEY TO HEALTH

By M. K. Gandhi

Translated by Dr. Subhas Nayar

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RESUSCITATION

I described the Moslems case at length in the last issue. But there are problems in which the confidence of life are almost as abject and apparently as hopeless as those of the Moslems, so far as prospects of improvement in the near future matter. For instance, the case of village landless labourers, tenants of landholders with very small pieces of land available to them, nomadic religious, the defunct government servants of Chhatisgarh and primary school teachers is no better than that of Moslems except that they are not equally oppressed like the Moslems. But the last two have a huge one advantage, namely that being regular employees they can go or choose to go on strike and have their grievances redressed to a certain extent at least. But whom will the landless labourer or the petty tenant or the defunct worker appeal to? The religious, for the time being, might be fed by the Government. But who is going to feed the agricultural workers, if he refuses to work? The development of violent movements among them is I believe due to not being given any remedy against their helpless situation. What they can do too little for their daily sustenance. If they give up that too there is nothing to fall back upon. If they go on strike, even though the labour is desperately needed, still as by their temporary suspension of work no debt and fifth conditions, no factory remains still running, a daily loss of thousands of rupees, and as schools remain closed, their strike is not regarded as a matter of urgency. Even teachers find it difficult to strike, because the closure of schools for a few days is not felt as serious as non-teaching or non-cleaning of houses and the stopping of factories, railways, ports, etc.

The masses in their hour of hours do not like violence and it never pays them in the long run. For even if a successful as hanging about the overtures of the Government in giving and giving disorder and chaos it entails destruction of someone property caused by land labour in course of partition and homelessness and displacement of thousands of people. Hundreds of side-linked can meet a violent death and the survivors are what the aged, the widow and the orphan. But the masses being ignorant and unthinking, are easily led into violence and under a temporary impulse of infectious courage, come into an injury for which they have no repair for a whole generation. And it will be seen that there among the masses who actually participate in violence belong to one or other of the categories mentioned above.

Unless they are able to see a non-violent way which will give them hope of a better future

and a consciousness of their own strength and the confidence that they themselves are the makers of their destiny they would be, more likely than not, susceptible to the epidemic of violence. I do not know if it has been realized that the government prepared both of commutation and commutation along with their movement to violence has been done through violence. And this has been done not as might be supposed as a part of the government policy but voluntarily and if necessary, secretly and at personal sacrifice.

The only way and non-violent way for achieving that that I am able to think of is through the charkha, and an association, the handloom. Let everyone who lacks his present conditions, hopefully had pled on with his present delinquency as best as he can but let him take by side take to handloom and handloom. And this he should do not for getting a few more paise (as it used to be said once) but for his own clothing. As much he need not give up his normal occupation nor should he give up trying to secure better terms for it, or to seek some other more lucrative occupation if possible. But he should devote his leisure to spinning and weaving, and forming a group of spinners and weavers of hand. After a time he and his group may find that as a matter of fact they are collectively able to spin and weave more than they themselves need. That will generate a consciousness of strength unknown to us at present. They will find themselves masters of an art, open to all and producers a commodity needed by all. Further, the adoption of the charkha, as the signature of their life in particular, will create an atmosphere and develop a mentality favourable for hanging about other social and moral values in their life. It will engender and unite them in a deeper way than a mere trade union membership can. All these factors will enable them to get better terms of employment in their normal occupations or in the alternative to give a goody to their vocations for good. They might also find that they can set themselves up as regular cloth producers. The erst All-India Spinners Association would have their come very long. Its membership would be larger than all labour or political organisations put together. It will be independent of employers in their own sphere, a brotherhood or trade union of their own, and at the same time it will be closely connected with several occupations of life—both rural and urban, mechanical and manual, productive and distributive. It would be an entirely non-violent and constructive movement, without more upheaval even when an occupation is abandoned for good.

Hand-spinning and weaving will I feel regenerate the poor, the downtrodden and the unemployed by making them do.

Weeks 1-4-48

K. G. MANNINGWALA

AYANTIKABAI GOKHALE

Death on 26th March 1949 of Shriam Ayantika bai Gokhale wife of Shri Heman Gokhale, the talented engineer at Maharashtra, has removed from our minds one more of Gandhiji's radiant associates. In Bhopal "widow family" she held a place all her own. She readily responded to his call when after the successful Satyagraha campaign in Champaran, he invited women workers to volunteer for service of the villagers in Champaran. Under Shriam Kankar Gandhiji's inspiring leadership she along with Durgabehn Desai and Manabhai Panchsankh up education and other constructive work in Moulmein. They ran a school for children and took up weaving and sanitation work, distribution of medical relief and education of destitute orphaned villagers as the basic conception of health and hygiene. That was before she birth of Bhamb. Before long they had earned the love and undying gratitude of the villagers and forged an indelible link between them and Gandhiji. I remember as late as December 1946, Gandhiji was telling a lady doctor whom he had long known, "Do not leave me Champaran. To serve Champaran is to serve me."

The experiments in Champaran embodied a special technique of village work which Gandhiji always contended to those who wanted to take up constructive work as a means for leading up a non-violent social order and which might well serve as a pointer to all future village workers. The essential point in this technique was that it had more stress on service through the spirit than material means. It meant completely getting under the skin of the village folk whom you wanted to serve and identifying your-elf with them in all their trials and tribulations, sorrows and sufferings. It is a queer member of the family and harmonising its life current whose vitality you had material, moral, and cultural or spiritual. To work on this programme in all simplicity he needed and evolved his own type of emancipated womanhood in which emancipation would not mean breaking down of the family and or treasury from the discipline of family life, but transmuting of family barriers and taboos into the more discipline of purity and poverty that would enable our women to move about in the salt of service freely and fearlessly in the midst of chaos and confusion without the aid of the established wall, which orthodoxy had prescribed for their protection. Shriam Ayantika bai Gokhale was an example par excellence of this type of emancipated womanhood. She was highly cultured and educated in the truest sense of the term. She was a devoted wife and a valued helpmate to her husband and supported everybody who came in contact with her, by her courage, forbearance, balanced judgement, serene practicality, purity and strength of character. An indefatigable worker and lover of Bhamb she would not for a single birthday of Gandhiji pass without sending him the offering of a piece of cloth woven from her own pen as a mark of devotion and duty towards him. Her passing away will be felt as a sore personal loss by members of Gandhiji's "widow family" but her example will live and lead

through and inspire us many a far-away traveller on the dusty road of service of the lowliest and the best.

Datta 4-4-49

HYABAL

NOTES

Harjan Day in Moller

It will be remembered that the Madras Government has decided to observe the 30th of every month as the day on which constructive work should be done for the Harijans cause. The last 30th accordingly saw the launching of this programme. Shri Potti Sreeramulu who was mentioned in bringing about this decision, writes from Moller:

The 30th was celebrated with great enthusiasm all over the province in Moller. Intensely the collecting and staff took great interest and made it very successful throughout the district. All those who doubted how this work could be done through the Government have a convincing answer now. The special feature in Moller was as follows: A government propaganda van and a police band accompanied people to the Moller were shown in process. They will continue throughout the district throughout the year. Harijans enthusiasm have so far been 100. Harjan women came to the temple. There was a dinner at all places. The Congress Committee, social organisations, temple trustees, women police, and many departments of Government took part. This month the time was very short. Next month every village in the province will take part in the programme. Also the M. L. A. and Ministers.

This is a programme, which might be undertaken by other provinces also.

Wardha 3-4-49

K. G. M.

Addendum

I do so regretfully which is regretted the modifying portion of Shri Vaidya's speech which appeared in the Harijan of 1-4-49 on page 33 was left out. Today reported in the subject treated in the speech it is regrettable how Shriam was expected to add it at the end of the speech on page 33.

-I D I

Please do not misunderstand me, I do not say that if we give up Bhamb we are engaged in violence and violence. But I do feel that if we come to regard Bhamb as an indispensable programme, social and violence or peace, which we look for to be danger.

We have been spanning our thirty years and have tried to make several improvements in the quality of the last year pass. But the last decade that has happened you will greatly trouble the worker who is working to make it or is persuaded to do it only at special rates. We must realise that this cannot go on forever. I have come to the conclusion that the difficulty of working can be remedied only by double teaching of the year. It is then early work, so that it can be woven even at home—and several of our self-sufficient what also be self-sufficient.

There must be that atmosphere around every construction which if it is not there you will not be able to create. Therefore, double work about you to any appreciable extent.

(Translated from the original in Marathi.)

THE SECOND STAGE IN KHAIN

Five years ago under the inspiration and guidance of Gandhiji the Charika Singh changed its policy of producing khain for sale into that of spinning for self-sufficiency and rural village uplift. The change was not appreciated and appeared by many. But the Charika Singh continued to pursue the new policy slowly and steadily. Last year it managed to disengage itself from the commercial khain completely and to confine itself to pursue the policy of self-sufficiency only. The former work was either transferred to approved institutions or the workers were converted into self-sufficiency centres. Of course it was difficult to say how far it would succeed and when things the new work would assume its course of progress. It required both technical knowledge on the part of workers as well as a clear idea of how to set about the work. The change was therefore slow. But it had begun and I am before the description of a fairly successful experiment in that direction. It will be instructive not only to khain workers engaged in similar work elsewhere but also answer the doubts of such khain lovers who will have misgivings about the wisdom of stopping the sources of commercial khain.

Khalai is a small spinning centre of the Karamak branch of the A. I. S. A. The village has a population of 750 divided in about 200 families. About two years ago the village women (all women) expressed a desire to learn weaving. Their object was to earn a better wage through weaving than what they could get through maize sowing. But the Charika Singh under its new policy wanted to encourage spinning and weaving with a view to self-sufficiency. Its representatives explained to the village people that they could have weaving taught to them if they undertook to spin all the yarn that was needed for the looms and consumed their own khain. The people agreed to the proposal and Shri Nishankharan a trained and skilled worker, who had once worked in the cotton and was known to the people, was deputed to the village. The task placed about fifteen months ago.

Shri Nishankharan set about the work seriously. At the end of the year as a population of about 750 while the number of families placed is 180. Eight women and two men have learnt weaving and together they weave all the yarn spun in the centre. The Charika Singh has provided eight looms out of the ten. During the last year 70 of the families have at least one khain piece of home-manufacture. Some have even three or four. The total production of self-sufficiency khain in the village has been 1000 sq yards including 30 sq yards for women. One family is completely self-sufficient.

Under the old system, the average production of khain per worker employed by the Singh was less than 10 sq yards per day. Khalai's production during the last year comes to about 3 sq yards per day but there is every hope that it will soon reach the old mark. But the more important

thing is that the relation between the worker and the people which formerly was similar to that between a commercial agent and artisan has been changed into that between a friendly guide and the peon. Formerly the village yarn was sent out for being woven, now it is all woven locally.

Along with spinning and weaving Shri Nishankharan has been able to introduce the following activities in the village during the year.

SPINNING AND HYGIENE

The village had no income before. Weaving was considered merely an outside by-line and held by the old and the young alike. They have now prepared long trousers in a few places near the village with plankmen placed over them and surrounded with fencing for privacy. For the present these are open only to women but the scheme will be extended for others by and by. The women of the village work their full share in digging the trenches and preparing the fencing. They also assist Shri Nishankharan in sweeping the village lanes. There is a weekly and monthly programme of cleanliness.

ANTI-DETA PROPHAGANDA

At the commencement of Shri Nishankharan's mission, about 500 persons (mostly men) were addicted to opium. It was not a dealer's home but was taken at tea-shops. There was no liquor-shop in the village but a few used to visit a neighbouring village where liquor and toddy were available. There was also an increasing demand for smoking cigarettes instead of betel. Shri Nishankharan's efforts resulted in the total abandonment of opium, as well as liquor and toddy. Cigarettes have also stopped and betel also promises to decline.

GROUP OF VOLUNTEERS

Shri Nishankharan has also organised a small group of volunteers who will assist him in all forms of social service. The Patel, the headman and an aged leader of the village give every encouragement and assistance to Shri Nishankharan and the latter got all obstacles removed through them.

EDUCATION

The males are literate, women are not. Their education was neglected because it was thought that it was no use educating them since they would possibly go to other villages after marriage. This idea has now changed and female education has made its beginning. A school was started in November. Shri Nishankharan has introduced spinning among the pupils.

The above account will be helpful to other workers. It shows that if khain has to stay at all, it can do so not for what it means in terms of money so much but in terms of self-respect and rural uplift. It also shows the object to achieve which the Charika Singh is desirous.

KHAIN-MAKER GANDHI.
(Secretary, A. I. S. A.)

(Translated from the original in Hindi.)

FROM VINOBA'S SPEECHES AT THE SARVODAYA CONFERENCE-III

IMPLICATIONS OF SARVODAYA

22-23, Paper meeting

The meeting and implications of the word Sarvodaya might expand in course of time but one of its meanings is quite clear. Human society could not have been created for conflict between man and man or clash of the interests of one with those of another. There ought to be differences of opinion among men because no individual person's experience and vision are partial and limited, and therefore his thinking will be imperfect. These apparent thinking should lead to perfect thought but not to differences of interests among them. But we have made life as if adjusted that there is also conflict of interests between man and man. We attach too much value to wealth and other virtues that we want to possess them regardless of the needs of others, even by crushing down those others. We attach more value to gold than to love. Owing to the importance attached to wealth, correspondence amongst mankind instead of becoming natural and easy has become extremely difficult and various moral systems have grown out of the wealth for their maintenance. But we are still working under democracy a method which will render all conflicting interests.

But there is one simple means which everyone can understand and practice. It is this. Have concern for others' needs and do not mind our own needs as a means to world-wide harmony in the other. This is the rule on which happy families are based and it should not be difficult to extend it to the whole society. Rather, it should be felt normally, easy and natural. The observance of this rule would contribute to Sarvodaya, and will lead to the discovery of more rules. For instance, it naturally suggests also the rule that one must not be misled by one's own ideas and not be a burden upon others. The way by which one's intellect does not run wrong anywhere, for instance, by someone obtaining a right over wealth produced by others. But it seems wrong by producing more wealth.

If the world adopts the two rules of selflessness and production without, it will pave the path to Sarvodaya.

VALUE OF PRODUCTIVE LABOUR

24-25, Paper meeting

Shri Gulabdas Mehta gave a very thought-provoking speech at the Conference today. I fully share his conviction about it. He asked his audience to be up and doing while there was still time as else they might lose the opportunity for ever.

Shri Mehta has spent his life working among labourers. I have passed my days writing among villagers. I have come to the same conclusion as he. The moral level of the people has been falling day-by-day. I for my part am pledged to do every thing as my power, so far as whatever is necessary, to raise that level.

Mehta called for a radical change. Nothing less would work. This means as I hear it, a revolution in thinking. The fundamental basis of our civilisation being man's change.

We are now living in a material civilization and that which is the primary right principle. The key issue is to want to have the material labour. I do not think that our population large as it is, is the key to be maintained in the country. If there are twenty mouths the hands too are twenty. But the hands do not labour with love they regard work as an affliction instead of as a privilege. For the hands do not produce their shapes but only want they miserably much. Everyone claims his full share for the wealth but not in the work to be done by the hands. The want of direction for work is a greater misfortune than that want of sufficient production.

I repeat that as we approach labour is the life and never is want of labour an excuse for neglecting work. If it is Sarvodaya as a day of observance we must have a holiday, we would also have work, if it is a day of labour, say Friday, as a sacrifice in the hands of the hands of a son, or the birthday of Gandhi. We do not wish to work if there is a death or an anniversary of death of a family member or wife of our Gandhi. If we have a guest in the house, or the arrival at a great leader in the town it is a sufficient reason for us to neglect work. In short we would not let in a single moment of idleness. We would have an opportunity to keep our hands idle.

It was not merely for producing thereby that Gandhi had the glorified stress upon spinning. Of course spinning would produce wealth, but the stress was on the conditions founded on the satisfaction of production work. He placed before the nation a type of physical work which, besides producing wealth was such as could be done by the aged and the young alike. Productive labour is not a thing from which anyone who was at all well should shrink as exemption. All those who take a share in the consumption of goods must also take a share in their production. A judge or a teacher may not say that he is rendering some other service to society. For he does not live on lands and woods alone but also on food and wealth cloth him all other things. He must therefore share directly in their production.

But unfortunately the Congress could not understand Gandhi and attached more importance to the payment of her taxes than to pay. It made the great confusion between wealth and money. It was not realized that payment in the shape of land-owning was not payment through production of new wealth which the payment in the shape of money was not. Money we have plenty at all present but wealth, which includes property has decreased. If we give privilege to money the principle of labour is necessarily refused. Under Gandhi's scheme a person giving a full of respect to the Congress would have been approached via door but not a member entitled by vote. The new system of land-owning was would have become the same. It was a revolutionary idea, which the Congress failed to understand. It is not too late to do so even now. If the revolutionary change is made, it might be possible within two or three years to bring about such change in the country as will nullify the remedy laid by Shri Mehta.

(Translated from the original in Marathi.)

STARTLING FACTS—I

While writing the article *Development in Punjab*, I have received many letters on the subject. Nearly all the correspondents agree warmly with what I said. The two aspects interested everyone and want to know more particulars.

Here are some further facts and figures on the subject:

GRAZING LANDS

In the U. P. the average figure for the grazing incidence for the major part of the Province works out to nearly two and half animals per acre for twenty selected districts and the figure varies from four to seven animals per acre, (including sheep, goats, equines and camels). Such economy of grazing is the weeds of Mr. Renghava is almost incredible by world standards even for the best pastures. (*Report of the U. P. Land Reclamation Committee* page 48, para 3, quoting *Central Census Report 1931*).

In Coold and Gurdaspur, the grazing areas are ordered to 'promote' footholds for the untamed cattle. There is not enough room for them to move about. (*Ibid*, page 68, para 2).

Two acres per head of cattle is the maximum considered necessary by the most modern standards eleven times more than the average available today in the U. P. At the same time that inefficiency is now made up by the cultivation of fodder crops. In the United Provinces as a whole there are fewer than three acres of cultivated fodder crops per hundred animals. In Gurdaspur and Tarnan divisions, where grazing areas are very limited in extent, there is only one acre of fodder crops per hundred animals. (*Ibid* page 68, para 3).

The average should be half an acre of cultivated fodder crop per animal, i. e. twenty times more than the average (according to that authority) under fodder crops in the U. P.

CANAL IRRIGATION

'Waterlogging is the original sin of the Punjab but because a very serious matter. It is due to the rise of the water-table and the harmful effects of this rise appear in two forms. First, the saturation of the soil, locally known as *am* or in the worst affected areas the appearance of water on the surface and the formation of alkali, and secondly, the saturation of alkali in the upper layers of the soil, locally known as *thar*. The saturation of the strata may be judged from the fact that whereas in 1852 the areas seriously affected by *am* and *thar* were 26,000 and 308,000 acres respectively they now amount to 24,000 and 14 million acres. In addition there are large areas which are affected to a less extent. (*The Punjab Survey Commission Final Report (1945)* page 126, para 2).

This shows that land is going out of cultivation at the rate of about 20,000 acres a year in the Punjab. Sir William Stanger referring to the same problem in the hatched areas of the Raw-Bekkan goes along with it as follows:

'Waterlogging had no other effect on soil (alkali) — a very serious one caused by various factors for the complex in their conversion to be analysed in a brief sentence on irrigation. Sooner it is to say about the matter is (a) the decrease of 2,000 acres (the aggregate flow of the canal in the Raw-Bekkan area alone) from the overhead to the uplands and (b) certain alkali and adverse characteristics of the local soil-water (which I shall refer to later), the ground water-table in this case has risen steadily for the twenty years and over a tract of many thousand square miles is now dangerously near (about 7 ft. or so below) the surface.' I am reliably informed that in a tract some 20,000 acres are going directly out of cultivation and worse than that — due to alkalinity — the yield is declining seriously over a very much larger area. (*Plan for Punjab* address by Sir William Stanger to the Government of Hyderabad, India, Nov. 10th 1944 page 25 para 3).

In the United Provinces, in the lowest comparison, the total area of *am* and *thar* land is 2,00,119 acres. Investigations of the U. P. Land Reclamation Committee 1938-39 go to show that *am* and *thar* are directly connected with canal irrigation and, indeed, with the natural drainage of the land. Referring to this the Commission says in findings regarding canal irrigation to be introduced in the Ferozpur Division: 'We have better experience in the past of canal irrigation having been introduced in the Aligarh Division without proceeding for necessary drainage with the result that there was a rise of the sub-soil water-table and fields were thrown out of cultivation on account of the rise in the soil profile, coming up in solution by capillary action to the surface of the soil and depositing themselves there as a result of evaporation. Canal irrigation is to be directly introduced in the Ferozpur Division. It is an extremely sobered fact: We have no knowledge about the experience of the soil to further irrigation of the flow type. We are without data as to the necessity for the provision of drainage channels so as to prevent the disastrous consequences of any adverse changes in the lateral and vertical flow of the sub-soil water' (*U. P. R. C. Report* page 115 para 4).

(To be continued)

MIRANPUR

*The total of several hundred thousand acres is said to have fallen by 75 per cent in the last 10-12 years.

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY BHABHATMA CHANDNI)

EDITOR: K. G. MADHUPALA



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TWO ANNAS

NOTES

The New War Tax

We have seen that besides cash, a war country cannot compete with British supplies because the latter are tax-exempted as their war-torn industry is paralysed. So by using British supplies we are supporting British war preparations.

Similarly in our new budget we have an income tax-exempt subsidy. It has been stated clear with the exemption of one commodity all savings accounts were working as a loss. The passenger vouchers of today will be the backbone of tomorrow. So our war preparations, demands the war machines, planes and the ground crew in this condition whether passenger traffic goes to war or not. So the Government has to subsidise it without swelling the budget provision. What is simpler than increasing postage rates and paying mail subsidies and pretending that all letters can be sent by air? These higher postal rates are in effect a war tax and a payment for war preparations only.—J. C. K.

Barriers on Post-cards and Letters

But even with war preparations there were other work of money exchange, etc. in the market, without taking away the barrier of the half-anna post-card and the 1/2 as letter. The use of the post-card should have been slightly reduced as in the case of Queen Victoria one-post post-cards, or writing on the back would have been stopped. They could have also helped the post office of currency by introducing a 'quarter shilling' (the same as what is known as 'air mail letter') at 1/2 as, alongside the existing 1/2 as a stamp on the envelope. The latter increase in that case would not have been a burden on the above class. Indeed they would not have needed even if the change in postage letters had been raised to, say 1/2 as for every inch of 1/2 inch (half penny).

It should be noticed that millions are being going to be served and do we need to be served by air mail and that they need and appreciate even slight relief in their domestic budgets. As a matter of fact air delivery is faster than normal rail delivery particularly in regions for which the main means is partly by air and partly by rail. And high planes are by hundreds while the aeroplanes are hardly two dozen.

Cost of Post-cards

But there is a further grave charge laid against the Government for the statement reported to have

been made on an behalf that the rate on post-card had to be increased because the manufacture and printing of a post-card cost 82 paise in the Government. It means that the half-anna post-card means a loss of some lakhs every year for its manufacture and print.

A calculating crowd indignantly comments upon this. If the cost of paper and printing is 82 paise I think the people who run the Government Press deserve to be asked for their compensation. He inquired of about three or four persons in Bombay and found out that the total cost should not be more than 2 paise at the most and on a large scale production might not be more than one paise. My own enquiry confirms this calculation. It is suggested that the cost ought to have been found to come to 82 paise and not 82 paise—just a shifting of the decimal point!

The Government and the M. L. A. gave an explanation to the public as to how the figure 82 was made out by the former and accepted by the latter, and if there was a mistake, an apology and make amends.

Wardha, 11-4-49

Illegal Games

A correspondent writes:

Recently young men of Kadi (Gujarat) managed not to take part in during parties where more than twenty-five persons were invited. About four or five parties were held each, in which, amongst four men all kept their pledge even though some of the parties were given by their own relatives. If this step is followed elsewhere by others what a great effect it might have!

There was a time when young men were guided by elders on the path of religion and morality and were taught to follow the advice and footsteps of their elders. Today the position is the other way round, and young men have to prevent the elders from breaking rules of right conduct. Though on the one hand this indicates a deplorable situation, on the other side it is a ray of hope in it. It means that degradation, which had enveloped the whole society including the old, is slowly taking a new towards improvement. The one is whether the step is indicative of a moral awakening, or just an outcome of the spirit usually accompanying youthful age. If there is a moral awakening, we should see selflessness in other spheres of life also. But one feels that so other matters, there is unlimited indifference. One enters a good deal of

enthusiasm in fighting for justice and equality is one of the more endearing is shown in unfading serious character, indeed we can make good progress internally, faith in God and outwardly, cleanliness and strength would be signs of mass awakening in the present context of India's life. Wadhwa, 24-3-49

(Translated from the original in Gujarati.)

"**Mal Basahel**"

The appearance of the Urdu edition of the Harijans' has disappointed some readers of that paper and enquiries are being made for a suitable alternative. Those who wish to have in Urdu booklet reading from the nationalist point of view will find it in the *Mal Basahel*, a weekly, which, I believe, will surely come. It is published under the auspices of Juma Mada from Juma Nagra, Delhi, under the editorship of Dr. Sayeed Akbar Hameed. Among its regular features are a weekly review of important events in the Indian Union, Pakistan and the world, a page of poems, a column of light reading, a page from some article in the *Al-Bayan*, along with the editor's leader and other contributions. A specimen copy can be obtained by writing to the editor of the paper.

Wadhwa, 7-4-49

Food and Agriculture

Students of problems relating to Food and Agriculture will find some valuable reading matter in the April issue of *Rural India*. It also proposes to publish in a combined issue for May and June a special number containing speeches and proceedings of the All India Food Production Conference at Puri, Genukar. This monthly is published from Jawahar Mission, Nana Chemb, Bombay, 7

Wadhwa, 7-4-49

K. G. M.

Fifth Basic Education Conference

It has been decided to hold the Fifth All India Basic Education Conference under the auspices of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh at the Ramkrishna Vidyalaya, Purnagachhapalayan, near Calcutta (South India) on the 7th, 8th and 9th of May, 1949. Dr. Zakir Husain, President of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Founder-President of the Juma Mada Islamic and Vice-Chancellor Aligarh University, will preside over the Conference.

Many educationists, Ministers of Education and workers in the present field of basic education are expected to take part in the Conference. The office of the Reception Committee has been opened at the Ramkrishna Vidyalaya, P. O., Chhatrahar Dargah. Any particulars regarding the Conference can be had from the Secretary.

Along with the Conference, a Students' Franchise will also be put up. Teachers and workers engaged in the work of rural reconstruction are invited to take part in the activities.

A meeting of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh will also be held at the Ramkrishna Vidyalaya, Purnagachhapalayan on the 6th May, 1949. Dr. Zakir Husain will preside.

E. W. ANANDARAM,
Secretary, Hindustani Talimi Sangh

Puri Food Conference Postponed

The All India Food Production Conference which was scheduled to be held at Puri (Madhya Bharat) on the 12th and 13th of April has to be postponed to future dates due to some very special reasons. The stated dates of holding the postponed Conference will soon be fixed up and announced very shortly. The Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Conference very much regretted postponement due to the unavoidable postponement caused to all those, who were to attend the Conference and trust that it will be highly attended when resumed.

VIGILANCE

The British House of Parliament recently approved a Special Tribunal "for the purpose of inquiring whether there was any justification for allegations that payments, rewards, or other considerations had been sought, offered, promised, made or received by or to Members of the Crown or other public servants in connection with licences or permissions required under any enactment, regulation or order or in connection with the withdrawal of any prohibition and, if so, under what circumstances the transactions took place and what persons were involved therein." The Tribunal consisted of a judge of the High Court of Justice of England and two of the King's Counsel. Their report, which is a summary, is once published by the order of the British Government. The high persons concerned were Messrs. John Bolcher, M.P., George Gibson (once a Director of the Bank of England and at the time of enquiry, Chairman of the North Western Electricity Board), C. W. Key, M.P., and seven others, one of them being Dr. Hagh Dehna, once the Finance Minister of England.

A thorough enquiry was made. It has resulted in an adverse report against Messrs. Bolcher and Gibson, discharge of Mr. Key and the honorable exoneration of the rest. It is instructive to note the charges made against the three accused.

Mr. Bolcher

"There is no reliable evidence that Mr. Bolcher received any sum of money in respect of any of the transactions which we have investigated or acted in respect of any transactions. The only benefits which we can find he did receive were the small gifts and hospitality from Mr. Mianan, the wine and spirits from Sir Maurice Black and the breakfasts by way of gifts and hospitality from Mr. Stanley."

Mr. Gibson

"We are satisfied that Mr. Gibson was offered by Mr. Stanley the chairmanship of a new company as a consideration to induce Mr. Gibson to a public servant to assist in obtaining from the Treasury upon the recommendation of the Capital Issues Committee permission for a public issue of the shares of the new company and that Mr. Gibson refused the request for that offer. Although for other reasons he refused the offer, Mr. Gibson continued to assist Mr. Stanley in his efforts to

secret this proposition is a foolish step, and to assist in any other enterprise in which Mr. Gandhi might be helped. We are satisfied that Mr. Gandhi did this in the hope of material advantage to himself although in fact all that he received apart from some trivial gifts was the payment of a sack of clothes."

MR. KEY

"Any plan or happening which Mr. Key may have received was neither sought nor received by him in connection with any applications which might be made to him or his Ministry, and that Mr. Key's official actions were not influenced in any way thereby."

It will be seen that the gifts received were very small. But vigilance continues in not neglecting small things. We all know the high standard of integrity that was provided in India, and which I hope will be before us in public life. He publicly criticised Kurokawa on a matter of about four rupees and had him the figure of his own cabinet. What laughter may we not make if we follow his example?

Wardha, 20-3-49

K. G. MADHULWALA

THE MILITARY AND FOOD SHORTAGE

Since the attainment of independence there appears to be a definite tendency towards increasing the armed forces. The recruits to the army are drawn mainly from rural areas. They are frequently born drawn from peasant stock. While at home, these young men have been brought up on a frugal diet, may be one meal a day. The starvation level, in itself has often drawn them into the forces where they are given two meals and two square meals per day in addition to bread introduced to such babies as cooking and perhaps even drinking. In the usual parlance this may be called "raising the standard of living." Such rural standard is maintained at the cost of the public and it also means a greater draft on the existing stock of food grains. Therefore the more recruits in the forces would mean a shortage of food, as the consumption increases.

On the other hand, these recruits, while they were on the farm, would have been productive and so far as they have run away from production it is a strain on our food supply. Thus we see that increasing the armed forces means decrease in the productive forces and a strain on the existing supplies.

Both countries have been able to maintain large armies by drawing on the surplus of other commodities even to the danger of starvation and famine in the supply countries. But India is not in a position to command such resources. Hence she has to pay through the nose for imports of food stuffs to make up the shortage caused by the increase in the armed forces.

Thus the armed forces are largely parasitic on relation to food. If we wish to check this in any sense, it will be necessary to draft in their man-

power and lay their production to good use of the energy and some of the military equipment more productive, if not destructive. Their complete daily needs must could well be channelled into production of food. Though it may not be possible, it completely make up the shortage caused by armed forces, such an effort will at least ameliorate it's evil.

During the foreign rule the officers preferred to stay in big cities in specially constructed cantonments. Now there is no reason why such areas should be occupied. Army units may well be stationed away from the civil population, in cultivable waste lands and with the more or less permanent and engineering skill at their disposal, they could be made to bring in cultivable waste land under the plough. It may be possible for them to grow most of their requirements by way of food grains and vegetables.

The method of occupying the armed forces during certain seasons of the year has many advantages. It relieves the housing problem as the houses in cantonments will be available to the civil population. It will enable the young men in the army to be trained in open-air agricultural practices, so the military forces can be properly staffed and the young men in the army who are probably potential farmers will be made nature-minded and better-land-minded. These two defects in our conservative farmers will be corrected. Above all, a certain amount of the food shortage could be made up. Perhaps, if practicable, were possible, some part of the increase in military expenses could even be justified if these forces take up production without making undue strains on the existing stock of food materials. We hope therefore that the military authorities will be agreeable to such an agricultural spare time campaign, being given to their men and in co-operation with the Agricultural Department, be able to some extent defend the country against its great enemy—starvation.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

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3.1.2. STABLE AND STATIONARY EQUILIBRIUM

Dreams, men tell, and he can dream only for happiness. But a dream may be good or wild according as it depends for its realization more upon oneself or more upon a set of fortuitous circumstances outside one's control. We must dream wisely.

False doctrine misled us, misled the people, launch the nation into irredeemable obligations, and ultimately create a feeling of frustration and discontent, leading to open or veiled violence.

Several innumerable schemes have been framed in recent years for hanging about a millennium. Some propose to concentrate on five years and some in ten years. When the August scheme got down a period of forty years it was condemned by politicians and schoolmasters. The present Government have promised to implement it in 12,000,000 years.

Formaldehyde releases require equally formidable amounts of money, materials and type type advice. There is a danger to borrow from dangerous foreigners particularly U.S.A., appear to be unwilling to help. They have helped so many in the past. But it reminds one of a parent's advice to his son: "When a teacher is too anxious to advance a idea, however, well aimed it may be."

Let us be cautious and not deceive ourselves and the people. Several important schemes of post-convergence to the masses cannot be worked out in less than ten years. They are not possible even in twenty years in terms of universally available balanced and sufficient food, sturdy packs of cloth, strong houses, clean villages, electricity and small mechanical houses worked by power, electricity or atomic energy, and other comforts. Not even universal primary education may be possible in fifteen years if by schemes we mean schemes based on old India that is non-professional educational environment.

Modern science has undoubtedly achieved wonders; its contribution is not confined only to what are regarded material fields of life. But also in those of the spirit, its ultimate aim is to see, so much as possible, Truth face to face and work for the peace and happiness of mankind.

But at the same time it must be borne in mind that even modern science is still as much a ship without a rudder exposed to the wreckage of the middle ages in a way at it more dangerous than the latter. For modern science has placed dangerous instruments in the hands of barons of men, who are old enough to know how to use them, but are not wise enough to know the purposes for which they should not be used. And so before science comes to be employed as fields of construction

indicators and for finding out essential needs of life it is impossible to remain in fields for prosecuting work which is outside the class of sciences.

Was-wong-pang's committee need no promote commerce properly, and thus, to keep up the spirit of a nation, although it has in the past people could be led in a world's wrong before them the picture of a man led his three dogs on the battlefield. Builders of a new age, not materialism, Life and prosperity built on the course of commerce can be described either as a man in a simple-looking, in a few years, it is now and in a few days by materialism. It is a world only by hand and power labour. We must a knowledge this ourselves and the world built on a double

Swamy particularly cherishes memories of increasing material wealth, such as his 100,000 baht (about 2,500 dollars) savings bank deposit, and, closely following, a world war-driven oil price decline and prosperity in five or ten times his 1940s level as if the obnoxious post-war American oil glut was being at almost total expense to his country, and labour wants to be 'high' (Swamy) with a few savings of multiple times and credit facilities, and the people would have it and an opportunity to a stronger working harder than before, the only option. The only way to attain prosperity, it was said, was by the industrial boom and about a century and a half ago. He left his home with a pen and a strong, worked hand for two or three decades spent but not by himself, spending the greater part of his life in exile in a distant province in country, and only towards the end of his had the satisfaction of seeing the family progressing towards prosperity. Swamy smiled even in the post-1970s period, for they did not show attention to a marked out and united community, though even then they were always a little better off than others. "A house might earn a whole bread on a half one but he never dies of starvation," went a saying that he built his prosperity slowly and through perseverance.

It was only in a specializing and growing-up age of the "ruralized" population, and during the "birth" period, which gave the fishery its become a handicraft and systematic working himself usually taking the land or manufacturing ponds that he began to think of earning by thousands and lakhs in a short time and became an object of jealousy. As a consequence, only a few individuals progressively succeeded in this. The rest have been ruined or, at best, reduced. So far as the whole nation is concerned, the way of the old times is the only way for steady economic

Let me humbly repeat what I have been looking for at least eight years: If we want a rapid success of 'scientific civilization' we cannot escape facing the problems of all ages, including justice and disharmony of a violent world. We must give up the falsest hope of surrounding every scientific and labour-saving device, which knowledge of the laws of science may suggest. Let us not mind being considered well lived in a Victorian or even the

medieval age. It is enough if we can provide even the barest of our countrymen sufficient food, clothing and a home to live a healthy and sturdy long life and sufficing more in the immediate future. If we are content to build slowly, we can reconstruct our country and a robust nation with confident self-help. To demand simplicity as a sub-human standard of life is a standard similar to that made by men who prefer what is whole-heartedly hated for its material appearance.

If we give an old dream and look straight into the hard facts of life, it would not be difficult for us to see that the only way to feel hopeful and well-organised for self-aid is through the cheerful Hindu Jivatmata called *Atma*—the liberty of freedom. Even its repentant parent-like and a lip-loyalty to it through the fact commoners organised on the basis of nothing else did. How strong an organisation would there be if *Atma* is really adopted as its weapon in action against?

Wardha, 13-4-49

K. G. MASHRUWALA

FIGHTING CORRUPTION

I felt unhappy on reading the article Corruption (Editor in the *Marathi* dated 9th January 1949). I got similar reports from other sources also. It provides a chain of thoughts which I would like to share with the readers of the *Marathi*. In the first place I think it is not the corruption of the *chakras* and *manudars* that is so depressing, but the fact that the rot has gone much deeper. The *chakras* may have some reason for being corrupt, because their pay is too low to enable them to live decently—either live at all. They badly require other sources of income, whatever those may be. We must go into the causes of the corruption if we want to get rid of it. The man at the bottom has certainly not hole. But the man near the top also complains that he has too little. I have been amazed to hear some of the more highly paid men say that they can hardly make the two ends meet. The reason is that they compare themselves with men in similar positions in other countries, where the average income per capita is more than 200 times that in India, and try to realize them in the way of life, entertainment, cocked pistols and what not. These people being more vicious and being able to make their vote-bank may even get ministers whereas no one thinks of the man at the bottom. In any event, no one thinks of coaching their (representative) salaries. In spite of high salaries, there are high officials who do not hesitate to make use of opportunities that are equivalent to bribery even if they may not accept bribe in a crude form. I understand there are those who even accept crude bribe in money, etc. There are many at all levels who have no sense of responsibility. Unless we can do something to subvert this two-fold analysis of honesty or dishonesty and

responsibility and equality, I do not know where we might end. I am afraid there is no better way to the world today except travelling up and travelling down. We must produce more, no doubt, but in the meantime we must share the society and share it voluntarily. That is Bapu's way. Otherwise we will have to share under communism, i.e. a system imposed. Corruption, poverty and discontent are the main fuels for violent revolution and unless our leaders can do something to demonstrate a living acceptance of Bapu's philosophy, nothing in this world can prevent India from following in China's footsteps. We can never fight alone with these. They have to be fought with superior ideas and actual reform in life. And what can be better than what Bapu gave us? Could there be a greater tragedy than India being swept by communism about what all Bapu has done? Yet that is inevitable unless we do something radical to change the situation quickly. Let us not be smart and say communism is not a threat to India. It is a very real threat if things continue to be what they are.

Bombay, 11-3-49

S. N.

[Note: I should add a word of caution to the above. *Chakras*, *manudars*, or any other public servants, whether under-paid or dishonestly paid, should not carry the idea that they at least have some justification for receiving bribes or *dalals*. It is a dangerous fallacy and leads to self-pity and self-defeatism. The necessity for a better standard of life has been accepted on all hands. But a low standard of life is not by itself sub-human life. Honesty with other conventions of high character is human, debenture, final satisfaction is sub-human. Values is an end by itself and not just a policy or useful means of worldly enhancement and it has no connection with either genius or mediocrity economic and social status. A High Court judge may be a drunkard and receiver of bribes. His page *chakras* and *manudars* may be above these men. The sophisticated world will still show outward respect to the judge but the honest *chakras* and *manudars* will carry with them a sense of inward peace and dignity which the judge will never enjoy. The judge himself will always feel small and deficient before his honest subordinates and if he is a coward, might even try to get rid of them, even as the commoner Hindu, getting afraid of too much goodness in Gandhis, killed him.

It will be a mistake to think that the moral improvement must start at the top and go down. Often the movement starts from a low level and envelops the whole society and the change of heart in the upper ranks follows the mass movement partly out of necessity and partly sympathy. We must adopt higher moral standards wherever may be our status in society and as individuals.

Wardha, 26-3-49

—K. G. M. I

SATTAGRAHA IN U. S. A.

Among the foreign Pacific visitors who came to India at the time of the Jagan Congress was one Mr. Samuel Raman, an American Negro. He was kind enough to call upon me at Bombay to give me an account of the Sattagraha movement among the Negroes of U. S. A. for defying racial-segregation laws prevailing in its Southern colonies. He narrated to me what he and his friends had done to obtain the right of travelling independently. At the time of his visit to India, he was on bail for a sentence of 30 days hard labour passed against him in North Carolina.

The case arose as follows:

Samuel Raman, one other Negro, Andrew Johnson and two Whites, Joseph Palmer and Earl Rodericks "were arrested in April 1947 when an interracial group took a bus run through the South to determine whether Southern States are adhering to a 1948 decision of the U. S. Supreme Court banning segregation of Negroes in interstate travel."

"Despite the refusal by the highest court, Southern States are continuing to enforce segregation. Using the non-violent technique of Mahatma Gandhi the two Negroes stayed in the White section of the bus and the two Whites stayed in the Negro section, defied police orders to move to their respective segregated sections. Remaining seated, they calmly told the police officers that the Supreme Court had outlawed the segregated seating system and that they would stand on their right to remain where they want."

"When the bus took the road, they were immediately arrested. Following their release on bail, they narrowly escaped a White lynch mob which pursued them to the home of a White minister. However, they managed to get out of town unharmed to continue the bus trip with the rest of the group."

"When they subsequently returned for trial they were convicted and sentenced to 30-days hard labour on the road gang which is the maximum under North Carolina's previous law. They appealed as high as the North Carolina Supreme Court. Their case, however, was complicated by the fact that they were making statements for meetings in North Carolina before crossing to Tennessee. The ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court only applies to laws, and hence going from one State to another and the movement argued that since the four were making the statements they were not interstate passengers."

"It was because of this complication that the case decided to forgo their appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court."

Accordingly immediately upon returning from India, all the four Sattagraha have decided to voluntarily surrender to the authorities for serving their sentences.

One more Negro, Howard N. Lee, has also offered under Sattagraha by refusing to sit in the Negro section of a train. He has been convicted

by the lower Courts. An objection to compromise involved in his case, an appeal has been preferred against his conviction to the U. S. Supreme Court.

This shows how Gandhi's message and method are working far and wide.

Wardha, 22-3-49

E. G. MADHURWALA

STARTLING FACTS—II

COMPOST VS ARTIFICIAL MANURE

"Lord Portsmouth has made an interesting contribution to this question in connection with keeping quality. What weeds used for checking many of the crops of his Hampshire estate. By keeping careful records over a number of years he found that, although the crops in question were grown side by side on the same type of soil, clover made with manure from wheat grown with human faecal matter as food as that grown with earthworms." (*The Farming Jnl.*, E. G. Madhurala page 326 para 4.)

"Now the best argument of replacing chemical fertilizers by fermented manure or compost is the increase which brought about in the earthworm population. Darwin found that the weight of worms cast deposited on the surface of ordinary field soil in good hours may exceed one ton per acre per year. The importance of this and its danger bearing on plant diseases becomes clear when you consider the statements of other experts, notably Dr. L. C. Curtis of the Connecticut Experimental Station that worm casts contain five times more nitrogen, seven times more available phosphate, eleven times more potash, and 40 per cent more calcium than is normally to be found in the soil under all soil and that it is not their only contribution to soil fertility. The late Sir Bernard Greenwell attached great importance to the part played by earthworms in pest control and in the production of the healthy crops generally. In a paper which he read to the Farmers' Club in 1919 he noted:

"I am afraid very few of us realize what a good friend the beetle fellow is to the farmer, and if we can only increase the population of the earthworm in the soil, he will do a lot of our crop cultivation for us and under the soil cover. When we occurred we promised with ourselves, we found worms disappeared, but the following year a compost was applied made from some rubbish mixed with dung and immediately the worms came, disappeared. It is a known fact that the named order in Central Africa always patches their compost ground covered with worm casts as they found that this was the best growing." (*Jnl.*, pages 124-125, para 3-15)

"When a dressing of artificial manure is given it might be imagined that all that was being done was to introduce quickly and easily in a comparatively late stage in the chain of processes an additional supply of those soils which are being laboriously produced by the soil organism the plants should proceed to feed abundantly on the enhanced foodness, the whole thing should go forward more rapidly. But that is not what happens. The chain of processes instead of being sped

formed is described as may even be described as occurred. The additional notes do not simply lie there while the plant gradually eats them up, as the century, they start another cycle. They stimulate the life of the soil organisms, and so that in such an extent that these organisms begin to crush and devour the soil humus for everything they can get. The result is a strange degree of super-saturation. The slow crumbling down process, the mowing and the remaking of humus yields to an intense glow a sort of fire the soil is correctly described as burnt up. The fire. We all know it destructively, for the glow once consumed is not renewed. The composed soil particles take apart, a dusty condition sets in, the land "blows". Too essential and extravagant process but all the results we might foresee. At first there is considerable stimulation of plant growth, large dark green foliage is formed, stems and flowers increase in size, there is an apparent rural success. The way last someone and it is obvious that the period depends on how fast is the original state of humus which can be burnt up. But when this stimulus ceases to be collected, the true effects are to be observed." (*The Earth's Green Carpet*, Louis E. Howard, pp. 344-48, pages 3-11).

"On the southern population the effect of artificial manures, especially of the acid-forming manures such as sulphates of ammonia and superphosphate, is of the nature of a catharsis, a single heavy dosing purgative of sulphur of ammonia and upon them on the surface in that their death-bodies can be swept up by the shrewd in the morning." (*Ibid*, page 147, para 2).

"The ravaging out of the vicinity, the failure of reproduction process, the failure of our modern agriculture, is unknown in the East. The ancient working on the relations of wheat in India can draw on more varieties two thousand years old the same is true of the sugarcane, and is proved by ancient Sanskrit texts." (*Ibid*, page 159, para 2).

I shall send herewith a few quotations from letters received. I have put the matter before the Central Government Ministers and am sending soon also to some Provincial Ministers. But the public have got to make up and make a living, as well as what gives them life. The tragedy today is that the educated and moneyed classes are altogether out of touch with the vital fundamentals of existence—our Mother Earth, and the manual and servile population which she sustains. This world of Nature's planning is rudely plundered, despoiled and disappointed by man whenever he gets the chance. By his excess and mastery he may get huge returns for a time, but ultimately will come destruction. We have got to study Nature's balance, and develop our lives within her laws, if we are to survive as physically healthy and morally decent species.

MIRAFAN

FROM VINOD'S SPEECHES AT THE SARYODAYA CONFERENCE-IV

II of 48, Prayer meeting
CHARACTER OR POWER?

We all know that while all India, rejoiced at the attainment of Independence at the end of a long struggle. Gandhiji who had led her to that goal, had no feeling of happiness and content in him on the day of Independence. His heart was afflicted with sorrow and the day was to him rather the commencement of a new era of good and bad.

Another great man had passed through a similar state of mind in the past. I speak of Joseph Marston. It was through his efforts that Italy had attained a kind of Unity. But that Unity brought no comfort to his mind. Because on both the sides Italy meant only attainment of power. Gandhiji's sorrow was all the more intense, because all through his life he had had greatest stress on purity of means. But he discovered that in spite of his efforts, people had not accepted the spirit of his message with the result that the new independence came expressed itself in the form of unmanageable doses of violence, mutual hatred, percent of comfortable standards of living and places of power. The conditions in that new attainment of political power is not the same as before, and does not bring to the nation the feeling of having achieved the desired goal.

There would be no doubt that if every one became a person of good moral character, the whole society could have happiness and peace. It is urged however, that it is a long term programme. The goal could be reached if, in order to achieve it the administration completely assumed the authority vested in it and an effort was supplemented by the effort for the reform of individuals. For that it was necessary that power should come into the hands of the people.

Now, I ask, with leaders like Jawaharlal, Sardar Vallabhbhai, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and others at the helm of affairs, can it be said that administrators had not fully come into the hands of the people, or, even, right type of people? The answer positively is that though we have our own people at the top, the administration as such is not manned by good people and deserves to be changed.

But the means that the subordinate means must also be filled with right type of men, i.e. men of good moral character. If those who actually administer are not good, the authority they possess will, instead of protecting the people, tyrannise over them.

Ultimately, therefore, the principal factor is the personal character of the officers and not merely the possession of power. If character is regarded a subordinate factor and power the principal one you might have an attitude of efficient government, but not good government. When we say that the character goes well, it is only a legitimate way of saying that one can upon well on the character. Actually the character goes nothing, and if the system is efficient but the character is defective, he can improve the latter, but a good character cannot improve a bad system. So too, if the

... something, though I agree, the machinery needed in this was designed, but it has not had the other essential component part. Hence, Virendraswami rightly said once that this is... this shows that a powerful railway engine may be put away and still be just getting away from the rails, but the engine cannot leave the rails and be as such as that it might cross the rails. Here we find where it appears to many is not by the way power left by the power of the driver. We would, therefore be going after a message of its inherent character to think that power was greater than character. The present the power was bound to lead us to paths of violence.

What people... Let us make efforts for peace — as a Vedic motto exhorted to the sage Rishi. There is nothing to show that he was living under a loose rule. What could he have meant then by 'effort for peace' ? What was it that made him feel that he had no fear? The truth is that as long as men attached more value to material things than to those who really matter — the living souls — true peace cannot be established. — Narayana still has South Germany does not exist as India or for the matter of that, anywhere in the world including the much praised Russia. There is as much violence there as might be in a slave master. But creating a peace with power, it was as distant as clouds between A and B, on the ground that I was once one man and B a stranger. The real conflict was between goodness and evil. If the 'good' was good was good making of power to him was just if he was bad, it was otherwise. The peace will be as the one I have said.

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

JAWAHARLAL JUSTIFIED

(From Hindustani speech at Bombay, on 5-4-48.)

It is Jawaharlal who is reported to have declared the intention to perform the opening ceremony of a memorial to the late Mahatma. Some stated at Bombay, on the ground that he did not approve of the means which Mahatma himself had made use of. Some papers commenting upon this have argued that Mahatma's use of violence was in the interest of the country in the same way as Pandit Jawaharlal's (in his capacity as a Prime Minister) against Hyderabad and Kashmir, and therefore there was something wrong in Jawaharlal's reasoning.

The confusion arising from confusion between 'ends' (power over violence used in the State) and 'means' (force of violence). Since violence is, of course not non-violence, yet as long as human society has not evolved to the stage, when it will actually free itself of violence, the violence to use violence has to be tolerated by the society to its chosen representatives namely the State.

The double standard being power over violence and not simply power of violence, can be used both for the maintenance and development of violence as well as for reducing it and progressing towards non-violence. The point is know the purpose for which it is used as two. (1) whether in international politics it makes quarrelsome conflicts with other countries and prepares itself for aggression and war, or makes its best efforts

to establish world peace? and (2) whether in the maintenance of peace inside the country it makes use of the power of violence as a strictly controlled measure and as little as possible, or the contrary?

Considered considerably Pandit Nehru's Government appears to me to be inclined to show that it stands with its two normal towards non-violence and pledged to implement Gandhi's 'Aha' to the largest extent. Its conduct makes them clear as regards to Gandhi's economic and social ideas. But in the foreign sphere, in my opinion it has so far done nothing inconsistent with that stand. It has shown all its strength on the side of peace in international politics. It acted with utmost restraint at a time when unprecedented violence prevailed all over the country. So much so that it was accused of weakness as regard to Kashmir and Hyderabad. The use of the power of violence (double standard) being used by the country for its own good is a strictly controlled measure against the regarded as violence, and it cannot be compared with an act of largeness done with a motive however high.

This democracy was clearly only with countless upon your names. Otherwise there will be only a bloody form of it. This is the condition to which almost all of us have arrived by our busy peace experience. In the face of this experience, if Pandit had accepted the principle to the Mahatma's non-violence, he would have avoided confused thinking among the people. I remain partly the subject to take part in it. It shows his clarity of thought. A frank and truthful man invariably comes to a correct decision.

I am aware that the commoner ideology also accepts the development of the power of violence as the ultimate end. But it believes that though non-violence is its ultimate goal at the present time it needed violence even of the most severe form. The violence will spring out of it. The proper approach is that non-violence is not only the ultimate goal, but even the State's power of violence must be used in a progressively diminishing manner so that we may advance towards non-violence. That is how Pandit Jawaharlal also looks at it. These comparisons lead to confused thinking and Pandit has provided a good reason to stimulate clear thinking by his attitude towards this movement.

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

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TWO ANNAS

THE LABOUR DAY

The first of May is celebrated as the Labour Day in India the former popular political slogan is *Kisan-Mandir Raj*. It is common to the Congress, the Socialists and the Communists. Let us pause and consider what it implies.

It is a tragedy that a man actually sowing the ground as a labourer actually working in the factory can be while he is still working on his job, a member of the Cabinet of the Central or a Provincial Government; it is not going to be. It is not so in Russia or in the Labour Government of Great Britain. It is physically impossible. It is possible only for the members of a village or taluka panchayat as he both actual workers and administrators.

The notion that some of the members of the Russian and the British Governments can claim is that they have come from the poorest ranks of the society and have spent some years of their life in doing hard labour in order to rise. But these are exceptions and even these have never been high workers and maintainers at the same time. With regard to the rest, most of them have never handled a plough or a tool themselves and some have perhaps never known what poverty is. Their contacts with the farm and the machine is merely through the intellect. Their scholarship has created a conviction in them in favour of the *Kisan-Mandir Raj* and their political ambition (not necessarily selfish) has led them to join out of the political parties, advocating the *Kisan-Mandir* cause, and hence their position in the Government or in politics. Even those among them who have been actual peasants or labourers themselves have been men fixed with an inherent ambition or hobby urging them to go beyond the limit of routine work for a higher end. They are men who, without neglecting their routine work while engaged in it, have spent their free time in acquiring further knowledge or practical experience, or rendering useful service to society. It is clear that a peasant or a worker cannot become the Premier or a Minister of the State unless he is much more than a mere peasant or worker in knowledge, character, practical experience and outlook. One day he finds himself in a position to change over completely from the routine work to what was once his side activity. It is necessary for every worker and peasant to consider this. If he wants to advance himself as his people and district, a real *Sarvotam* of *Kisan* and *mandir*, he must,

hardly be an efficient and diligent at his own job, improve his knowledge, character and experience.

But it is not necessary to be a Socialist in order to do that. Such a peasant or a worker may as well be a believer in capitalism. As a matter of fact, there have been several peasants or labourers who have through their qualities acquired in course of time wealth, power and knowledge. Andrew Carnegie was a worker's son and commenced his career as an evening-boy. Edison started life as a newspaper vendor. Several Indian capitalists or their kindred have begun life as hawkers and collectors of old and waste materials. Australia was colonised almost entirely by peasants and workers.

If it is common ground that actual hard work in the field or the factory is to be given up to an inferior engagement by those who would lead, that a scheme of simple hard life is an inferior standard of life, and the earning of bread with the sweat of the brow is a thing to be banished from life, where is the difference between capitalism and socialism and what is the meaning of *Kisan-Mandir Raj*?

Gandhiji allowed himself to be associated with the *Kisan-Mandir Raj* slogan. But with him to be a *Kisan* or a *mandir* was a privilege of man and not a cause inflicted on the sons and daughters of *Adam* or *Mama*. And so he suggested that whatever the station of life, every human being who is man or labourer should most actually participate in physical productive labour. In fact, he wanted to lay it down as a condition of Congress membership and would have welcomed it even as a condition for acquiring the right to vote in the State. And in order that there might be a form of productive physical labour in which every person could participate without discrimination of caste, creed, race, sex or colour and without overworking upon what degree of life, he put forth hand-spinning as the common work for everyone. Every distinct association leads to the formation of a separate trade union or industrial association. The State is the Union of the whole nation. What shall be the common work, linking every member of that great Union? Gandhiji perceived the answer. He asked *Kings* and *Queens*, *Ministers* of State as well as *clergies*, *students* of *schools* as well as *villages*, the *householders* as well as the *street-vendors*, men, women and children to spin regularly so that everyone can happily say that he or she is a worker. The *Kisan* Singh, the *Minister* Singh, the *Singh* of

Police, Soldiers, Indianists, Indianists, Woman or any other section all had a common link in the double.

Wardle, 22-4-49

K. G. MATHUR

TRUTH ALSO WITH NON-VIOLENCE

The third resolution of the Poona Conference held at Sevagram in January last "upon our Government and peoples to remind themselves constantly of the remarkable nature of the use of non-violence in the attainment of Indian freedom and earnestly to seek those forms of non-violent expression which are needed today to tackle difficult problems and situations."

Like the authors of the above resolution, I have heard and read countless persons, even the most ardent among them, pointing to non-violence as the force which won independence.

My humble opinion is that this is only partly correct. As a matter of fact, Mahatma himself felt that India at the Congress had not been able to act non-violently in the proper sense of the term. I would say that the coloured and most important part of the force was Truth. Let me show how.

I entered the political field since 1927, i. e. from the time I attended the Surat Congress and began to take an active part with Lokmanya Tilak's release in 1934 from his six years' imprisonment. Naturally, I caught notice the difference of the approach and technique of Lokmanya Tilak as well as of Mahatma. Though it is not necessary to go into the details of this difference, it can be safely said that since 1921 when the Congress came to be led by Mahatma, it has not placed on record any resolution which is explicitly directed from the truthful presentation of its intention or expression of force.

This truth was very scrupulously observed in every little deed when the Congress dealt with the Government.

It was Truth that was the cause of the successful progress of the Satyagraha in 1930 till its culmination in Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Saving the face of winnow-down was never allowed to enter into the Congress resolutions.

Truth again was the cause of the withdrawal of British Satyagraha in 1932.

Truth was the reason of the giving up the programme of non-co-operation in 1934 at the Belgaum Congress. Truth guided the withdrawal in 1934 of the movement, which had again commenced in 1931 after Gandhi-Irwin Pact.

Truthful was the giving up of the power in Provincial Governments in 1936-43.

I have enumerated only those instances where police, as it had been practised all over the world, would perhaps have been guided by considerations of saving the face or winnow-down.

Thereby, Truth is, no doubt, included in non-violence. But it is necessary to emphasize it specifically, because it is— it is a relative proposition may be made at all—the major and more

important part of the force than non-violence, and, if not mentioned, it is likely to be lost sight of, as indeed it was when last night of in the Indian movement. The non-violent movement during every Congress session seems to be thought of because it was not realised that Truth was an essential ingredient of non-violence. This led in its turn to the working of the non-violence itself.

As a consequence the sort of independence which we have obtained was not and has never been the goal of the movement set about by Mahatma. This could be noticed by persons, even like my humble self, in the withdrawal of British Satyagraha in 1932 and the withdrawal of non-co-operation in 1934.

The present programme has only opened the door for the real triumph of the movement. This triumph would necessarily be revolutionary social reconstruction in all walks of human life. The march towards this triumph would be better with understanding and Himalayan difficulties. It would take a far heavier toll of sacrifice in all shapes and forms, before it reaches its goal of social reconstruction. But Truth will materialise soon giving a practical shape to non-violence and lend stimulus to the social reconstruction in India, and this would lead in similar revolutions in other countries.

Gandhi made this clear in the talks with him, recorded in the *Harizon* of the 16th March 1949. There he says down how we must have "a superior, more advanced type of 'black worker' in order to be able to make 'Sanyas Parashram Raj a reality', and concludes "Success will depend on our uttermost purity." This is extremely important. Now, can there be purity without Truth? So Truth is the one and only non-violence and is the true casualty in violence.

To make a beginning, the villagers will have first to realise that they have the strength to meet all sorts of temptations and attempts of their exploitation. This realisation can come only from making them appreciate the necessity of strictly being truthful in their day to day dealing as individuals or family men or villagers or members of society, etc.

This was actually used in a village meeting. They realised that the Congress had no other strength but Truth during the fight for independence.

It is not necessary to enter into the discussion, in this short space, of how and by what steps this adherence to Truth will lead to purify the Indian so that one may discover the non-violent technique of meeting a Revolution more in all walks of human life.

V. V. DATTA

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EARTH HOUSES — VII

All damage to the rammed earth walls can very easily and satisfactorily be repaired with cement mortar or with cement concrete in case of more extensive damage. When deep cavities have to be filled, 4" to 6" long nails should be driven into the bottom of the cavity, leaving about 1" to anchor the cement concrete.

When the wall is finished and the roof is laid, then the house must be given a protective and finishing coating.

For internal covering of the walls a mud and mud plaster is the simplest and the best. In America it is called "dugge plaster" and it is made by mixing earth and water with sand, so that there is about 75% of sand in the mixture. Mud by itself will crack up and used by itself has no cohesion, but does not shrink on drying, together they give a smooth and pleasing covering for the wall, before applying the dugge plaster the walls should be smoothed by a spray pump and the plaster should be applied in thin layers, after all crevices in the wall having been filled up beforehand. Each layer should be allowed to dry before the next is applied, if there is a tendency to crack on drying. The plaster is applied to the total thickness of about 1" and, if protected from water, it will last very long. It can be white-washed and painted over with water and oil of paints, although mud is as its best when it is unpainted.

In a dry climate the outer surface of a rammed earth house will become rough, but once completed, it will most weather quite well. The mud on the face the mud and the gravel, which protect the wall underneath. This protection is quite effective. What will seriously damage a bare earth wall is running water and driving side winds. When the monsoon is heavy and the rain-lashing, the earth wall will need a protective cover.

The protection of rammed earth against water can be done in several ways: the wall itself can be impregnated with a suitable substance, or the wall can be painted with a water-proof paint, or the wall can be plastered with a water-resistant plaster.

Embedded asphalt is used for waterproofing and bricks but it is of no use for rammed work, because the mixing in of the asphalt emulsion needs a sticky mud, and cannot be mixed with the cheap dry earth used in ramming. Besides asphalt is impure and costly.

A very cheap and satisfactory way of impregnating water resistance into the wall itself is to have two earth mixtures for ramming the wall with: one natural, and the other very rich in sand, and with the addition of cement at the rate of $\frac{1}{4}$ cwt, for every 100 cubic feet of earth. The addition of cement will reinforce the earth and make it necessary to secrete by running water in order to prevent the premature setting of the cement in the mixture, the water used for ramming the rammed earth should contain some copper sulphate at the rate

of 1 lb. of copper sulphate for every 50 gallons of water. In filling the form with earth for ramming, the cement mixture should be put along the outer side of the form and the rest should be the usual mixture. It is enough if the water is 2 inches in depth on the outer surface of the wall will be made water-resistant by the cement added.

Of all the painted muds, only good limed oil paint has given good, although limited, results. The general impression gathered so far is that earth walls do not take so oil paints. Even a good limed paint will require repair every few years.

The standard way of protecting the rammed earth is by plastering it with suitable plaster. Dugge plaster with the addition of 10% cement by weight gives a cheap and very satisfactory plaster. Before applying the dugge plaster, walls about 4" long are driven into the wall leaving the head to project about 1" above the surface. The nails should be spaced 2" apart at random. The plaster is usually applied in two layers.

Instead of the dugge plaster lime or cement plaster can be applied in the same way.

An ancient way of finishing rammed walls is by arching them diagonally, when set wet, with a sharp point and throwing on them rough cast plaster with a broom. The gravel added to the rough cast plaster (cement or lime) protects the wall effectively against wind. It is reported that on a good quality wall such plaster will last 2 years easily with occasional whitewashing.

Dugge plaster stabilised with asphalt emulsion has also given very good results. For every 100 lb. of dry plaster 1 gallon of emulsion is needed.

Both the dugge asphalt and the dugge cement plasters seem to be the safest manner to the problem of protecting earth walls against heavy rain. The dugge cement is the cheapest of all and perfectly adequate.

The peculiarity of the earth wall is that in "flow", it keeps on "breathing" all the time, absorbing and releasing moisture and air. Maybe this makes an earth house so cozy and healthy, cool in summer and warm in winter. The plasters are inert and sooner or later the bond between the wall and the plaster will break. The plasters will then remain standing by itself with no weight supported by the underlying walls. This is normal and gives an additional protection to the wall beneath, because of the slope between the plaster and the wall in earth houses everything improves with time.

Yet an earth house cannot be left alone. It must be examined at regular intervals and all repairs attended to immediately. A little earth and sand and cement is all that is required and, if treated with efficiency, the house will last indefinitely.

MAURICE FREEMAN

HARIJAN

May 1

1949

QUENCHING HEART-BURNING

An educated Marjane youth writes

"In Indian States, Marjane are many day subjected to gross humiliations by the so-called Marjane. During the summer, at the water-sheds opened at various places Marjane are served water through 4 bamboo pipes, while so-called Marjane are passed ways directly from pots. If a Marjane refuses to take water in this manner, abuse and insult are a daily occurrence. It is a pity that such an ill-treatment is accorded to Marjane in independent India. Having been under subjugation for centuries, they are not in a position to resort to law, particularly as the official machinery today is slow down, from the so-called Marjane. It is depressing to find oneself in this situation and a feeling of despair for the Marjane. I hope, to wonder it, in spite of being continuously humiliated and humiliated, we must still feel proud of being Indian. I cannot understand how such a feeling could be retained so long and how when a person is rebuked, chiefly let us know our (Marjane's) duty under the circumstances."

The process is something arises out of a desire for quenching the heart-burning caused by humiliation. There are two ways by which heart-burning is quenched. One is by the education of missionary societies to punish the so-called Marjane. This method seems to mind usually because life is restrictive and is similar to us from childhood. It is common to run along with other Marjane. Even other childhood is covered even does not always run much above the line. Rather he becomes a more brute because of the greater intellectual development. And thus the so-called Marjane of average and average does an cowardly in human affairs, and is not confined only to individuals but includes great nations and States.

But society does not, and by any number of average and average. This can be ended only by the other method, namely of Satyagraha. Besides quenching the heart-burning it also opens up the way for changing justice. In Satyagraha the wronged person does not seek to punish the offender but instead suffering upon himself, until realisation comes to the wrongdoer and he feels ashamed of his conduct.

We must remember that the race along with its rules of food and drink in the older countries in our country. Not only the followers of the so-called Marjane but even the Jains, Sikhs, Muslims, Christians, etc., are not free from its grip. For a few Hindu religious often means nothing more than certain observances in regard to food, drink and bath and of the distance to be kept in conversing with others in society. And this view of religion prevails among the members of all the sections of the Hindu community, whether they are learned pundits or

uneducated house, labourers, women or children, not excluding Marjane.

It should also be remembered that the so-called missionary regarded a man merely by the uselessness of birth. As a matter of fact, a great majority of them are as backward and ignorant as the majority of Marjane themselves. Thinking and progressive action among both is very small. Consequently the ill-treatment accorded to Marjane is not so much way of an evil hour as it is due to traditional ways of living. The so-called Marjane consider themselves as incapable of breaking the traditional customs, as the Marjane are of becoming to law. Their political actions have been conceived but not those of social customs.

Hence the problems before us as the liberation of both the so-called Marjane and the Marjane. For this, Satyagraha among so-called Marjane and Marjane will have to practice society for working sufferings and free both the sections from their bondage.

In the present case, therefore possible way out. The so-called Marjane should take thirty Marjane to the water-sheds and should not take water themselves until the Marjane are served in an equal manner. If the Marjane are denied equality, their friends should see themselves from speaking and showing emotion. If doubt disturbs them from speaking, they should not venture to do so there possibly, without quenching their heart anywhere else. If this is attended with devotion and without harbouring any ill-will towards the water-shed-keeper, there is every hope that it will bear fruit. There should be no hypocrisy in this way. For example, if one Satyagrahi should not be understood without some thing. The strength does down on our hearts will nullify our efforts. So the thirty so-called Marjane should also the Satyagrahi. If no so-called Marjane corresponds the Marjane in his Satyagraha, the latter can take the step himself. It may be that in such a case he might have to undergo more sufferings, but he should accept them as God's gifts and bear them. If ignorant or cowardly wicked people abuse or beat him, he should still have a sense of forgiveness and wish them well. He, who believes in this manner, is a Marjane. In the true sense of the word, He alone is Satyagrahi.

The teacher will be useful in creating the necessary moral power, because it is itself a protest against the fashion of the day. In this madhouse, when things like the Marjane appear inconspicuous and ridiculous, one who plays it exhibits the courage to stand against the current. One who dares to go wholly against the current in one matter also gets the courage to stand against several other wrongs also.

Washu, 15-4-49

K. G. MASHRUWALA

(Translated from the original in Marjani)

TAJU — MY MOTHER

By

Mansabhai Gadhvi

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NO OBSESSION BUT JUSTICE

A Rajgarh (C. P.) advocate writes:

"Referring to the removal of Urdu script from the sign boards at railway stations near Aizol, you have ruled the question, 'why this anti-Urdu spirit?' I wish to know why is this obsession for Urdu now? Is it in getting the two-nation theory even now? If not, we must have one nation, one nation/onehood and national customs and one national language. Though the Constituent Assembly has not given its decision on the question of script, it has been accepted that there will be one national language. It has also been accepted that in the provinces where other scripts will be through the provincial languages. May I ask you to let me know the province to which Urdu belongs? Has any province or State asked the vote for making Urdu the national language?"

"Even though the question of script is under consideration, the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal—the only opponent of Urdu till the other day—has declared that whether the national language is called Hindi or Hindustani, the national script will be Devanagari."

"If it is not found necessary to write the names of stations near Aizol in Gajardi and Bangali, why should it be necessary to write them in Urdu? Why should we feel harassed towards Urdu, the soul of the one nation theory?"

I do not want to proper the controversy regarding the necessity or otherwise of the Urdu script. It has been sufficiently exposed both ways. It is not a question of obsession for Urdu but one of pure justice and fairness. So long as the matter has not been decided by the Central Government, one of its departments (working out beyond its power) takes the power. Let alone the obsolescence of provincial languages or even of English. Advocates of Nagari do not have the courage to ask other provinces to abandon their respective scripts, or to remove even the Roman script from the station signboards.

I do not feel concerned about what may or may not happen to the Urdu language or the Urdu script in future. Time is a great force and brings about all kinds of changes in every matter, including languages and scripts. Who but some experts are able to read the manuscripts and inscriptions of a thousand years ago? Can anyone, who sees the various forms of scripts today, believe that Tamil and Devanagari were both derived from the same Brahmi script in the process of time? But they are. Not only that, it can also be shown that Syriac, Arabic and Roman scripts have also the same origin. Therefore neither do I consider Devanagari as the script of gods, and Urdu of Sages or Roman of thieves, nor Urdu as of Allah and Devanagari of Infidel, or Roman of Christians. All scripts are man-made. They are meant for man's convenience. Therefore if there comes into existence one world script, I shall welcome it.

When I regret is the feeling of sadness which is at the step of the present appointment to Urdu.

"... why this obsession for Urdu now?" Is it in getting the two-nation theory even now? This 'now' and 'now now' reveal the story. Why should I accept that because we are politically divided into two States, the India, the Peshawar, the Baluchistan, Pathanistan, Kashmir, Lakshar, Dacca and the people living there have ceased to be a part of my country and my nation? The existence of two independent Dominions is no reason for me to regard that the Hindus and Muslims, who live in Pakistan and who work in Urdu, cease to be my countrymen. My definition of my country and my attitude towards the people living there are not going to be varied every time there are changes in the political map of the country. These changes are brought about by a few statesmen engaged in the game of politics. We have witnessed the inglorious results of involving the common man in it. It is those narrow-minded and selfish people (both Hindus and Muslims) who, in the name of Hindutva and Islam, caused this bloodshed, divided not only the country but also government like the Punjab and Bengal, ruined the lives of hundreds of innocent people and ended in taking the life of Mrs. who had brought to them their emancipation.

According to a measure that the Urdu script is claimed by Muslims only, there are four provinces of Muslims spread all over the provinces in the Indian Union and therefore Urdu is to some extent present in all these provinces. Nagari has yet to achieve that place, for it cannot be claimed that even Sindhi is written through Nagari in all provinces.

Who is going to raise a voice in favour of Urdu, when Hindus are in majority in all provinces? And because none does so, one injustice becomes justice? Should I not raise my voice, only because it is a question affecting a minority? The mischief perpetrated at Aizol is not confined to the removal of the name on the Urdu script but it runs along with it such as a Marathi-Hindi's glosses. Perhaps this has aroused the notice of the learned advocates. If the Hindus are in a majority, they must have self-confidence and generosity but it is not even a question of generosity. It is simply a question of justice and fairness.

Wardha, 25-3-49 E. G. MANDIRWALA.
(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

Well Done!

An A. P. I. report says:

"Mr. M. B. Anay, Governor of Bihar, declined to take his dinner at a party arranged in his honour today and went away without taking food as the number of guests exceeded the prescribed number under the Guest Control Order."

It is hoped that his example will be copied and those responsible for the breach of order will be suitably dealt with.

Wardha, 25-4-49

E. G. M.

NOTES

"Sarvodaya"

When equally honest and sincere men find themselves in opposite camps round about the name of a single objective, it may be assumed that somehow or other each name is associated in the mind of the other side with different aspects in some part. The names Hindi and Hindustani are analogous to the point. The Hindi Sahitya Samaksh and the Hindi Congress in general object to the word Hindustani, because that word in their minds is a synonym for Urdu, and a word of faith in the other side makes them apprehend that the adoption of that word for the national language will mean opening the door for the introduction of the over-Akhbar-Peshawari Urdu. In the same way, the advocates of the word Hindustani object to the word Hindi, because it has been associated in their minds with the over-Indianised Hindi. Each side has now declared its favour of a style in which both the extremes are avoided and no word is discovered solely because of its foreign origin. But each doubts the honest intent of the other, because of the words with which each name is treated upon by its advocate. Each asks the other: "If you and I am agreed about the concrete, why do you not accept my name?"

This tangle can be resolved in only two ways: If the choice is to be made only between these two names, by accepting the whole matter as my own or more of the leaders suggested at the Wardha meeting viz. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Rajendra-prasad and Justice Vallabhbhai Patel, another way is to adopt as altogether new name with no previous history in the Wagon of the 12th March last, I stated: "Our country is Sarvodaya-Sarvodaya and our common language too should be Sarvodaya-Sarvodaya." A reader suggests that in the absence of an agreement about the names Hindi and Hindustani, some of them might be used for the common language and we might call it the Sarvodaya language. *Wardha, 20-4-48* E. G. M.

What Is Our Source?

"That plus springs out of non-violence" I believe your thoughts at that point were most helpful (Harijan, March 6th). Will a little more elaboration be helpful?

Jesus said, "God is Love, God is Truth". Thus I would ascribe "Non-violence". The Greek had three words for Love; not the sexual love, not the midway friendly concern and finally, Divine Love. Godday always liked non-violence up to the down-level. That we should ever keep in mind.

Jesus was constantly reminding us that we could get nowhere unless we had a "Living faith in God". Does not that statement bring us pretty close to the true Source of all solid, good work? And Gandhi's non-violence faithfulness to his prayer and devoted life makes me feel that here is the true Source of our whole constructive programme.

But I think that "Living faith in God" and "faith" is constantly shaken less the trying

time of life it will not be long! Jesus was one moment in close communion with His Truth, the next moment, in firm grip with a critical problem of life. But Jesus has always commended my respect because it does not try to evade life. And I believe to be finally successful it must also never lose its grip on God—or Truth or ultimate, if you please.

Do I need to remind ourselves that such a "Living faith in God" is not always experienced in our churches or temples? Often it seems to be experienced by the more knowledge of religious disciplines. Even a non-Churchman like Abraham Lincoln had that "Living faith in God", and in so far as he did, he lived for eternity!

RALPH RICHARD KIRKBRIDE

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Demonstrated bus columns at Rs 45 each are available from the All India Village Industries Association, Majumdar, Wardha. They have to be taken from bus to bus.

Other bus-hiring equipment are also available. For particulars please write to the Secretary, A. I. V. I. A., Majumdar, Wardha.

REFUGEE REHABILITATION—SOME SUGGESTIONS

India has had to face a number of hard problems since the Independence Day. Those that were political were solved, both with speed and wisdom. Two of them however yet seem to haile us—one, a socio-economic problem pertaining to the rehabilitation of refugees and the other, the food problem with its repercussions on the welfare of races. To me mind the first is the more urgent that must be and can be dealt within a couple of years. The other is a world problem and requires both a short and long term policy for its solution.

The refugee problem is the more urgent as it is much more psychological and emotional than material. Almost all refugees have suffered loss of property and employment. Many have suffered loss of life, not a few have also suffered loss of respect. All this suffering can be endured and after all Time and Work are great healers. But nothing can easily reconcile the refugees to the present situation of the places of their birth and upbringing. Cut off from their homelands, they seem to be always ill in body and mind. The dream of a Great Bharat leaves them now and then. The Indian refugees are cut to lose his language, his customs, his temples and associations that make a society with its own way of life. Today Indians are in camps, herded together passively, away from relatives, without occupation, with the education of their children neglected and with everything that reminds them of their distress. They are at times and even with themselves bound in a segregated world filled with lowered eyes. Widespread confusion of speeches has but heightened their instability. As it is, the most normal and even-composed refugee is really not normal, because not at peace with himself.

MEDIUM OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS

When it was announced that it was decided as a common policy of all the provinces that wherever the provincial language might be, the medium of instruction of primary schools should be the mother-tongue of the child (if there were sufficient number of children to learn), I thought that it was a satisfactory decision. It appears, however, that the matter need have a different view from what was assumed by me, along with others.

Ever since the adoption of the Basic Education idea, the term Primary Education was usually taken by "suggested" educationists to be equivalent to Basic Education, which extends to not less than seven years. The Government having also adopted the term Basic Education, I thought that the child would study the mother-tongue during the entire period of Basic Education. I, however, discover now that owing to the policy of bifurcating Basic Education at the end of least at two years under the terms Junior and Senior Basic Classes (also Primary and Secondary Education), the term Primary Education will denote the same as only the first four or five years of training. This is too short a period for giving the mother-tongue even a good foundation and cannot surely ensure exposure to places where the security is provided. Educationally the change-over is awkward. If the conversion of the mother-tongue school is as off as he needs to absorbing, it should extend over the whole period of Basic Education, i.e. seven years. At the end of that period, the guardian would have the alternative of allowing the child to be trained through the language of that province or of sending it to a school in his home-province. The child would be old enough at that period to be sent away from home. I speak that not as a mere theoretical educationist but as one who had to shift constantly from Gujarati into Marathi and vice versa in the primary stage, and known in detail on the child's career; also as one who has come regularly of his family educated through Marathi entirely and others through Gujarati entirely and some shifted from one to another according to circumstances and as one who knows how it has affected each of them. While it is possible for many people to have a working knowledge of several languages, it is not that as a general rule a man is not able to write or speak more than two languages accurately. More so when the matter has been made as the very foundation of the mother-tongue is to be the medium of education for four or five years only. I would prefer if I had a word under me, to put it into a school of the provincial language from the very beginning to absorbing it in the mother-tongue for four or five years and then put it into the provincial language school. The latter child would reasonably be at a disadvantage on account of a weak linguistic foundation and would also often provide at his own expense but to obtain for minutes of grammar, idiom and pronunciation. A child between 12 and 15 is too self-conscious to enjoy such fun.

The very idea of bifurcation of courses during the Basic stage is absurd.

Wardha, 20-4-69

E. G. MARATHWALA

CLARIFICATION ABOUT MODI

Referring to the note *Review of Modi* in the *Harvest* of the 3rd April, I have received the following clarification:

"These appear to be some misapprehensions about what we have recently done for Modi in this Province and why Modi script is adopted (as you stated) only in Marathi and not in the other languages of the Province. There is a wealth of material in Marathi language available only in Modi and Modi is also our current for maintenance of Indian accounts. We have now provided for the teaching of this script at various stages of school education in Marathi only. We are working to clear that there is no compulsion about it.

"It has also been made clear that native languages should not be given to the teaching of the script in the curriculum of the Marathi primary schools in the curriculum of the general education of the child the intention being to provide facilities for learning the script to those who like to do so. I welcome the clarification.

There can be no objection to anybody acquiring the knowledge of Modi or let the matter of that, any script whatever. At a proper stage in education, there can be provision for the study of a new script (old or current) at the option of the student, just as there can be about an additional language. Along with other optional groups, there can be a script group also Modi is certainly, as I stated in my note referred to, within certain limits a convenient way of writing, and in preparing for particular departments and literary career, it is useful in its content. But if it is allowed to be used once again in public documents and new writings, it will create for the administration and the public the same difficulties which were in existence about a generation ago and the reduction of which led to its abandonment. It may also be remembered that of the study of Modi is not considered as an additional burden upon the student, the study of Urdu cannot also be objected to on that ground.

Wardha, 22-4-69

E. G. MARATHWALA

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skills in their homes and domains and their personal interests. In many ways books can enhance a child's view beyond the local scene.

In an ideal community the improved process of all round education and development without text-books of classes and with only occasional formal teaching, as in learning the mathematics table, would result in fairly developed personality. Whenever any family or community will give their help in making this ideal as I understand it the case at Sevagram, such effort should be welcomed and encouraged.

In one respect such undertakings may not be representative of what is immediately possible on a large scale. Some of the teachers there have a wide and rich cultural background and have developed good skill in informal education. Even though the expenditure of money is small the expenditure of life and service may be concentrated in a way that for a long time will not be generally possible. So cost must be accepted on a wide basis, but in the available village service in those terms it will be very expensive. How to make the total available resources, both personal and financial, acceptable must be a major problem.

In my opinion neither India nor the United States can rely wholly on prearranged schools. In America, it is found too expensive even to very well furnished private schools to rely entirely on what in America is called, the proper method that is learning through the natural and natural acquisition of living is a expensive not only in money and the time of teachers but in the life and time of the children. Through the ages, men have learned how to acquire and to clarify knowledge, so that it can be preserved and acquired with economy of time. The problem is on the one hand to have enough experience in the normal and natural acquisition of living so that children become at home with them and skilled in them, and on the other hand, to take advantage of the economy of the living process which books and formal teaching will provide. Book learning is so deeply entrenched in conventional education that there is constant danger that after slight effort to introduce experience with the natural process of living such methods will be declared impracticable or visionary and teaching will lapse back into the old course of learning only, or chiefly from books. Lip service may be paid to living education long after the spirit has departed.

I believe it is important that a large amount of freedom be left to individual teachers, schools, communities and provinces to experiment with various methods and combinations of learning from life and learning from books. In so much as learning from books has been the nearly universal method, and has the prestige of age, while learning from life has not yet gained full recognition or fully developed its methods, it would seem to me that to give most of the time and effort of teacher-training

to the process of learning from living. However, learning from books has been done so badly that it also needs research.

The matter of keeping adults growing boys and girls confined in school of the conventional kind for twenty or thirty hours a week in a form of imprisonment when as painful and as harmful to the child as a prison imprisonment is to an adult. Most adults agree how it is to be a child. Childhood should have a large amount of time for sharing in home and community life and work and for play, as just for pleasure and service.

Taking these various conditions into account and taking into account also the very great financial burden involved in overcoming illiteracy in India, I should like to suggest the following programme for the early school-years in a village.

The children of the village would be divided into two groups. Each half would attend school half the six working days of a week, when other half days or three days of a week. On the other days they would be free to live at home to help their parents or simply to live and grow.

The school days would be under the programme of least attention. Unavoidable freedom should be left to each teacher and to each community to work out plan as to the nature of learning from life to learning from books.

There is some interesting evidence to the effect that children learn much more than half as much in their study periods than in periods twice as long. The learning process seems to continue in the subconscious mind when our attention is on other matters. If children should attend school three days in a week, there would be several advantages. There would have less strain of physical movement, which, in my personal opinion, is the cause of maladjustment in America. They would be living with their families and in the community and would be getting informal education. Lastly, with a great public expenditure the whole of India's children could be reached nearly twice as soon. In America the loss of traditional art and culture is great because children are so much cut off from home and community life.

In case of many villages the traditions of common life may have become so impoverished that much of the time boys and girls would spend their without direction would be less rather than gain. Each situation should be judged on its merits, but there should be care not to overlook these elements of culture that are so elemental that they seem to be a part of nature.

ARTHUR E. MORGAN

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HARIJAN

May 8

1947

THE NEW FELLOWSHIP

The following is the text of the statement issued this morning from No. 20 Downing Street, London, and the office of the Indian Deputy Prime Minister, New Delhi:

During the past week the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon and the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs have met in London to exchange views upon the numerous commonwealth issues arising from India's decision to adopt a Republic form of constitution and her desire to continue her membership of the Commonwealth.

The Governments have been concerned with the effects of such a development upon the existing structure of the Commonwealth and the international relations between its members.

They have been conducted in an atmosphere of goodwill and mutual understanding and have had as their historical background the traditional aspects of the Commonwealth as a strength in unity of purpose while adapting its organisation and procedures to changing circumstances.

After full discussion the representatives of the Governments of all the Commonwealth countries have agreed that the conclusions reached should be placed on record in the following declaration:

The Governments of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, whose countries are united as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and owe a common allegiance to the Crown which is also the symbol of their free association, have considered the impending constitutional changes in India.

The Governments of India have informed the other Commonwealth of the Commonwealth of the intention of the Indian people that under the new constitution which is about to be adopted India shall become a sovereign independent Republic.

The Governments of India have, however, declared and affirmed India's desire to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations and her acceptance of the King as the symbol of the free association of an independent member country and as such the head of the Commonwealth.

The Governments of the other countries of the Commonwealth also have all whose membership of the Commonwealth is not hereby changed, accept and recognise India's continuing

membership in the Commonwealth and the declaration.

Accordingly, the British (Empire) Statute, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, hereby declare themselves remain united as free, sovereign, independent Commonwealth of Nations, freely associating in the pursuit of peace, friendship and progress.

The very fact that in 1931 it was decided to continue to become a Republic, and in 1935 it was decided to take an independent position in international politics, the other decisions which resulted in India as an equal member in a nation of the world of Sovereignty. For Sovereignty cannot be said to have fulfilled itself, which would a stable friendship and goodwill between persons which were inevitable mutually benefit. This friendship is coming about. Let us hope it will not develop into a state of peace and friendship also between India, South Africa and other countries.

It is a sort of fellowship, whose members will co-operate with one another for mutual personal progress, but will be under no obligation to stand by one another for military policy or for the formation of political power blocs.

India, which has declared policy to support the cause of world peace may be regarded as having formed seven members of a single Indian nation as its probable co-operators. How far India is able to advance this cause will depend entirely upon her own consistent policy, vision and practical advice. If we are able to continue that one of Gandhi and Nehru without a break, we have now or have a good chance for doing so. It is a long term programme of conscious devotion to an ideal.

The purpose of the King in the Commonwealth may be thus stated. He will continue to be the head of the other members of the Commonwealth as he is now. He will not be the head of India. But he will be accepted as the head of the fellowship called the Commonwealth of Nations. To speak generally, as between the King and the President of India, the King will take the senior rank. The King will have no power over India, even as the President of India will have no power over other members of the Commonwealth. Where there are disputes they will require such powers as their respective constitutions allow.

Considering the subject partly from the point of Peace and Neutrality, I repeat that any continuation of the old British Commonwealth is a step to be welcomed.

Warrior, 30-4-47

K. G. MADHUPURIA

Vansagari Radicals Notified

According to the Annual Report of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, they experiment show that feeding vansagari to cattle reduces the absorption of calcium by 15 to 25 per cent as compared with glycer. It also lowers the absorption rates of calcium and phosphorus.

J. C. K.

CHARGE OF LINGUISTIC IMPERIALISM

That a North Indian language should be put forth as the common language for all India is regarded by a section of South India as "Linguistic Imperialism" of the Northeners! The charge is not well-founded and should not be considered and encouraged by thoughtful people. A common language for all India has always been a great necessity and some language or another has always occupied that position. Sanskrit, Prakrit, Parnasi, Urdu (for Hindustani) English have for a short or a long period occupied that service. Among these the Persian and English have been the only languages which were imposed by rulers over the ruled. The real question that importance is a democratic manner.

The construction of the Devanagari Peewee in the development of these languages has been unique and of a special character. Though these common languages (except English) were born in the North in every case they have been pushed, standardised and developed to a high degree of perfection and preserved by the people of the South. Thus Sanskrit was born, perhaps in Kashmir or Punjab, propagated from Bharata, but it is the South Indian pronunciation of Sanskrit which is regarded as more perfect. For instance, the Northeners do not distinguish between the sounds of *श* and *स* which even a child in Andhra can. The Northeners have also persecuted the pronunciation of *थ* and *ध* even in pure Sanskrit words. It was the South Indian Jalaraya who made the study of Sanskrit indispensable for the study of Hindu scriptures—whether philosophical or devotional through their Bhaskara and other Sanskrit works.

So also in regard to the development of Hindi or Hindustani. Its literature owes not a little to persons living from the South (including Mahabharata) for its evolution, even before it was stereotypically put forth as the common language. Since its acceptance as the common language was refused, South India has already given a greater contribution to that language than any northern province where regional tongue is not Hindustani. Shri M. Jayaramayya and his organisation have already occupied an important place in the development of the common language and I would not be surprised that if a question arose about a single or to which of two forms was more correct a day might come when a South Indian may be regarded as the proper referee. During the times when Persian was the court language, it often happened that a Hindu scholar was regarded as a greater authority than a Muslim one on questions of Persian or Arabic grammar and spelling. The reason is that a North Indian (such as a Gujarati, Central Indian, Rajasthan, Bihar, Punjab and others), because he thinks that there is not much difference between his own tongue and the common language, learns it indifferently and often mixes up his own words and forms with the common language. The South Indian, because he has no such assumption, learns

it carefully, first and it stands in contrast with it very carefully, thus it is a common language.

Even if we have to use Hindi (or Hindustani) as the common language, its structure will be changed to a great extent by the present Hindi of the Hindi provinces. The written Hindi and the provincial Hindustani are rather different, even as Scotch English and English and American English have become somewhat different. Every province will set its stamp upon the common language and South Indian provinces will not be exceptions.

There need be, therefore, no apprehension in the South Indian mind that the acceptance of the proposed common language (Hindi or Hindustani) will in any way be superior to the South. The South Indian pronunciation and word-typers have spread all over India even through English. They will do the same through Hindustani also.

English came upon us by force of political domination. It was accepted reluctantly. And yet the South Indians made great progress in that language. What progress may this not make in Hindustani? They must drop the hostile feeling towards it.

Since we must have a common language and since it cannot be English, Hindustani is the only possible vehicle. Let it be accepted as inevitable for the service of India.

Wardha, 27.4.46 E. G. MAHARAJWALA RESSETTLEMENT OF WEST PUNJAB HARIJAN REFUGEES

While it should be most regrettable discrimination between one refugee and another as Harijan or non Harijan, Sikh or Hindu is a highly important to understand the social and economic background of various castes of refugees in the interest of their proper resettlement. Approached in this light the problem of refugees resolves itself into that of various groups and classes that have migrated from West Punjab e.g. shopkeepers, businessmen, clerks, lawyers, teachers, labouring class, agriculturalists, etc.

Like the Harijans of East Punjab those migrating from West Punjab have been Indian labouring class, living in the countryside and following agricultural labour-industrial pursuits in varying degree but predominantly agricultural. As casual field labourers, farm servants and servants, they have been playing an important role in the rural economy of the province. There are also among them weavers, shoe-makers, tanners, but only in very exceptional cases they exclusively follow these crafts and professions. In practice they always keep agriculture or some craft as a second string to their bow.

Socially the condition of Harijan refugees in their ancestral homes was far from enviable. They were treated as outcasts from the society and deprived of the elementary civic rights of drawing water from public wells, and visiting places of worship and mixing with the so-called higher classes.

on terms of social equality, etc. In brief they carried the burden of social and economic inferiority round their necks until their migration to East Punjab as refugees.

It is impossible to ignore the psychology created by the background. The Marjha refugees have been asked to fill the gaps in villages created by the exodus of Muslim landless classes. While a majority of them have gone and settled in villages, the more self-conscious and self-respecting among them are clinging to the refugee camps and refuse to lead the life of earth which luckily or unluckily they have forsaken. Such a person might be taken as misguided on this point, but an exception must be noted by those interested in their rehabilitation.

There are, according to the latest computation, about twenty-five thousand Marjha refugees taking shelter in various refugee camps, mostly in Jalandhar. The quickest and easily the standard way to rehabilitate them would have been to scatter them on the available lands in cultivating areas as to be more precise, as allottees on quasi-permanent basis. This the East Punjab Government are unwilling to do, as their declared policy is to allow land to those who owned land in West Punjab to which blessed be the Marjhas have never belonged. In these days of food-shortage, the Government would rather convert the hills on the score of allowing land to over-crowding refugees, than to grant out-castes like the Marjhas. Their land has not been allotted to them, not as it is not desired, but the contention is that not all allottees are technically equipped to exploit land in the best possible manner.

Be that as it may the resettlement of the Marjha refugees on land having been ruled out, the next best thing is to settle them in urban areas. This involves consideration of two problems: (a) that of housing them and providing them with occupation.

With regards to housing it is high time that the East Punjab Government took up the question of providing permanent shelter to homeless and poor class refugees to which section the Marjhas belong. About 6000 houses of European type built by them and now being maintained at Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Khanna, Phagwa and other towns are being purchased by richer and well-to-do refugees. Their construction, however, has reached only a fringe of the tremendous housing needs of the refugees.

In preparing a programme for housing the Marjhas and other classes, due consideration must be given to the following, to secure their prosperity: (a) availability of land and space required for a single housing unit, (b) minimum bank area required for meeting the urgent needs of one refugee family unit (two persons), having enough scope for subsequent addition, (c) resources of the Government.

The acquisition of land for housing the Marjha refugees with whom a beginning for a scheme class housing scheme should be made and not proceed much difficult. Big areas of land left to Muslim

overseas are available near about Bhatia, Amritsar, Jalandhar, Ludhiana, and they can be put to no better use than providing shelter to the refugees. The technical difficulty that houses cannot be built on congested property, which is legally supposed to be held in trust, can be got over by leaving out house-sites to the Marjha refugees preferably on congested basis.

An area of 5 acries or 1125 square feet (one acre = 350 square feet) should normally suffice to house one family unit. Each of these houses when completed would have a built area of about 300 square feet, leaving an ample open space of 715 square feet. As there are about 4000 families or 20,000 Marjhas now stranded in various refugee camps, the total area required would be 20,000 acries or 550 acres. If an equal area is reserved for streets, open space and common amongst the total area for 4000 families will be 250 acres only.

A commencement may be made by building only one room and one kitchen of reinforced brickwork, which refugees should be made to construct themselves. In place of the cost of common roofing material and one door and two windows (taking a common sense estimate, the total cost per house at existing rates should not exceed Rs. 250). If one labouring class housing colony consists of 500 family units, the cost will be Rs. 1,25,000 and exclusive of cost on lay-out and common water supply, about Rs. 1,50,000 at the maximum.

Provision date of recurring expenditure now being incurred on the upkeep of various refugee camps is not available. But the cost per refugee on top-heavy staff feeding, accommodation, cannot be less than Rs. 20 p m. There are about two lakhs refugees in various camps in the East Punjab, to whom the Government are daily spending 40 lakhs every month. Housing is three-fourths of rehabilitation. This scheme if fruitfully worked out, with the added advantage of bringing about a drastic reduction in the State expenditure, will also largely help in the settlement of refugees. Evidently no better use than on housing can be made of our very abundant resources of the Government.

Forwarding work to the refugees in the long run is a part of the productive drive which the Government are making for housing down prices, and if the schemes are prepared with sufficient knowledge and executed with determination and valour, they can bring income to the people and also enrich the State. The Marjha refugees at Jalandhar camp have organised four Industrial Co-operatives of Weavers, Tailors, Sewers-workers and Tinsmiths and Basket-makers, but red tape is obstructing their progress at various ends. A number of similar co-operatives can be formed among the Marjhas and other class of refugees, for the idea has in it the seed of immense prosperity. What is needed is that the people at the directing end should have sympathetic understanding, forethought, authority and determination to get things done.

MUKHARJAN

ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

VII

REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY
(Continued)

These collages followed by the so-called untouchables are performed in the Ashram, and improved methods are devised in each. Every one in the Ashram has in turn to do menial service which is looked upon not as a special calling but a universal duty. No caste-discriminatory is engaged for this work, which is carried on as has suggested by Dr. Pooni. Night-work is limited to shallow members and is thus restricted into measure to only a few days. Dr. Pooni says that the soil is living up to a depth of twelve inches. Millions of bacteria are there to clean up dirt. Sunlight and air purifies the ground to that depth. Therefore uncleaned houses in the upper layer readily combine with the earth.

Cleanliness is so constructed that there are less than small and there is no difficulty in cleaning them. Every one who wants them covers the night-soil with plenty of the earth so that the soil is always dry.

Then again we have handloom weaving. Coarse black was manufactured in Gujarat by Marjara women only. The industry was almost on the verge of destruction, and many women were compelled to take up scavenging for a living. But now there has been a revival of the handloom.

Thirdly we have tanning. We shall deal with it in the chapter on cow service.

The Ashram does not believe in education. There are no universities or boarding, and all Ashramites are to labour in the same line. But no propaganda is feared of maintaining or carried on outside the Ashram, as it is unnecessary for the removal of untouchability which implies the lifting of bans imposed on Marjara in public institutions and detaching the impression that a man is polluted by the touch of certain persons by reason of their birth in a particular family. This disability can also be removed by legislation. Inwardness and inner-ness are reforms of a different type which cannot be promoted by legislation or social pressure. The Ashramites therefore feel themselves free to take personal food work every one else but do not carry on any such propaganda.

Schools are established and wells sunk for Marjara through the Ashram which chiefly leads the labour for such services. The real anti-untouchability work carried on in the Ashram is the reformed conduct of the Ashramites. There is no room in the Ashram for any idea of high and low.

However the Ashram believes that women and ashramites are essential elements of Hindutva. Only it puts a different interpretation on these time-honoured terms. Four women and four ashramites are an arrangement not peculiar to Hindutva but capable of world-wide application and a universal rule, the breach of which has involved humanity in massive sin. The four ashramites are Brah-

minaries, pariahs, rascals and women. Brahminery is the stage during which men as well as women prosecute their studies, and should not only observe brahminery but should also be free from any other burden except that of studies. The last till at least the twentieth year, when the studies become a household affair. The scholar about 80-75 per cent of the students then become householders. But this stage should close at the age of fifty. During that period the householder enjoys the pleasure of life, makes money, practices a profession and rears a family. From fifty to seventy-five wife and husband should live apart and wholly devote themselves to the service of the people. They must leave their families and try to look upon the world as a big family. During the last 25 years they should become persons free apart, act in the temple as example of ideal religious life and maintain themselves with whatever the people choose to give them. It is clear that society as a whole would be elevated if many earned out this scheme in their lives.

So far as I am aware the ashram arrangement is unknown outside India, but even in India it has practically disappeared as present. There is no such thing now as brahminery which is intended to be the foundation of life. For the rest we have swamyas, most of them such only in name, with nothing of swamyas about them except the swamy robes. Many of them are ignorant, and some who have acquired learning are not known of brahmins but swamys. There are some homogeneity swamys but even these well-conducted swamys lack the liberty we have to associate with swamyas. It is possible that some well swamyas lead a solitary life. But it is obvious that swamyas as a stage in life has fallen into disrepute. A society which is moved by able swamyas would not be poor in spirit, uneducated even with the necessities of life, and "politically dependent as Hindu society is at present. If swamyas were with us a living thing, it would exert a powerful influence on neighbouring faiths for the swamyas is a concept not only of Hindutva but of all the faiths of mankind.

But we can never hope to see such swamyas unless brahminery is observed in the country. As for rascals, there is no trace of it. The last stage we have to consider is that of the householder. But our householders are prone to over-greedy self-indulgence. Householders in the absence of the three other ashramites live like house-holders. It is the one thing which differentiates man from beast, but it is possessed no longer.

The Ashram is engaged in the great endeavour to regenerate the four ashramites. It is like an ant trying to lift a bag of sugar. This effort though apparently ridiculous is part of the Ashram quest of truth. All the women of the Ashram invariably observe brahminery. Permanent members never observe it for life. All the members are not members in this sense. Only a few are members, the rest

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

CARE: K. G. KARNATAWALA



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TWO ANNAS

WRITING SPIRIT

* The *Harivansh* of 27th March explains the idea of Harijanry. You have given similar lead to the people in other articles also. If the object of the *Harjan* is to guide the people on the path laid down by Gandhiji and not to make a monetary proposal out of it, why don't you ask the Honourable Ministers to practice these principles first? Do you think that the spirit of Gandhiji is present in the statements of the Home Minister of Bombay, Mr. Morarji Desai or the Law Minister of New Delhi? May I expect a frank reply in the *Harjan* or will you also be afraid of them? Why don't you speak out plainly to them when they contact Harijanry Ministers? If these Ministers read your note on *Yashwantrao Chavan* and will disappear, The Ministers put forth some of Gandhiji every now and then but they never follow him in practice. May I ask you to suggest a remedy to this?

This is typical of the letters I receive more often than not. I have given them a place in the *Pages* side like an *Interim* but in order to show to the public the confusion of thought, wrong spirit and unconscience of such critics. This is the type of ideas which are spread unconsciously and they mislead the people.

The main object of the *Harjan* is to reach the masses and to raise them to the level where they may be able to establish their own *Swami* and *sewa* from. The *Harjan* is the servant of Harijans (God's children—the people). It is neither the servant nor the master of the Ministers. As the Ministers also are servants of the people they and the *Harjan* are both workers in the same cause.

If we count the Ministers in the whole of India, there are not as many as two hundred and fifty and those of the lower rank will be even less than a hundred. If any suggestion is to be made to them, it can be done more effectively and profitably by a direct letter instead of through the Ministers. The *Harjan* is meant for educating the public and for publishing that which might be useful both to the public and the administration.

There can be no comparison between Gandhiji and myself. Gandhiji was the leader of all these Ministers. They took their training under him. On the other hand, a majority of the leading Ministers are my seniors and respected leaders of their pro-

vinces by their own merit. Some of them have even influenced me like his chief disciple while others need not regard me more than an equal colleague. It is courteous of them that they consider my views with respect.

Honesty and cowardice stand down before when-
ever occupies the chair and seek his favour. They are themselves quitters. On the other hand, justice is an incorruptible find-finder. As soon as a person occupies a place of power, she will stand even less where she once respected, passed and drew inspiration from all the other day. Whether office-bearers fall below the standard of proper conduct or no, the serious critic does it would mean that the more fact that a person occupies power was his greatest fault and so he must be condemned for whatever takes place during his period of office. Even the leader of the people must be thrown on to other hands. These small mistakes look like mountains.

It is not that the Ministers alone use Gandhiji's name frequently. Everyone of us does so. Even the correspondent writes in the name of Gandhiji, and so does every one. And yet how many of them speak? How many help the Harijans and release? How many pay the government taxes honestly? Good government cannot be achieved in this way. Government must improve if the people improve. If the people do not even a reputation cannot bring good government to them. Therefore, I give more importance to the people than to the government. I do not believe in the saying, 'As the government, so the people' (इति वाच्यं वाच्यं). It is more correct to say, 'A people cannot have a better government than they deserve' (एवमेव वाच्यं वाच्यं).

It is not too difficult to remove elected Ministers. The removal has already come about in some of the provinces due to internal group work. The people of *Harjan* and some other provinces should be thankful that these cabinets do not suffer from internal quarrels and they work in a team spirit. If there is a demand from the representatives of the people, Ministers like Morarji Desai, Chakrabarti, Desai, Yashwantrao Chavan and others are not people who will try to stick to their places anyhow. There can be no doubt about their sincerity and ability. So before thinking of replacing them, it would be better to think of persons who will replace them so as to secure better chances of improving the administration. It may be taken for granted that those also who come in their places will not be

able to escape the onslaught of jealousy and will be shattered in the same way as the previous holders of office.

Nobody claims that *Shawana* has come. But it will have to be admitted that it has come at least in one respect. In the days of British rule, even leaders often lacked the courage to criticize the Government in the official press for established facts. These criticism took care to see that it did not fall within the ambit of Section 124-A I P. C. Under responsible Government, however, has the freedom and the courage of the writers of *Shawana* in safe words and random propaganda about the Marwari and others even as an irresponsible manner. Sekary has won at least that much for the people. This is really a great point. If it is rightly used *Shawana* will survive, otherwise it might be lost again. If we want a Communist administration, we may be able to have it. But let us remember that under a Communist government no one will be allowed to criticize the government. Such critics will either have to give up his hand to his country.

Wardha, 26-4-49

K. C. MANDREKAR

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

Hindi and Marathi Short-hand Classes

The organizers of Short-hand classes at Hindi and Marathi under the Government Sanshodhan College of Commerce, Wardha, announce that the new classes will begin from 1st July 1949. It will have two courses. Correspondence Course of 8 months and a Reporting Course of 40 months. Besides, students will also be trained in Nagari Typewriting. Diplomas will be awarded to successful candidates. Those interested should apply to the Principal of the College before 31st May 1949. Printed admission forms can be had from the College office on sending postage worth 9 paise.

The fees for Correspondence Course will be Rs. 60 and for Reporting Rs. 100.

Accommodation for a few students is available in the College hostel which will have to be reserved by paying Rs. 25 in advance.

The system taught in the College is recognized by a Committee appointed by the Constituent Assembly of India. During the studentship session of 1945-48, 40 students from various parts of India were admitted to these classes and 15 students have received the diploma *Shangshiksha Prasang*.

Breves

The following errors have crept in in the article *Earth Shakes - VII* in the *Harjan* dated 1st May 1948, page 65, column 2:

Line 22, for 2" read 10"

Line 38, for 2 years read 12 years

POOD SHORTAGE AND PALMS

While maps and plans are being vigorously investigated to solve the problem of food, it will be of great value to consider the possibility of super-yielding palm trees which are in great abundance almost all over India.

One of the ways of reducing the shortage of cereals is to increase the storage under cereal crops. The part the palm can play in making this remedy available deserves careful scrutiny.

It is not only cereals which give a complete diet. Our body has an important place in a balanced diet and since the supply of *gar* and *sugar* has a bearing on the production of cereals, the palm tree are likely to play a very important part.

At present, sugarcane is almost our only source of *gar* and *sugar*. About 40 lakh acres of land suitable for raising cereals is occupied by sugarcane in India. 60% of this land is under irrigation, which means that super-cane thrives on fertile land, particularly irrigated. Fertile land is of course quite useful for raising cereals like wheat and even a double crop of paddy can be grown in the irrigated rice fields. This average yields 40 lakh tons of *gar* and 18 lakh tons of *sugar*. Almost the whole of these are utilized for national consumption only a very small portion being exported. Distances consider that the present *gar* and *sugar* requirements of *gar* and *sugar*, which is 26.5 lb ought to be increased to 45 lb. This would involve a further increase of cane acreage on the tune of 18 lakh acres. If this is done, it will add to the existing depletion of cereal production.

Gar and *sugar* and cereals of the same like semi-refined *gar*, have super-cane, etc., can also be prepared from the fresh sweet juice obtained from palm trees. The palm trees grow, unlike sugarcane, on non-agricultural waste land, which is not useful for raising cereal crops. The existing number of palm trees is estimated as the neighbourhood of two crores. Of these about one crore may be considered as already being utilized for the present cereal production of palm *gar* in Madras and Bengal and for the supply of toddy in the provinces where complete prohibition has not yet been introduced. From the remaining about four crore palms, it may be possible to produce about 175 lakh tons of *gar*. This potential palm *gar* production can be an immediate remedy for obtaining 15 lakh acres for producing more cereals without disturbing the supply of *gar* and *gar*.

If at all the supply of balanced diet to every citizen is the object to be really achieved, the land occupied by sugarcane will have to be progressively increased if no other source of important *gar* is suitably substituted. The average intake in the population is about 50 lakhs annually. For meeting the huge needs of the increased number of consumption, about 15 thousand more acres will have to be added to the cane acreage every year. But by substituting palm *sugar*, the much land can be advantageously devoted to production of cereals sufficient for feeding about 11 lakh persons or 112 on per hand.

PERENNIAL SOURCE OF SUGAR

Sugarcane is generally planted annually. After much expensive research, it has been found that it may be successful for three or four years. The palm trees now grown yield sugar annually for decades requiring no additional attention or protection on account of sugar-cane. The sugar-cane decomposed by itself, but requires artificial plowing. The palm trees grow annually. Almost all the sowing number of palms is of natural growth.

INDIRECT IMPULSUS TO PRODUCTION

Besides the above-mentioned possibilities of palm as increasing the production of caneals directly, the growing of palm trees indirectly bestows the following advantages to agricultural economy resulting in additional cereal yield.

CONSERVATION OF SOIL

The roots of palm go deep and do not spread out. This allows growing of palm. As against this, the growing of cane exhausts the fertility of the soil. Therefore heavy manuring is a counterpart of the cane cultivation. The usual practice is to sow cane crop with some suitable leguminous crop. Sometimes some leguminous crop is even intercropped with cane.

Since constant watering is a necessity for overgrowing, vast lands must have been rendered unfit for crop cultivation due to water logging in some provinces. On the contrary the waterlogging of the fields by flood water is effectively arrested by the palm trees. So that the wastes of river and channel banks is prevented and in some places even thousands of acres have been reclaimed for cultivation by retreating to the growing of palm trees as a preventive measure. It is a long established practice in Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Bihar, Orissa, etc. to plant palms on the field banks for this purpose.

HYDRATION

The palm trees are ever-green unlike other trees which drop their foliage once in a year. Even in the season of scanty rainfall the trees continue to live as they draw their water needs through their deep roots penetrating to the subsoil water level. The existence of palm groves in areas where no other trees are possible, accounts for rainfall in other years.

OTHER USES OF THE PALM TREE

Besides supplying gum and sugar, the palm tree has the following uses.

FELIX DRINK AND FRUIT

The fresh sweet juice of the palm tree a nutritious healthy beverage containing important vitamins and minerals and also possesses valuable medicinal qualities. The palm fruits can be used when raw and also rice. The fruit is very cheap and commonly available.

FOODIES FOR CATTLE

The green tender foliage of the palm is used as a succulent for milch cattle and is found to improve the yield of milk. Under adverse conditions especially the cattle live on palm foliage when no other green fodder can be had.

FIBRES

Strong and durable fish-lines are prepared out of palm leaves and fibres and baskets of all sorts for carrying and packing jobs are also prepared from them. Even small boats useful for overhauling are made out of palm trunks. Strong ropes from palm fibres are useful in various operations on the sea in fishing and transport of loadstones.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

Cane blades are actually built out of the trunks and leaves of the palm trees. Ropes, barbers and such other accessories necessary for agricultural operations are made from the stalks, fibre and timber of the palm.

POLLINATION OF CROPS

It is a recognized fact that beekeeping greatly aids pollination. The bees thrive in palm groves and especially when the trees are tapped the bees find excellent food in palm juice in the off season when honey is not available from standing crops.

COST OF PALM SUGAR

It is contended that palm sugar manufacture is not a paying proposition in comparison with the current cane-sugar and molasses sugar rates. It will be wise to take stock of the following facts for a dispassionate study of the subject.

(a) The present price of white sugar produced in India is double of the existing world average in spite of stupendous protection in the form of high tariff walls costing the consumer to the tune of Rs. 25 crores annually for nearly ten years.

(b) In spite of the high rate of sugar, two acres of cane ground are being exploited in the same given year in unremunerative than in a addition to the dissipated labour in sugar factories.

(c) Root burns and laboriousness in the country and handloom funds have been spent on research for improving the yield of cane and recovery of sugar.

(d) The capital investment locked up in hand-haulage and machinery of the mills is about Rs. 40 crores out of which Rs. 25 crores have been drained out of the country for purchasing foreign machinery. On the contrary the production of gum or sugar from palm trees is not only left to its fate but actually discouraged. The tapping of palm being a source of some revenue, the manufacture of jaggery was banned in almost water-tapping machines. In some provinces the tax on or the cost of some operations was deducted from the gum producers. Palm gum was treated as an export article and gum manufacture was proscribed. The issue of license was made a lucrative source of illegal gratification by the police staff, who harvest the sponsored gum producers to satisfy their greed. Nothing tangible has been attempted to undertake separate research for solving the technical problems associated with palm gum. Despite of all these handicaps it has survived to this date to the extent of an annual production of 2 lakh tons. Will it be rational to condemn and discard an untried for source of sugar like palm with such promising possibilities?

GALSHAN NAG

HARIJAN

May 18

1946

GANDHI PEACE MISSION IN NOAKHALI

When Gandhiji went to Noakhali in 1946 on his 'Do or Die' mission the minority community there was in a state of panic and was anxious to go out. With a view to check their anxiety and to encourage their rehabilitation on their original homes, Gandhiji took a pledge that he would not leave Noakhali till he had made 'Hindus and Muslims regard each other and live together in friendship and love as blood-brothers. Even if all the members of the minority community left under fear, he declared he alone would stay there to demonstrate how a single individual, with a living faith in God, could stay on there with self-respect and in exercise of full religious freedom. His presence had a very soothing and calming effect upon the situation. But before his work could be finished he had to leave for Bihar to do for the Hindu minority there what he had been trying to do for the Hindu minority in Noakhali. From Bihar he went to Delhi before leaving Noakhali he publicly declared that if there was annihilation of wrong in Noakhali, he might free himself to death and put upon the members of the Gandhi Peace Mission which he had set up in Noakhali, the burden of implementing his pledge in his absence. He nominated Shri Sarvabandhu Das Gupta, who is an East Bengal man and an out and out believer in ahimsa and was in charge of the Gandhi Camp that had been set up in Noakhali, with headquarters in Kumbhal, to represent him in dealing with the Government.

Gandhiji was to have returned to Noakhali in three weeks. But God had willed otherwise. From Delhi he wrote saying that it seemed that he would have to do or die in Delhi which meant, he added, that those whom he had left behind in Noakhali would have to do or die likewise at their respective posts of duty. His evening sacrifice at the altar of non-violence and non-Disunion however on the 30th of January 1946 set the final seal to that sacred separation.

Gandhi Camp has been trying to discharge that sacred trust to the best of its capacity mainly through constructive activity in the service of both the communities. The Camp has 32 cottages with about 36 workers. All of them except half a dozen or so are from East Bengal. All workers are pledged to non-violence in thought, word and deed and have to be believers in Hindu-Muslim unity, total abolition of untouchability from Hindians and equalisation service of all without distinction. Their incomes are derived from the fund amounting to nearly four lakhs and a half that had come to Gandhiji through voluntary contributions in aid of his mission in Noakhali. After Gandhiji's death,

voluntary (Bhaktin) groups, a little over fifty thousand, and some landed property were also received.

Members of Gandhi Camp are open to all without distinction of caste, creed or colour. It has had Muslim members and associates too and their number was growing till they were forced to withdraw as a result of distress, prejudice and social pressure brought to bear by a certain retrogressive section hostile to the Camp and its objectives. The Camp shares views as being incompatible with its basic creed of non-violence for other reasons and because books are open to inspection it stands for the strictest co-operation and collaboration with the Government at whose disposal it has offered to place its services. Two of the members Shri Sarvabandhu Das Gupta and Chandra Choudhary have been taken on the committees for the development of cottage industries and on the provincial and district 'minorities' boards set up by the Government.

Chief among the activities organized by the Camp are dissemination of training in spinning, weaving and related processes to solve the problem of cloth shortage. Up to date thousands of centres it has taught the art of carding, spinning and weaving to about 2,000 men and women. Most of them have produced at least a pair of shawls or sarees for their use under the supervision of the Camp. It has set up in Kumbhal an institution for research and manufacture of spinning and carding implements out of cheap local material and for designing new and improved types of the same. It launched a poster office in basic education which was fast gaining popularity and held out great promise when attendance began to dwindle as a result of propaganda, social pressure and intimidation by some local vested interests. It organized with striking success post effort by Hindus and Muslims mainly on a voluntary basis, for the construction and repair of roads and channels, for the cleaning of tanks and Haat of water hyacinth and for growing vegetables and other foodstuffs through free distribution of seed. It set up two milk co-operatives with the help of the Red Cross Societies at Kumbhal, Bhawalpur, Maysura, Kaptan and Gopaband to provide milk powder to children, sick persons and expectant and nursing mothers. Dispersarians were also started early at Kumbhal, Bhawalpur and Chaugachan to provide medical relief to the poor of both the communities. It has organized a co-operative society of weavers with a total membership of over 200. During hard times it helped the poor by organizing paddy husking co-operatives of production and manufacture of shawl powder and spinning and weaving at subsidized rates. It works too for the social and moral uplift of the minority community by giving special emphasis on the eradication of untouchability in all shape and form from among the Hindus and for instillation of non-violent courage among them by personal example and inspiring atmosphere prayer and so on.

Initially its members consisted of workers who came with Gandhi and Sarabhai to Nakhala or joined later with the permission and approval of the Bengal Government. After the partition of India its character and composition have remained the same. There are men and women from both India and Pakistan, working in the Camp. It may be mentioned that workers of Gandhi's Peace Mission of which the Nakhala Peace Mission is essentially a part are working in India too. Thus by its composition, history and the nature of its activities and in as much as the status of the minority community, which it is pledged to check, has important inter-Dominion implications the Camp parades an inter-Dominion character.

The Camp makes no claims. It believes in inter-Dominion friendship and communal harmony. It tells the members of the minority in Pakistan that they must be loyal to Pakistan State which it is as much theirs as the majority community's. It further tells them that if they want equal rights with the rest, they must accept and discharge reciprocal duties and obligations towards the State too, every right accrues from a reciprocal duty well performed.

They does not mean that they must submit to be parties to the wrongs of the State, its officials or local vested interests in any way. But as citizens of Pakistan they must look to Pakistan for the redress of their grievances and not to interference of any agency outside or the Indian Dominion. As citizens of Pakistan they have every right to quarrel with the Government if it does anything wrong. But their quarrel will necessarily be of the nature of a "domestic quarrel".

How need they feel pessimistic about their future in the Pakistan State owing to their numerical minority. History provides many brilliant instances of a talented minority becoming the vanguard of progress in the State and being valued as such e.g. Scientists in the French polity and never at hand, the Parsi community in India. If they distinguish themselves by their industry, intelligence and resourcefulness and by the qualities of establishment, honesty and spirit of selfless service, they will make themselves an asset to the State so that the State will woo them for its and their own sake instead of their having to woo the State. They future therefore is a very considerable extent, even with themselves.

The Camp looks to no protective steps, what are non-violence, selfless service, industry and capacity for unflinching suffering may give. It has only one confidence, one object, viz. to implement Gandhi's pledge and work for the establishment of communal and inter-Dominion friendship and peace according to its light and the light vouchsafed by Gandhi with goodwill towards all and enemy without none till all suspicion and opposition are dissipated and so how hies are set above doubt or panic in the attempt, is a mission worthy of a Sarvagati body. There can be no turning away from or relinquishment of the sacred duty that has been laid upon it.

Datta: 20-4-49

PRABHU

CITY STATES

Commenting upon the question of Linguistic Provinces, I made the following suggestion:

"Every city with a population of say, more than 10 lakhs should be made into an independent unit. Its local government should vest in its municipal corporation which might have some enlarged powers and right to legislate on specified subjects. Residual legislative powers about it should vest in the Central Government." (Harijan, March 18, 1948)

Doubts have been raised on the soundness of the suggestion. Shri Ram Prasadlal Marfat once asked whether it was wise at all to have big cities having populations of lakhs of people. Would it not be better that we think of breaking up cities like Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, etc., into smaller towns at a great distance from one another?

Prof R. E. Partridge of Elphinstone College, Bombay, has raised further objections:

"Urban and rural areas together constitute a whole region. Would not separation of the two lead to social and economic misadjustment?"

"It is necessary in modern social planning to give towns in such a way that in each region there is a proper balance between urban and rural population. Self-sufficiency within the region can also be attained to a large extent only if each region consists of towns and villages both. A proper solution to the suggested social problems of e.g. the Bombay City would be to remove certain industries and offices, which may be located elsewhere without loss. But if your solution is adopted, such a way would not be adopted. These unattended and unbalanced concentrations would be perpetuated."

The solution that you suggest would not vary adversely on the structure of the national provinces. The trade and commerce of each region is concentrated in such major cities and therefore these yield the major proportion of revenue especially from direct taxes. The separate City States in the Central Government would be obtaining the major part of revenue and the provinces and so the rural areas would be starved. If it is attempted to remedy this by some sort of fiscal grants or subsidies to the provinces, that revenue would be either mislaid or dependent upon the wishes and taxation policy of the Central Government, reducing their independence even on the latter as proper under a Federation.

"However, if these cities are so separated the provinces would naturally attempt to divert the trade and commerce to towns within the province and this diversion from normal and natural channels would naturally mean loss to the community as a whole."

"What is to be the position of such new cities if their population grows more than ten lakhs? Should the rule be applied even to the future? And if the population of a separated city decreases what is to be done?"

"Fundamentally, this problem arises because certain people living in the cities in a particular region are not ready to assimilate themselves to the people of that region and are wary of them. On the trade and commerce of our country have been in the hands of particular castes and some important particular regions, people from those regions are bound to be residing in large numbers in big cities which are the centres of our trade and commerce. In all towns we find a substantial number of Marwaris, Gujaratis, Shudhis, etc. and there have been no special attempts made to mix them up to now to mix them. But if these leading communities would show a lack of belief in the people of their region and begin to demand separation of such urban areas then provincial politicians would surely be moved and attempts would be made to prevent the settlement of such communities. That would be a result, which, I am sure, nobody desires."

"The only solution to this problem, I think, lies in people showing adaptability in assimilation in the regions where they are staying. Just as a person should not think of the caste in which he is born, just as that is irrelevant in deciding his general life so his original province must become irrelevant. A Hindu leader living in Madras must become a Madras and a Marathi residing in Bombay must become a Maharashtra. Not by separating them into different cities but by further assimilating them and making them a part of the surrounding region and we solve this problem. Other solutions I try to suggest, are just significant short-term solutions and would aggravate problems and antagonism."

I have no hesitation in accepting some of the views of Shri Pratikshin Kaulak and Prof. Panigrahy.

For instance, I accept that large cities should be broken up and dispersed over larger areas, and towns should be so planned that in such regions there is self-sufficiency to a large extent. More than two years ago, in the *Margan* of 2nd February 1947 I wrote:

"Another important thing which Government and the Municipal Corporation must realize, is that the intention to make Bombay a second London or a second New York is a false idea. What is needed is not a carefully prepared plan for Greater Bombay, but a carefully prepared scheme for breaking up Bombay into 15 to 20 towns situated at a distance of 80 to 120 miles from one another, — a scheme for small towns, scattered all over the province instead of a few highly congested cities."

Therein I gave reasons as to why for my suggestion. But it should be realized that it is not a practicable proposition in a direct manner. On the contrary, the migration of refugees in large numbers has made the cities even larger and more congested than they were even before, and the experience of Delhi shows that it is difficult to disperse the population even if the Government desires to do so. Therefore, it can be done only

by creating favourable conditions elsewhere so as to induce the city people to go and settle in other places.

I agree absolutely immediately that the demand for the separation of Bombay or Madras into as districts and the right solution is that people coming from other provinces should show the capacity of mixing up thoroughly with the people of the new habitat. Just as caste differences should go, so too the linguistic or provincial differences.

But it is necessary to bear in mind also that the non-assimilation is on both sides. Thus a Gujarati or a Marwadi is unable to mix up completely with a Maharashtra or a Madras is not due to the fact that the former alone is unwilling to do so. The latter too is unable to accept him as he is. The reason is that both of them have embodied the same weaknesses, namely, caste differences. Indeed, linguistic differences do not interfere with complete assimilation to the same extent as caste differences. If A, a Maharashtra, is married to B of Tanjore, belongs to his own caste, he immediately assimilates with the Tanjorens on equal terms, although the latter does not understand a word of Marathi but he would not do so with a Maharashtra of a different caste. So too people of other parts.

Secondly, it is not possible to become identified with a new province in one leap. As much time or even more strenuous steps before the process is completed. Often it is slow a long way to another province that the worker begins to think of becoming a permanent resident of that province. It takes time again for that thought to develop and then, when he is permanently settled there, he often finds that a separate group of other people of his own province has already come into existence. People from Madras is unable to forget that he is a Kachhar, though his ancestors settled down in U P generations ago and perhaps actually speak the Kachhar language. Thus it is so because the Kachhars formed a separate caste in U P. The object is that provincialism will disappear more easily if caste-differences are gone.

I suggested the formation of separate city areas long before the present day provincial and linguistic antagonisms and consciousness had developed. My suggestion applied even to areas like Ahmedabad, Kanpur, Delhi, Poona, etc., areas within the heart of a single linguistic region. If their populations ceased to mix, it would not mind even lowering the population limit. If on future any city develops in this way, then it should come under the scheme. If on the contrary a city becomes it may be made over to the neighbouring province.

This does not mean that I am opposed to the creation of the Bombay Province undivided as it is just now. On financial and other considerations the idea of setting up new governments with their own legislatures, houses of parliament, quarters, buildings, etc. and replacement of every machinery as in Benares Seelapur has rightly proved our long wait, our deserving of encouragement. They

are splendidly achieved at this stage. We must pull on together with wisdom and such art should show the capacity of being a citizen of every province, comprehension of most languages. But if a change is decided upon, then I should say, it is better that cities should be separated.

Next week, I shall explain the advantages of having separate city states.

Waffles, 3-5-69

E. G. MADHUSWALA

MANGO SEED KERNEL

[Note: I referred last week to mango kernel. This is what Gandhi wrote about it in the Harijan dated 26th May 1946. E. G. M.]

A friend has sent me an extract from Current Science showing how mango seed kernel is a fair substitute for cereals and tubers.

"According to a recent estimate, the energy value available in India is sufficient only for 28.7% and tuber for 14.5% of white Indian population. This does not take into account the requirements of goats, sheep and equines. The shortage is further magnified during periods of famine. In order to meet the shortage, the Haryana Research Laboratory at Ludhiana have been exploring new sources of foodstuffs. This investigation relates to the use of mango seed kernel as a useful and廉價 food. At present the material is thrown away as a waste. From chemical analysis of kernels it has been found to be rich in carbohydrates and the crude protein 4.8% when whole 5.98% and soluble carbohydrate 34.67% on dry basis."

+

"The observations made mango seed kernel with a plant in the category of food grains and make available every year about 10 million to 15 million pounds and 750 million lb of starch equivalent to a little less than 10 million tons. It has been also estimated that the digestible protein obtained from 50 lb of seed is equal to that of 100 lb of the kernel and the starch equivalent for 80 lb."

I have known this use from my early youth. But it was never so large thought of supplying the seed for food. The mango season is upon us and though more ripe has been late, it will be a good thing if every mango seed was saved and the kernel baked and eaten in the place of cereals or given to those who need it. Every ounce of food saved is so much gained.

M. K. GANDHI

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NAI TALIM AND UNESCO

[Dr. Kuo-Yu-Shen, Advisor to UNESCO for Asia and the Far East visited the Bhadrachalam Taluk Singh at Serapyan on 23-4-69. The following are important parts of the talk given by him to the members of the Taluk Singh. — Ed.]

Towards the end of September 1947 in Delhi at Bala House, I had the honour to be received by Gandhi for half an hour. He talked to me about basic education, he had then suggested to me that I come and visit that place. But owing to some circumstances, I could not come.

I have often been for a short visit only for a day. I have seen your teacher, Balda, where you grow your own grains, vegetables and trees and participated in your project and now I enjoyed very much the talk and the things that you have given me. The advance made in China towards cultural life, in which, especially in the Buddhist community. We encourage you the temple with friends and members of the family. Our religious people, monks, live in temples. They eat vegetarian food. They do their own work, they have their own fields, they cultivate and get the harvest, and they live on it as you do here. We see this in our country only with the monks in the temples. But here in this beautiful place every member of the community lives and works in the same way. It has always to be looked upon as a holy place.

The aim of this community life you have already put before the country and now you would give the results of your work to India at large and the larger world. I do not think any educational institution or government has undertaken to develop such a project except in Buddhist temples where monks live in communities of 50 or sometimes 200. In my country there are temples having over 200 to 300 monks. Community life alone had such a community life. There also it is taught how to lead a self-supporting poor life just as in your primitive education, basic education, post-basic education in Nai Talim which aims to give a new outlook in life.

You are probably aware that the UNESCO is intending to do some work in fundamental education which is another name for basic education. It is true that the UNESCO should take basic education from India, from Gandhiji. Our fundamental education is not exactly the same as basic education in India. One of the projects is in East Africa and another in China. We have experimented with it in Nanking, under the present state of affairs.

I spent on the basis of a document which was prepared by the Director-General of UNESCO to participate and to assist in the industrial development of the underdeveloped countries, which was issued by the President of the United States of America, Mr. Truman. His plan was to help the UNESCO with 100,000,000 American dollars to be spent on scientific research in education and fundamental education. After seeing your activities in India, I feel the UNESCO should have sent some one to stay here for a longer time, who could get more use of you which will be valuable for our future work.

I had been an education specialist in China for three years, then seven years as commissioner of education. I am now one of the Advisors to the UNESCO for Asia and Far East. After this short visit to your colony of workers, I am glad to say that the UNESCO will try to do something along these lines. It must send more people to this place to see and to observe the work you are doing and we can send any kind of help that may be of use to you,— literature, a radio set, or something of that kind, which you may agree to receive. I shall talk to the Director-General of the UNESCO and I assure you that we can help in your work. We have been in do for India repeatedly for this place.

But how can this be expanded in any other village in India or any other Asian countries? You are fortunate to have a good group of workers here who are sincerely and earnestly working from morning till night, and also to get good teachers to do this kind of work. The new very important and significant development in education I have seen during my tour in India, China, and other Asian countries, is your basic education experiment. I hope when you get more facilities and better equipment you may be able to place your records before the world and you will be able to build contact with other countries. Your problems will have easier solution. I am sorry I am not able to stay longer. But I do hope that I shall be able to come here some day again, stay with you longer and study more.

SELPHINJURY

Shri Tejpal alias Tejpal Gopalan is a Hindu Hindu worker of several years standing. He came in contact with Gandhiji in 1917. Under the guidance and help of Shri Jivanadas Dadasaheb (who is dead), he conducted the Gandhi Ashram at Khawabshi (District Nawabshah, Sindh), since 1941.

The object of the Ashram was "to serve the villages with truth and non-violence." Spinning and medical relief were the main activities. It served all people without distinction, the principal receptacle of the service being naturally Muslims.

After the partition, the financial position became bad and he was advised by his friends to work at the Ashram and migrate to India. But he felt that that would not be in accordance with Gandhiji's principles, and so in November, 1947 he interviewed Gandhiji and Shri Vinoba and sought their advice. Both of them encouraged him, so way in Pakistan even at that time. Having returned to the chieftain advice, Shri Jivanadas continued to send him Rs. 120 for his Ashram expenses for some time. The other managers of the Ashram left for India but Shri Tejpal and a god-daughter of his stayed on and carried on the chieftain activity as before.

He was frustrated in this work by the chieftain Collector of Nawabshah by a formal order dated 20th January 1958 (the same day on which Gandhiji was killed) appointing him to work honestly

for the government and prohibiting him from any working in the "Muslim area" excepting a "charitable work."

He carried on his work without molestation till October, 1958. As stated above, he returned now and then help from Shri Jivanadas Dadasaheb. Also his previous friends and colleagues in India wrote to him frequently and his letter bag was five larger than is expected of a village. This aroused the suspicion of the authorities and his Ashram was suddenly searched on the 16th of October, 1958. Nothing that could be considered hostile to Pakistan was found. Nevertheless he was arrested and taken in detention on the ground that "you are a spy of the Indian Government and you are alleged to be in receipt of a monthly allowance through your friends across the border for your fifth columnist work and that you have proved to be untrustworthy towards the nation and have acted in a manner prejudicial to the public safety and the maintenance of public order."

The suspicion was a mere supposition but representations are not easily removed and he was kept in jail until 2-4-68, on which date he was directed that he "shall not be in any place in the province of Sindh after seven days" from the date of his release.

Completely he and his daughter have come to India. No doubt they will be welcome workers in India. But the Sindh Government has, I am afraid, acted against its own interest in depriving itself of the services of two sincere and capable persons. It required considerable courage on the part of these two to remain in Sindh, while all who counted advised them not to do so, and had themselves misused. Shri Tejpal is no politician, makes no distinction between Hindus and Muslims, and wants to serve humanity in accordance with the principles and programme of Gandhiji. One of the dangers which governments all the world over suffer from is that their systems are unable to tolerate earnest, truthful and sincere people.

Wardha, 26-4-68

K. C. MADHUPALA

SAPU — MY MOTHER

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

EDITOR: G. MADHURWALA



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TWO ANNAS

DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNMENT

I use the term "democracy" here as a convenient word for a system of government in which there is a regular method of allowing the people a degree of voice in the affairs of the State. Usually the government takes the form of governing the people through their own representatives. In practice it is not a unanimously chosen body but a body enjoying the confidence of the largest section of the people.

This inevitably leads to the election of representatives and one of the attributes of this system is proportional representation: a representative is chosen by the population of each house to be represented.

The question is, Is proportional representation sound in principle? It is usually demanded on the ground that all important interests among a people should get a fair share in the affairs of the State and it is assumed that the demands of justice are sufficiently met, not only if each interest is represented in the various bodies functioning in the State in the same proportion as the number of people having an interest in that interest.

This form of justice means representation to house of house. If there are only a definite number of houses and if they are divided out to each group in proportion to its population, each individual will obviously get the same quantity. In the same way it is assumed that with proportional representation, democracy is the rule of one people or party established. Thus even the practice of giving a seat to so many of the population in regard, communal, caste or other divisions.

But it was forgotten that where decisions are taken by majority—simple or hardened—and not necessarily unanimously, the system might through proportional representation become unfairness in practice. For, a permanent majority, however fully and well represented according to its proportion, could not prevent a permanent majority from disregarding its opinion. This realization gave rise to demands for weightage and separate electorates. Weightage was like putting some artificial burden on the part of the majority and separate electorates was sought to prevent the major party from putting its own candidates in the minority group.

But so long as a majority remains a majority, none of these methods can prevent the evil, and so

imaginary, for the prevention of which, they have been put forth. What is needed is to find such substitutes for the type of democracy known as government of majority as could be of use to all interests which consider themselves to be placed under similar handicaps.

It must be confessed that there is something inherently defective in coming to decisions by merely counting the number of hands even with pollsters like proportional representation, weightage and separate electorates. The reason for the defect is that a fundamental principle of good government is lost sight of when we accept democracy government as equivalent to government by majority, with the further assumption that government by majority is the same as good government.

Let us think over the subject in a dispassionate and sober way.

First, in well-organized party systems, voting is often a means of self-discipline. That a particular proposition has been supported by a given majority does not necessarily mean that all those people who have voted for it have applied their minds to the merits of the proposition before they arrived at that conclusion freely. More often than not it only means that the vote is thoroughly regulated and shows the direction of its whole tendency. It is not unusual that though the number of hands is very great, the number of heads who have thought out the matter, is extremely small—even one. For practical purposes, a rule might as well be made that after voting the result of an election in terms of the strength of each party, the leader of each party should be elected with as many votes as the number of men in his party, and the body should be reduced to these "leaders" with a few colleagues as moderators of their own choice. The leader of the largest party with the help of his colleagues might run the government and the leaders of other parties with their respective colleagues act as opponents until the time of fresh election. The rest of the members might be dismissed. A vigorous forward public opinion might be better safeguarded in the interests of good government than a large number of men were bound over to obey the party whip.

We should also remember that even majority opinion is not necessarily correct. Given to his own way alone in thinking that the earth revolved round the sun. That the majority thought otherwise and punished him for holding a minority view.

did not mean that they were doing either right or good. The majority was too strong for Galileo and he had to yield to it, as I have already said. Under different circumstances we also had instances in which a single strong person is able to defeat his decision to a plurality. In his chosen that body is shown to come to a different decision. But before it has made the decision, he comes in and his single vote is able to turn the tables. (The Inquisitor Congress gave a practical demonstration of this, when the Bulgarians changed a resolution, which it had already passed, on the appeal of Pante Jivkoffski (Nedko). Thus the deciding factor was usually in the strength or weakness of the hand. If the hand is powerful the hand becomes folded. If the hand is weak the hand becomes done.

How should this democracy be regulated to create good government?

Whether it is a question of a difference of opinion between A. and B., if both are men and decent peaceful gentlemen, they enter the arena to one or more judges or arbitrators. The qualifications which guide the selection of the judges or arbitrators, are not their well-known personality but an interest in one or the other of the disputing parties but their impartiality and ability and the pledge to decide without fear or favour. A man who is too strongly coloured by his bias or dislike of the one or the other disputant, or is too closely associated with one will not be properly regarded as a proper person to arbitrate. Our task is one of justice and impartiality in accordance to the qualities of impartiality and impartiality of the presiding officers of these institutions.

Likewise in the administration of other departments of the State also, when people expect and want to what the administrators have to promise at the time of taking office is that they shall perform their duties without fear or favour. The man who otherwise might be their personal political enemy and wherever he the action of the people in which they belonged, they would not think in terms of their particular personal affiliations but would, as far as possible, try to be above party or sectional or other considerations. Every president of a legislature or municipality serves all the parties that are taking office to be a party man.

The same rule should apply to the ministers of a government. They might be chosen by the largest political party of the legislature and from that own party, but they should be chosen not merely for their affiliation to particular parties or sections, but for their capacity to be above all parties and sections in the execution of administrative functions.

The use of office for the purpose of consolidating one's party or increasing favour to the people of one's own section should be considered disreputable of duty and breach of the oath of office. But the established practice of modern democracy is just the opposite and it is this fact which is responsible for the demand of proportional representation in every

big or small department of public affairs. The end of seeking proportional representation has grown to such an enormous extent that there is hardly any big or little community region or office one which does not count up its members and try for a right number of appointments whenever persons have to be elected or selected for any reason whatever. Ability and character have lost their importance, belonging to a particular section alone matters.

This cannot lead to good government. A system of government, whether it is highly centralized or decentralized, and even if it is elected on the widest franchise possible cannot be an instrument of compromise with this position. It cannot but lead to the oppression of the weak by the strong. I feel that the decline of republicanism or democratic governments in recent times is due the conquest of India from time to time by foreign invaders was due to this form of corruption and oppression. It cannot create a really strong nation.

It is necessary that administrators should know the mind of the people and of every section in it. It is also necessary that they should be correctly informed and have a proper perspective of how a particular proposal or measure will be received directly affected by it and the consequences of a particular policy upon its life. On this, that section alone is the right body to express an opinion, and that opinion should not be less important simply because there are only a handful of people to express it in a body of very large numbers of other sections. The importance of the opinion must rest upon the evidence adduced by the expression and upon their impartiality and not upon their numbers. No doubt where masses are so innumerable and full of conflicting opinions, some sort of counting of numbers, that is voting, might become necessary. But once voting can be manipulated the deciding factor should not be mere voting.

My suggestion is that in maintaining the machinery for eliciting public opinion through representatives, taking common decisions and implementing public will on all matters falling within the scope of the State, the constitution should make a distinction between general representatives—(Legislative Assembly), sectional representatives, i. e. representatives of particular sections, parties, interests, etc.—(Legislative Council), and disinterested representatives, i. e. representatives chosen for their impartiality and sense of justice and understanding—(Board of Revenue). While both the Assembly and the Council should have their say on every matter of State, the final decision should be made by the Board of Revenue and the government should be responsible to the last two. In a general sense and completely impartially in the last in particular details.

The Assembly might consist of members affiliated to particular political parties such as the Congress, Liberals, Socialists, Communists, and the

like not based on regional, religious, social or other particular divisions or interests but on differences of political ideologies.

The Council, or the house of interested representatives, should represent all particular interests. Every interest of recognizable importance might be allowed to nominate its representatives as it. But the number of all should be equal irrespective of the population of the estate. Thus each separate regional unit, each recognized communal or tribal or other group, each trade or economically distinct interest, each important religious branch, should be regarded equal for purposes of representation. Of course, some candidates would have to be laid down for qualifying an interest to be recognized for this purpose.

The governing body should be drawn from or taken on the advice of the largest party in the Assembly. It would initiate the policies and measures. Whichever prejudice to its rights or claims may be necessary to secure details, generally it should discuss only the broad principles and express party and popular views about them. The bodies to discuss the message in close details should be the Council, and the Board of Estates (or designated representatives). The latter might do the policy in the former house and after hearing every argument on every matter brought before it ultimately give the final verdict. In arriving at the verdict, it would take into consideration the fundamental policy to which the government is power is pledged. Its decisions should be binding on the government. The verdict might be contrary different from that desired by the government but that need not be taken as a defeat unless the government considers it to be a matter inconsistent with its fundamental policy.

The Assembly might be elected by the people either directly or indirectly as may be decided. The Council should be elected by their particular Wardraol colleges. It would be smaller than that of general representatives. References should be elected by these two bodies as their first act after each election. It should not be a very large body, say, not more than 20. They need not be members of the Assembly or Council, and in their election a guarantee should be set up either through conventions and law that the electors should elect a number of people (at least half) who either belong to no party or belong to a party other than the elector's own. They should be persons of, in the first place, outstanding high character, experience, intelligence, sound judgment and a high sense of duty, and above other qualifications necessary to perform the following functions:

(a) to pronounce judgment on every matter debated in the Council;

(b) to carry on the government of the Government a State, when in any of these the popular government is unable to function and expedients have not appeared advisable; and

(c) to be in charge of the political administration of the State, without interference from the ministers. (This should be its own particular permanent function).

E. G. MATHURWALA

THE GRAM SEVAK VIDYALAYA, WARDHA.

ANNUAL GATHERING

The annual gathering of our Vidyalya was held on the 16th April, 1949 under the chairmanship of Shri Mahadevi Mathurwala.

The Secretary's report stated that in all 26 students underwent training during the year. Of these only 12 took the full 12 months' course.

The students came from various parts of the country. Of them 2 were from Nepal, 4 from Bihar, 2 from Orissa and 2 from Saurashtra.

Out of these 8 students were declared successful and are eligible for the Diploma of Gram Udyog Vidy. Out of these 2 have been awarded certificates of merit. These names are as follows:

A. DIPLOMA OF GRAM UDYOG VIDY

(a) Merit Certificates (in order of rank)

	Industry	Province
1. Jashbhai Surani	Oriss	Mysor
2. Suryasuri Tiwari	Punjab	Orissa
3. Mahadevi Patel	Oriss	Saurashtra

(b) Pass Certificates (in alphabetical order)

1. Chakradhar Jena	Punjab	Orissa
2. Shyamshankhar Ray	Punjab	"
3. Ram Narasimha	Punjab	Nizam
4. Jayashankhar Shah	Punjab	Saurashtra
5. Vaidyanath Singh	Punjab	Bihar

B. INDUSTRY CERTIFICATES (in alphabetical order)

1. Ganapati Tripathi	Oriss	Orissa
2. Naradh Chandra Das	Oriss	Bihar

NEXT SESSION

The new session of our Gram Sevak Vidyalya opens on the 1st of July, 1949. The regular course, which includes training in a major industry such as Oil-pressing or Paper-making as well as short elementary courses in Bee-keeping, Soap-making, dress and garment-making of Dacca-goods, Gun-making, is for a period of ten months.

Subjects such as principles underlying our Village Movement, Health, Hygiene and Sanitation, Book-keeping and the Co-operative Programme are included in the course.

Expenses including cost of materials come to about Rs. 40 per month.

Prospectus and admission form may be had from the Secretary, Gram Sevak Vidyalya, Nagpur, Wardha. The last date for receiving applications is 31st May, 1949.

HARIJAN

May 22

1948

HARIJANS OF ROHTAK DISTRICT

In the last week of March, long-time Harijans came off the way from Rohark, in Rajgarh and undertook a fast for the removal of some of the grievances from which members of their community in Rohark district were suffering. During the seven days that they kept the fast, I watched them close them to acquaint myself with their problems. On the 28th March, they broke the fast on certain assurances given by Shri Thakurshahi, myself and others on behalf of Sardar Patel to take up their cases and to do whatever was possible to help them.

During the course of the last few months, I have visited the Kala Panchayat twice and know that most of the village Harijans of those areas are victims of all that these people were suffering from. I enumerate below some of the grievances for the redress of which the fast was undertaken:

1. Sexual harassment of the Harijans by remainder Jats.

2. Organized violence attacks by the said Jats, who came in a party to those villages and beat the Harijans to the extent of necessitating the removal of many of them to hospital for treatment. Since then one man is reported to have died.

3. Expulsion of the Harijans from their houses by the unauthorized occupation of common lands by the Jats.

4. Pogroms against them done by the non-Harijans of the Harijans in the panchayats with just a very few exceptions, in spite of the fact that they form a considerable part of the population.

1. SOCIAL BOYCOTT

We all know what a terrible weapon of nature social boycott can be, which in this case also includes economic boycott. It is even worse than the weapons of violence. We are told that the poor Harijans, victims of this boycott, could not even purchase the necessities of life like food, kerosene oil, cloth and salt from any of the village stores. They either had to go in long distances to provide for their needs or had to go without them. Any house who defied this boycott "order" of the panchayat had to pay Rs. 25 as fine.

The Harijans were not allowed to work in the fields and had to forgo the money wages on which they were living. Non-compliance of this "order" was also subject to a fine of Rs. 25 by the village panchayat.

Their cattle were prohibited from entering the common grazing lands, as a result of which most of the farmers had either to dispose of their cattle at low prices or had to send them to their relatives in distant villages.

Harijan tenants were not even allowed to reap their harvest.

2. ORGANIZED ATTACKS OF VIOLENCE

Some of the pogroms were started by the police. The fact of the Harijans being in previous experience, was that the panchayats would not be moved out to the police. They said it openly that they did not expect justice from the District Courts. According to them, the police also showed great sympathy. The result of these three organized attacks was that the whole Harijan population of the Rohark district was in a state of panic and felt that their lives, property and women were not safe.

3. EXPULSION OF HARIJANS

In certain villages the lands which went in the occupation of the Harijans for generations were taken possession of by the remainder, and even their houses and houses were not spared, as a result of which a number of Harijans had become shelterless.

Their sufferings touched me deeply, and I approached Shri Thakurshahi and some others to take up their case and get them relief. But I knew that the Harijans were doing something in a regard for which these cruel measures were taken by the Jats. As expected I found that the chambers of the area had resolved not to remove the dead cattle and not to work unless adequate material wages were given to them. All the misery heaped on these poor people was in the shape of reprisal against these few measures. I expressed sympathy with their sufferings and told them that they were done were and no one could force them to do anything, but asked on their part to handle dead cattle was a wrong decision. I gave them the instance of Shri Ganesha, who, though homeless by birth, took up the work of cattle removal to see an example. I explained to them how much wealth such cattle meant, the proper handling of which would bring them ample money in return. By refusing to handle carcasses, they were denying their own interests. In the age of atomicity of employment and occupation they might find it replacement by another painful occupation difficult. At that time they were reluctant in their determination, but later on I was told that they agreed to follow the occupation of carcass removal only if some more Harijans joined them in the work.

After the fast was broken Shri Thakurshahi appointed a committee of those persons, namely, Shri Viraji Bhai of Harijan Udyogshikha, Shri Bhikshara Chaudhary and Shri Krishna Nar of Kandi Singh to run the district, investigate and report. The Committee toured the district and submitted its report, corroborating all that the Harijans had said.

We sought Sardar Patel's intervention, Dr. Govind Bhargava, the then President and some of the other officers were approached, and they all agreed as that they would look into the affair and would do everything to redress the wrong done to the Harijans. The report has been

referred to the East Punjab Government which, in the meanwhile, has changed its composition. This question will come before the new Cabinet whose members have taken an oath to serve the people and to do justice by them. I expect to them to examine this case minutely and to do their duty by their vigils of ambulatory and affliction. The Harpal problems in the villages of the East Punjab is going wrong and more wrong every day, and when the new Cabinet makes a Harpalian village its domain the Agrarian problem, it will be impossible to remove the poisons to normality and peace. It is a matter of great regret that at a time when every individual in the country should be feeling the fresh air of freedom, such oppression is meted out.

RAMESHWARI NENGA

ADVANTAGES OF CITY STATES

As pointed last week, let me explain the advantages of separate city states to the country.

1 In the modern world, the defence of the country is mainly the defence of the cities. The obligation of defence of the country rests upon the Central Government. It is proper, therefore, that the cities should be under the direct charge of the Central Government.

2 Large cities are an obstacle in the progress of the other parts of the province, particularly the villages. Cities have huge in all the administrative matters of the province. Police, Judiciary, Commerce, Education, and even industries and recreation, are all concentrated from the parts of rest of area. The adequate supply of food, milk, water, maintenance of roads, roads, recreation, hospitals, entertainment, and other expenses are for the convenience of the cities take money from village resources. The villages get everything but nothing very concrete or beneficial. Rather, they are substantially exploited for the cities. E.g. domestic water flows from the Khado District for the city of Bandrup and from it to take the householders of Bandrup are enabled to carry on their trade smoothly, in Calcutta hundreds of cows and buffaloes of the best quality in the country are being sent to the slaughterhouse every year for the purpose. In Delhi, as Shri Mohanlal has pointed out elsewhere, the National cow is killed because of her great capacity for producing milk. Although her bulls are unsuitable for draught purposes. They have to be slaughtered and since the popular sentiment is opposed to cow-slaughter, their maintenance will be a burden upon moorland areas. The things which villages get from the cities are those which are discarded as unsalable by them or which are perfectly unnecessary. In order to remedy this, it is necessary that provincial governments should be so inspired that they have an opportunity to breathe the village atmosphere and see how from the anxiety of solving the problems of the cities inasmuch as my suggestion involves the

transfer of a city to the central authority, if it allows the population to increase beyond the limits, provincial governments will care to see that their towns do not become nothings. They will thereby increase and preserve the village prosperity.

3 It is not possible for a city to be self-sufficient, except to the extent of using the common language of the whole country to a greater degree than others. The reason is that a considerable part of its population keeps on going in and from the city to the native towns or villages and does not — cannot — leave the city permanently for a long period. It cannot, therefore, afford to give up its native language or connections with the native home. Hence in such matters it should be under the direct administration of the Central Government in which all provinces, including the cities themselves, would be represented.

4 Moreover, a city state cannot, in its own interest, be so fully autonomous as a province, since it cannot be self-sufficient to the same extent as a province in respect of its material resources.

They seem to yield a major part of the revenue. But the revenue is dishonest in the sense that what they give back is the money loaned by the Government itself and not materials, while what they use is the latter, the major part of which is yielded by the rural provinces.

5 The apprehension that by transferring the cities to the Central Government the provincial governments would be starved, since the major portion of revenue is derived from the cities, shows that the present arrangement is really unnecessary, as it is unnatural. This condition could be remedied only if the starved provinces become not city-minded but village-minded.

In the present order of things, the answer is, Cities today do not live for the material but for it. When they take one thousand crores from villages, they will pay to the Central Government a small portion of it, say, one crore. And it then that one crore, five or ten lakhs are given back to the villages, it is really inconsequential. It is an order which makes sick and not wealth in the nation.

Nevertheless since the whole country would be increased in the visible maintenance of the cities, the nation will lead to the working of a more satisfactory balance where the interests of the cities and the provinces seem to conflict.

None in the interest of the provinces and ultimately for a better distribution of population, industry, commerce and wealth, cities should be concentrated into self-sufficient towns if, or a movement, independent circumstances have created a necessity for doing so in respect of Bandrup, I do not think that Mahabharata would be at a loss by reason of it. Rather the experiment would be very useful to all.

Wardha, 11-5-49

K. G. MATHURVALA

EVEN JAINS!

"There is a Dagarwar Jain Temple at Mathra. The temple belonged to the South Indian Jains. One up-country Jain made certain improvements to the temple building. This act of benevolence gave him an opportunity to dominate over the numerically backward South Indian Jains around him. For 70 years the temple has been in the management of North Indian Dagarwar Jains. Though there are apparent racial discriminations shown by the management, I shall not mention them but they might reflect on the very religion. I shall therefore expand to something like discrimination in variety. Up to 70 years in the North Indian Dagarwar Jains offer their prayers, and the South Indian Jains offer theirs after the North Indian Jain. Related their prayers. Recently now South Indian Jains, not in any way inferior to the North Indians in culture, offered prayers at the time when North Indian Dagarwar Jains were worshipping. This publicity of the South Indian Jains made one North Indian Dagarwar Jain lose his temple. He made the old religiousmen he attacked the South Indian Jains with all the Hindu language in his command. The South Indian Dagarwar Jains who are numerically dominated, did not come to his rescue. The poor man therefore walked out."

"Some time ago you wrote in the Harijan that the South Indians, in whatever portion they may live, should identify themselves with the people of that portion. In view of the above, is there any wonder if the South Indians opt for political, economic and social separation from the North Indians?"

Such a representation was hard to be expected of a Jain, and that too of the Dagarwar sect. For the Svetambara will cling to the ahimsa, while the Dagarwar regard that too as an accommodation and would have nothing but ahimsa to rely on.

Sharma himself avows that which holds or supports all. Religion also avows the same thing. It means that which binds men together with and with common ahimsa as the greatest supporting force. If adherence to the same faith fails to bind together the Dagarwar of the North and the South, common promiscuousness will in a short time create partition between different divisions, tribes and various castes. A particular kind of administrative arrangement may be convenient and may be adopted, but it should not be on account of political or other partition.

It should not be difficult for followers of ahimsa to find a non-violent remedy for the alleged discriminations in variety. According to the story of Mahaveer's life, he was not only abused but was more than once severely injured by his people. He lived with his non-violence and attained the title of Mahaveer. Compared to that this is a very trivial matter and can be amply settled in a fortnight.

I hope the so-called North Indian Dagarwar at Mathra will look into this in a non-violent and loving manner. Even if the complaint made above

is substantiated or exaggerated, the feelings of the South Indian Jains should be soothed.

Wardha, 20-4-49

K. G. MACHIRUWALA

HAND PRODUCTION OR MILL?

The war the Government departments are deciding whether a certain thing should be done by the hand process or be entrusted to the industrialists declares a dangerous misinterpretation of the principles that should guide such considerations. It is easy from competitive and money considerations to make out that hand production is preferable. But such considerations are altogether wrong criteria to judge by. Village Industries form part of our life and these cannot be judged apart from the life of the people. We may as well advocate the leaving of food from coffee lands as being cheaper than cooking at home. Home cooking is superior in many respects, though it may be apparently costly because of superior materials being used so those that a commercial person will go in for.

Another commonly heeded-up reason for advocating the mill route is the so-called "efficiency". Even here we may point out that a complete picture is not before those who decide on these things. Recently for instance, the bicycle industry in India was said to be incapable of competing with foreign imports. The local made cycles are manufactured by the hand looms in villages such as Tarn and Bales, and it will be a presumption on our part to say that their dependence is in any way inferior to the foreign importation. The real difficulty comes in that the foreign products are favoured by the Government which is concerned in building up armaments factories and maintaining them. Similarly, if our own Government were to adopt cycle factories as a nucleus for our armament production, we have no doubt that our efficiency will also jump up!

In the manner mentioned considerations are allowed to affect our decision and make those who should be responsible to pass irrevocable judgments on village industries also.

We may cite the instance of handmade paper which is constantly being charged with being more expensive and not readily available. The truth lies on the lack of proper research and patronage from the government side. The best quality of paper can be made by hand, and we may say, not only be made by hand. All our University diplomas, High Court court paper and currency notes are hand-made paper, while the pulp is made by machinery, which can well be replaced by bullock power. Hence it is up to us to consider the place of hand-made paper in our economy.

The G. P. Government and other provincial bodies are heeding the introduction of paper mills in their territory. A great deal requires to be done by hand and other village products to provide the materials for their paper making. This will mean depletion of our forest resources. We are not aware that the forest department has taken up this matter and changed its policy to fit into the requirements of paper mills. Otherwise this import of paper mills spells danger to our land. Already our

houses have been demolished of over 12 years' currency and the paper note will be an extra load that the country will hardly bear. Where cheap paper, such as needed for newspapers, is necessary, it may be a wiser policy to import it from countries such as Sweden, Norway and Canada which have an over-abundance of forest areas and who are well skilled to exploit their forest resources without endangering the economy of the country. Our country is already suffering from lack of raw cotton and industrial flooding because of an inadequate forest policy. We are ill-fitted in the world in this regard.

On the other hand, hand-made paper without any restriction on the best advantage. Bamboo are first used for a number of years in raw materials for baskets, plates, roofing and other household requirements. Then when they are needed, we use them for paper. Therefore hand-made paper making does not make a dent on our available resources. Similarly, in case of other raw materials like rag and old gun bags, hand-made paper can utilise materials which have already served the world of man for some time.

While in planning our economy we must take into consideration all possibilities by which we can make the best use of our raw materials under the conditions prevailing in India. It would appear, therefore, that newspaper and other cheap paper which can well be prepared by such, it will be less for us to import from abroad, while higher quality paper should be made out of waste materials available to us in the land. Similarly, in many of the industries, unless the Government is definitely set on building up armament industries, it would be best to utilise local processes in preference to the mill processes which Japan does to hurt our economy where super-abundance of labour is available along with a surplus of capital. Under such circumstances to place for large scale industries would be like depending on harness plans for our simple land. We must in the new scheme where we have to recover our industrial policy, waste materials will prevail.

J. C. KUMARASWAMI

NO RUNNING AWAY

"We are government servants, who desire to serve honestly and, if possible, to render other useful service also. In fact, we joined government service as independent jobs or returned to our posts from which we had resigned during the national movement with this hope: better service our livelihood. But we find no piece of mind in it and often feel inclined to take up some other national work. This strength has been made as very corrupt both by our colleagues as well as the general public, that it is difficult for us honest men even to live side by side."

"Therefore officers often ask us to do frugal and unobtrusive things. If we refuse to do so, we are marked as selfish. On the other hand, if we do so well later of this wrong is detected, our officers arrive by disowning it and we are caught in the

trap. We have to be passive collaborators with our colleagues who refuse. If we report, it is tantamount. Even so, if we refuse or protest, the officers are there to torture us in, but they themselves are also obedient in their own way. Under the circumstances, nothing would except it being among our colleagues. Not caring for the consequences, if we manage to convey it to the authorities concerned, and if enquiries are initiated, the case of getting it will fall on our own selves. And help from who have experience of such cases are really very difficult to be given them even if there is no doubt about their trust in the officers, whom we often feel moved to get out of this bag and take up some other work."

I have given above the gist of representations made to me in letters or talks by some government servants. They represent several departments.

My answer to the matter was as follows:

It is an illusion to think that such things arise only in the government services and other professions are free from them. If we acquire of lawyers, merchants and other clerks they will relate the same story. Not only that, even public institutions and religious trusts will be found suffering from one type or another of such evils.

There is also no escape in regard them as of British origin. They are legacies from times immemorial. But men of truth and principles have never been successful in this worldly world. The method, however, generally adopted to get rid of this evil is to have to become, somewhat as (which is the same thing) run away from the post, instead of facing them boldly and fighting them. The result is that those who could not bear the evil made the line clear for the wrongdoers.

Even if it be assumed that men of high caste and integrity are rare in government services, how are the services to be cured of the evil, is there, if even these are better than poor? The hope of leading us toward life by underlining some other occupation is an illusion. I shall not be right if I claim the credit of leading us toward life by closing the Harijan papers among under the electric fan and light in the parlour, not drawing a high salary or purchasing in the blackmarket. Not even otherwise living a life of poverty and hard work can claim to be so. For, when checking brings home to everyone that he is living on another's back or is living on the charity of those whom he calls professors and masters. None is pure, excepting those who earn their daily bread only by the sweat of their labour.

It is useful to think of these matters for our own improvement. But it should not result in the desire to give up the work. Minimum has to fighting the wrong with the strength of a Sarpanch and in finding our ways and means of purifying the atmosphere.

Therefore, I would like to advise those government servants and those to whom walks of life that they should work to their power and observe truth and honesty to the best of their capacity. They need not despair if they fail to influence those

colleagues and superiors. They might try to guide and channel their subordinates.

It is possible that they may have to face many hardships, these promises may be hindered, their journey may be slow; they may have to suffer from irregular time and again, they may have to remain poor while their colleagues enjoy a prosperous life; but let it be remembered that there are the not-impossible maximum in the path of Trade and through those only can we make an advance and raise the level of the nation. We must not forget that Gandhi had to lead the Bull for the sake of Truth. Martyrdom is the highest reward of Truth.

When the land is tilled, too much, please seek the soothing company of the shade and the name of God or take up a goat and good luck and then accompanying every sheep for the field. Consider wrongdoers as those who have sinned the right path. Master purity that is clean would not help them, but let not the pride of being superior to them creep in you. *Dehina amant de Bhagwan* (God I give light to all) should be your prayer, while you stand firm on your truth like Buddha.

Wardha, 20-5-49

K. G. MANGHUKWALA

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

BLOOD-MILK OR PROSPERITY?

Neither the Government nor the public appear yet to have faced the absolute necessity of a definite policy with regard to cattle development. They look only at the word of dual-purpose cattle, and the desirability of prohibiting slaughter, but at the same time both are busy breeding Sahiwal, Holstein, and other heavy milchies. For instance, at the Indian Institute of Agricultural Research Dairy at New Pusa, large sums of money are being spent on a most elaborate development of the Sahiwal cow, which has produced remarkable increases in her as milk yield per day. People are dazzled by these results, and they do not stop to think what it all means. What it does mean, in simple terms, that to drink the milk of Sahiwal cows and the like, is to drink "blood-milk", because the Sahiwal milk stock is slaughtered mainly for durgah purposes and, except for those which are kept for stud bulls, all are butchered. When the pending law prohibiting cattle slaughter was brought into force, instead of being slaughtered, these animals will die of starvation, unless special camps are made for them, where they are fed and looked after at the expense of the Government, or cow protection societies. It is quite obvious that to breed cattle and be obliged to keep half the property as a burden on the slender bodies and grazing resources of the country, is a bad policy. Are we going to slaughter or are we not? This question has to be squarely faced.

I am endeavouring to collect the figures of Government plans for development of heavy milking breeds. What the Government does, the public naturally follows. By developing one-sided milk cattle, not only does the policy of prevention of

cattle slaughter become spurious, but the all-important development of useful cattle for the nation remains completely neglected. It is, therefore, no clear as daylight that if we do not wish to produce "blood-milk" and if we do wish to improve our lot at the minimum, what is the wisdom of our present policy, we have got to reexamine the policy of breeding dual-purpose cattle and see that it is carried out.

MIRAMBAH

Not in Common Man's Interest

The apprehension I had about the effect of the High Commission's Report on the agitation for linguistic Provinces is confirmed by what has transpired since then in almost every province in the north, west and Central India.

The report had hardly reached the public before the Congress Executive explained that it did not close the door against the demand for linguistic provinces, and that Ambedkar was certainly going to ask for it. And agitation is now afoot with redoubled vigour dividing each province into two or more groups. And names of great leaders are freely used as being in support of one demand or another. I hope I may be in a position to return my words later on, but for the present I cannot but feel that the report has rendered a disservice to the country and encouraged power politics, party politics, group politics and narrow-mindedness abominably. I wonder if it will be possible for the Congress now to do anything but concede the most extreme and impracticable demands in regard to this matter. It might lead to the formation of not less than two States in C. P. and Bihar, four in Bombay and four in Madras, with a further extension in the economic direction for co-union of some of them. No dual-purpose-breeds business might get a good chance of raising their registers. Also we shall be able to have more government colleges, universities, universities, and high courts, great schemes and with them heavier budgets. But will a long more spacious land, more food, more clothing, more education and say relief to masses and peace? It is not good to be in the common man's interest.

I would therefore urge all common people to discourage and keep at a distance from all activities agitating for these demands.

Wardha, 20-5-49

K. G. M.

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TWO ANNAS

BASIC AND PSEUDO-BASIC EDUCATION

[The following is fully stated note, four are included at my request, by one clearly concerned with education in a major province. —ED.]

As far as I know the word Basic was first used by Mahatma in connection with education and his seven years' scheme of education was called Basic. He embodied the term Basic Education with many meanings and gradually it came to have connotations and associations. It came to mean education which (1) lays and forms the foundation of the character of the child as an individual as well as a unit of society (2) is given through a basic (graduate's) craft—a craft which supplies some fundamental or essential need of the society, (3) is a common foundation for all children of the nation without any discrimination on principle between the rich and the poor, urban and rural, a system of universal free and compulsory education (4) is to be the foundation of all education for the later structure of the vocational and higher education and (5) is to serve as a foundation for all progress and culture of the country, leading on to the conquest of Stereotypes.

The term has become for all purposes—rightly or wrongly—a proper noun for Mahatma's system of education and when any education system is called Basic Education, everyone people take it to be the Mahatma's system.

The Central Advisory Board in taking over the portfolio has continued confusion and misunderstanding. As far as I understand, the Central Advisory Board's Basic Education is just an improvement in line with the English and American progress in education in the elementary and middle school education of today—an improvement and expansion in administration and structure.

RECENT RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CENTRAL ADVISORY BOARD

1. The recent recommendations of the Central Advisory Board adhere to the old recommendations without any change, except the provision and safeguards recommended by the Sargent Report which ensured some opportunities to the children of the poor and those who migrate here, but no place as yet. The system advocates in practice the English system of education prevailing before the 1944 Education Act. The 1944 Act provides for an easy transfer from one type of school to another type after two years of common syllabus in the

middle stage years of the school education. It also makes it clear that all types of schools of the same type will have the same status and the child will have opportunities according to its age, ability and aptitude with no reference to the parent's income or his position as far as secondary education stage is concerned.

2. The Government of India is to be thanked for shortening the period of universal compulsory education from 10 years to 12-15.

3. There is one other point which needs attention. The Central Advisory Board has recommended the national language (Hindustani or Hindi whichever the Constituent Assembly accepts) to be compulsory for the middle three years only and then optional in the four senior high school years. If the national language is not made compulsory today throughout the high school stage and the college degree course, it is difficult to see how it is going to replace English and take its rightful place in the intellectual academic life of the nation and its administration even after five or ten years. It is no doubt an easy language for the areas of Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi speaking people. But still unless it is made a proper means and medium for the education and the intelligibility of the country it will remain crippled. For the development of a language, sympathy of the masses as well as *de-facto* efforts from the intelligentsia are the two inseparable preconditions—more especially so when a country is so much under foreign domination.

What a debt today will affect children under 15 who will begin to take their place as workers and leaders of the nation after 18 years. If the national language is not given its proper place today in the educational system, only confusion will result, because it is impossible that the masses will permit English to be continued as the national language for long. Then there is a vicious circle which has to be broken. The Government says that there are not the necessary staff and the personnel in the administration in Hindustani and the Education Department says that unless administrative changes come in Hindustani, they are not willing to take the risk of creating maladjustments for the child. A plan of five years and a definite date should be fixed for the beginning of the change-over and during the interim period the Government should take up the question firmly on both the long-term and the short-term basis.

Of course we have to be thankful for the General Advisory Board Report which concentrated the attention on the nature and importance of the problem and collected valuable data and information and planned the whole research and administration of education. But, a comparison of the two schemes will show that the Wartime Basic Education Scheme differs in importance and fundamental principles from the General Advisory Board's Basic Education Scheme.

(To be Continued)

LETTERS FROM YERAVDA MANDIR

(By M. K. Ghoshal)

XII

We may have any number of cowherds but God alone can be our friend. Friendship with man comes in the way of our friendship with God, as I have found from experience.

I do not believe that Krishna had the power of going from one place to another by supernatural means. Real japa never got in for the acquisition of supernatural powers for their year is solely an instrument of salvation, and they would never sell their bullocks for a morsel of porridge. (Translated from *Goparaj*.)

XIII

Real brahmanism must persist at all times and in all conditions. It is certainly difficult to reach this stage and no wonder, for our very birth is due to an act of self-indulgence. We are deeply attached to the body which owes its existence to that act. It must be difficult to overcome the inherent tendency to indulgence. However the body is also the temple of the Holy Spirit, and when we have seen the supreme here to here, brahmanism becomes a natural state and remains undisturbed even if the celestial nymph Bandha comes down from the sky and tempts us. Our mother is the purgus of beauty for every one of us. Passion is called as we contemplate her beauty. So should it be when we think of every other woman.

The intelligence becomes keener as faith grows deeper. Indeed the One teaching seems to be that that is in the God as near as we can understand, while it is for man to become richer and richer as faith. We have to grasp the implications of faith (śraddhā) and understanding (buddhi), but this grasp too is obtained not by the study of debaters but by real hearing. He who thinks that he knows knows nothing. He who thinks that he knows nothing acquires knowledge in God's good time. Even Almighty God cannot pour a single drop of water into a pitcher that is full to the brim. We have therefore every day to stand before God as beggars with empty hands. This is covered by our observance of aparigraha (non-possession or poverty). (Translated from *Goparaj*.)

XIV

(To a correspondent who asked whether we should tell the truth or tell a lie when telling the

truth is likely to cost some one his life, while telling a lie might save him from death.)

The truth, when it is relevant, must be told at any cost. (Translated from *Goparaj*.)

XV

I have met many Christian Science friends. Some of them have read my Mrs. Eddy's works. I was never able to read them through. I did however glance through them. They did not produce the impression the friends who sent them to me had expected. I have learnt from childhood, and experience has confirmed the soundness of the teaching, that spiritual gifts should not be used for the purpose of leading bodily ailments. I do however believe in abstinence from use of drugs and the like. But this is purely on physical, hygienic grounds. I do also believe in utter reliance upon God, but then not in the hope that He will heal me, but in order to release entirely to His will, and to share the fate of millions who, even though they wished to, can have no scientific medical help. I am sorry to say however that I am not always able to carry out my belief into practice. It may occasion embarrassment to do so. But I find it very difficult, being in the midst of temptations, to continue my belief in full.

ABSORPTION OF FOREIGN WORDS

[Shri Vinodini speaks at the Radhakrishnan Pradarsak Sammelan, Bombay (Baroda) on 27-4-49.]

—D. M. I.

I would advise people in the South not to involve themselves in the Hindi-Hindustani controversy. It seems to me that Hindi is the language of Hindus and Hindustani that of Muslims. It is incorrect. The only point of difference is that Hindustani does not have the large number of Arabic and Persian words, which have become current in Hindi for the last six or seven centuries, should be retained for our advantage.

We need not run up the Hindi-Hindustani problem with the language controversy. It is necessary to agree that even if the country is divided, there is no necessity for Hindustani. The division of the country into two parts should not mean that our hearts too need to be divided. There were many States in India even before the British period. In one time while British was in power in this part, independent Hindustani ruled over Andhra and Kanara. So also in other provinces there were different States, and yet India has always remained one. Hindustani never kept this back. To say that this India and Great Britain is no longer a part of our country, and that its culture is different from ours is to cut our body itself into two parts.

We should absorb words not only from Arabic and Persian but also from the European languages. The English language does not borrow words of other languages. It has freely absorbed many a word from several languages and given it an English form. Only that language will develop which has the capacity to absorb and absorb. Even Sanskrit absorbed many

designs words. Sanskrit says *dhara dhara* with *dhara*, *dhara*, *dhara* (Sanskrit — literally released or evolved — is so called because words are used to it after proper metamorphosis.) Every word which we make polished and enriched in a suitable manner, cleaned and purified as it were with holy water. We must not abandon that practice.

Take for instance the word *gold* (gold) *Paala* were found in the area of South India. Probably it is a word of Tamil origin. It has been adopted in a modified form. Originally the word *gold* (gold) is derived from the Tamil word *gold* which got changed into *gold* and thence into *gold* and *gold* is considered into *gold*. There are other synonyms for gold which are similarly formed. For instance *gold* literally means 'come from *gold*'. Now *gold* is a well-known word for a *gold* but we don't get gold from a *gold*. So it passed the grammarians. But geography tells us that gold is found in *Paala* which suggests that *gold* means *Paala*. Similarly *gold* is derived from *Pa* (*Paala*). *Paala* is pronounced as *Pa* (*Paala*) in America and *gold* means *Pa* in *Pa*. In this way, many words have become complicated. So it will be in Hindustani. It will not absorb foreign words but will try to assimilate and absorb such words in a proper path. So you should not enter into this linguistic controversy. Hindustani will develop from day to day. The controversy over its name is also ill-considered.

A word is not mere sound. It is a sound with a meaning. When you say that you are Hindustani *pracharaka* (prosecutors of Hindustani) it means that the nation has a peculiar purpose. It means that we shall preach unity through that language throughout India, including Pakistan. Wherever we go, we shall say that we are one people with a common culture and a common civilization. Beyond the world's oldest scriptures compare India with a rope. It says *gold*, *gold*, *gold* with *gold* (Hindus the means to unite these two words). It refers to the two national words are flowing from the Hindustani in the North to the sea in the South and the other from the South to the North. The words are linked to prominence (solidarity and solidarity) of a rope. From such a long time India has been considered as one single country. While people of Europe have not even now formed a federation, we spiritually achieved it in India long long ago. In whatever the *pracharaka* go it will be their duty to spread love and unity. I would not be satisfied if they only taught the language. They must also play the chords, the symbol of the constructive programme. Thus only will our *pracharaka* be qualified in the life of being *pracharaka* with a complete coverage for life.

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI

By *Narain Kumar Bose*

With a Foreword by *Gandhi*

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REHABILITATION OF HARIJAN REFUGEES

1. On the 22nd March at 9-30 a.m. a meeting of the following was held in the room of the Hon'ble Minister for Health to decide the internal co-ordination of the Harijan Section of the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation, Government of India.

1. The Hon'ble Minister for Health

2. The Hon'ble Minister for R. & R.

3. Shri Mohanlal Khanna, Relief Officer, Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation

4. Shri Ramchandra Nela, Deputy Adviser, Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation

5. Shri A. V. Thakkar, Secretary, Harijan Sevak Sangh

6. Shri N. C. Ghosh, Under-Secretary, Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation

"It was decided that the work of rehabilitation of displaced Harijans be entrusted to the Harijan Sevak Sangh. The Harijan Sevak Sangh should be recognized as a Central Government agency. To ensure full co-ordination and speedy implementation of the schemes, a directive on similar lines be issued to all Provincial and State Governments. The Harijan Sevak Sangh, taking into consideration the number of displaced Harijans in India, will prepare schemes which will be submitted through the Provincial and State Governments. The execution and implementation of the schemes will be the responsibility of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. The Harijan Sevak Sangh will be given a grant for the provincial and central administrative setup. It is recommended that for the administrative setup a grant not exceeding Rs. 1 lakh per year will be required. This expenditure may be tried for a year. It is also recommended that a note may be submitted to the Rehabilitation Cabinet Committee direct for the acceptance of the principle involved. The details will be worked out later."

2. It was decided at a meeting held on the 22nd April under the chairmanship of Shri Ramchandra Nela that the rehabilitation work be conducted by a Board of which Shri Ramchandra Nela will be the Chairman and Shri A. V. Thakkar the General Secretary and Treasurer.

The work will be started in six centres and it will be in charge of the following.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Bengal | Shri Anandkumar and Shri Tulsham |
| 2. Bombay | Shri Parthasarathi and Shri Jyotindra Juremdas |
| 3. Delhi | Shri Sankar Ramchand |
| 4. East Punjab | Shri Mohanlal |
| 5. Madhya Bharat and Greater Rajasthan | Prof. R. K. Yadav and Shri K. V. Duary |
| 6. Sarawati | Shri Narayana Gandhi |

(From the Monthly Letter for April, 1949)

A. V. THAKKAR

HARIJAN

May 29

1946

GROUP POLITICS

East Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Vindhya Pradesh, Hyderabad and Madras have already brought to the surface the inherent evils of groups within a party. Other provinces which are still functioning as party governments, are not entirely free from the influence. Regular responsible government has already broken down in some provinces and may in any day break down in some others. Similar situations have arisen in some of the provinces of Pakistan also.

No single group, Hindu, Muslim, Christian, is able to form its own majority. Willingly it is obliged to work with other groups in order to form a cabinet. Even instructions to do this are reported to have been issued in some cases by the Central Government. The leader is not chosen for his superior talents, knowledge, strength of character, high standard of integrity, and wide outlook. If he is a talented man, the talents are of the type needed for successful working and breaking the strength of rival groups. His strength of character consists in being fearlessly unscrupulous about the means to be adopted for maintaining his strength. His integrity has weakness in being too narrow and to overlook dishonesty and corruption in the administration. His outlook is confined to his group and persons.

But pure evil is like a hog. It is unbearable without the support of something that is good. Congress-men cannot on their consciences that they are unable to make much headway unless they can put forth at least nominally, some person, who is respected for his goodness, integrity, diligence and patriotic sentiments if not for high talents or knowledge of affairs. Goodness is a welcome ally to evil, if it is a necessary. A few men with a combination of goodness and weakness are now working, and one of them is recommended to act the leader. He does not lead, but has to respond to the whimpering of chameleon-men. He is not happy with his job but is unable even to dress it off. Gandhiji used to say that the British Government did not carry on because of the wicked and the selfish but because of the weakness of good men among us. One of the Viceroy's aides to have remarked that as soon as good men of India became strong enough to say 'No', when they do not approve of a thing, India will soon be free. Gandhiji knew the weakness of the good and so emphasized the principle of non-co-operation with evil. In my humble opinion, it would be wrong on the part of the leaders and members of these legislatures to co-operate with any group or group-leader in whose integrity and ability they have no confidence merely to enable a sham responsible government to function.

What is the remedy against this state of affairs? I have suggested one in the article 'Democracy and Good Government, last week. I repeat leaders and constructive-workers is essential is seriously.

The condition of the people at present is tragic. Surely they did not elect their representatives in order to witness a glacial light in their legislative halls! They were asked to vote in the name of Gandhiji and the Congress. It is not their fault that they have lost touch with them. But their efforts are neglected. They grow under economic pressure and bureaucratic misadministration. They would be justified in withdrawing their confidence and respect for the Congress. The Congress cannot be entitled for virtues which it refuses to show openly because the Socialist or the Communist or some other party might come into power if it is defeated or will deserve it. The way in which the Congress organization works at present makes it impossible for honest and good men to take part in it. Either they leave it, denouncing it as a fraud, or are unscrupulously expelled.

The time of weak democracy which we wish to evolve is a new thing for the people. They understand benevolent autocracy. Absolute monarchs held their field in India because now and then they produced benevolent autocrats. Their rule has brought rule according to making the people better and larger the inherent evils of autocracy, rule and the misadministration of a handful of men or bad rulers. If people are not to be thrown again into the grip of autocratic governments, the Congress must understand its responsibility and partly work keeping and unscrupulous people must be made to work their jobs elsewhere. It should be made difficult for them to stay in the Congress.

Gandhiji suggested a test for this. It was regarded impossible. It was considered, not because it was difficult of execution, but because it was to the very heart of the members by nature. The test is could not be avoided or otherwise maintained without disaster for a long time. His sentence was on opening announcement of unavailability and the like. It will be remembered that at the time of Individual Satyagraha against the last war Gandhiji made spinning as a qualification for offering Satyagraha. Several people did not condemn him and thought that they had successfully done so. In fact he had seen through the hypocrisy but had become a little lenient. After all he was old, he was sending them to jail if arrested, or else on a boycott of the Delhi as their own expense. They would soon find that hypocrisy did not pay.

The Congress has long tried to evade Gandhiji's conditions by recording confidential 'active membership'. This has not improved the organization. These false shows must be given up. Let there be only four tests of active membership applicable to everyone: taking part in collective spinning; spinning at least one hour a week; taking part in sweeping; and in non-violence with Margaret Moe.

that these conditions will not stop Congress of all end elements. But because its very existence is essential to people who credit themselves with superior talent and ability for diplomacy many of them will seek some other political platform. Even if they form a majority for the time being, a purified Congress will find itself strong enough to resist them.

Wardha 21-3-48 E. G. MADHUKWALA
RESEARCH ON VANASPATHI

In the course of a greater letter, Shri Hardeo Sahas, Secretary, All-India Congress Stamp, New Delhi, writes:

"Government has just published the Second Report of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research for 1947-48. On page 52, the following appears:

VANASPATHI

"At the Indian Veterinary Research Institute under the scheme to determine the nutritive value of vanaspathi and tobacco. A study of glass it was found that with vanaspathi there is 55.55 per cent less absorption of nicotine as compared with raw glass. In another experiment it was found that vanaspathi lowered the absorption rate of nicotine and phosphorus."

"In order to determine the effect of feeding vanaspathi with tobacco Indians there, 5 percent of vanaspathi was added to Nagpur class A tobacco smoked by the Chauras. In this combination it gave rise to alkaloids. Now in Nagpur it is about two months and about alkaloids, reduction of alkaloids and vanaspathi (I) is about four months, more whereas no such symptoms were noticed in the group fed on raw glass. There seemed to be no significant difference in the nutritive value of different types of vanaspathi."

If this report is to be believed, it shows that vanaspathi glass does not contain any carcinogen either it causes cancer, and it is high time now that the Government took immediate steps to prohibit an advertisement, instead of ruining the health of the people for the benefit of vested interests.

But I would like to draw the case against vanaspathi on grounds other than the health reports of experts. Unfortunately the profession of medical experts has become so necessary in any other and it would not be difficult to get expert body of experts of considerable high degree to produce a report of just the "scientific" type of the above. Vanaspathi may be good or bad for health. But one can deny that vanaspathi is a carcinogen of morals. Also along with tobacco, sugar and other industries it has created various vices and the maintenance of such vices less profitable than the cultivation of cotton, groundnut, sugarcane, tobacco etc. and thus keeping alive delinquency of food. No Research Institute and Division of Science are needed to prove this. Reference to them is unnecessary for taking action. It serves only as an excuse for not doing what is right.

Wardha 15-5-48 E. G. MADHUKWALA.

NOT WELL-ADVISED

The Indian Republic, Madras dated 10th May 1948, contains the following item:-

"Vandhavanam, May 10.—Under the auspices of the Kallikottai Youth Congress a stone image of Valmiki Gandhi presented by Shri Vallabhaiah Appachari was installed in the temple at Kallikottai village in Vandhavanam Taluk on the occasion of the Harjan Day celebration on April 26. In Shri T. V. Rajagopal, President, Kallikottai Provincial Harjan League, Shri T. Narayana Rao, President, Vandhavanam Taluk Congress Committee presiding.

"The occasion was marked by the entry of Harjans into the temple at the head of a procession and a consecration dinner following it. Also a public meeting was held in the evening presided over by Shri C. Vennakrishna Rao, when Shri R. D. V. Ramaswami, T. V. Rajagopal and others spoke about the cooperative need to speed up Harjan uplift work and strengthen India's unity."

The installation of Gandhiji's image in the temple was not well-advised. In the *Harjan* dated 28th March 1948, Gandhiji wrote under the caption *A Temple at Gandhinagar*:

"Under this strange heading I read a newspaper cutting sent by a correspondent in the effect that a temple has been erected where my image is being worshipped. The I consider to be a gross form of slavery. The person who erected the temple has wasted his resources by installing there, the villagers who are drawn there are misled and I am being misled in that the whole of my life has been centred on that temple. The meaning that I have given to worship is distorted. Worship of the shivalinga has in playing it for a living or as a medium for earning in Swami. The God is worshipped not by personal devotion but by following its teaching. Revolution is good and proper only as an aid to action according to its teaching. A man is worshipped only to the extent that he is followed, not in his weaknesses but in his strength. Hinduism is degraded when it is brought down to the level of the worship of the image of a living being. No man can be said to be good before his death. After death one can be good for the person who believes him to have possessed certain qualities attributed to him. As a matter of fact, God alone knows a man's heart. Hence the wisest thing is not to worship any person living or dead, but to worship perfection, which resides only in God known as Truth. The question then certainly arises as to whether possession of photographs is not a form of worship carrying no more with it I have said as much before now in my writings. Nevertheless I have tolerated the process as it has become an innocent enough a custom before. But this tolerance will become intolerant and harmful if I were to pass directly or indirectly the slightest encouragement to the practice above described. It would be a welcome relief if the owner of the temple removed the image and converted the

the fact, my countrymen, women, where the poor will give anything for sugar and the others for money and all will be winners of knowledge. This will be the peaking of the Gas in action and the coming of a new era."

Wardha, 12-5-49 E. G. MAHESHWALA

GUR

This Gur value is often deceptive. It perfectly fits at least in the case of jaggery or gur. Sugar has been able to beat jaggery out of the field, not only because the modern mechanized trade was on its back but also because we believe in the 'colour bar' even in our habits. In the beginning of sugar manufacture our country people were very sceptic about its use. They only did not know that later science will prove that they were right. Sugar is still poorer sugar—the worse carbohydrates—a concentrated fuel. It supplies only calories. Dr. Wilder of the Council of Food and Nutrition, U.S.A. years ago stated that sugar was not among the recommended foods, for, sugar supplied nothing but calories and what is worse is that it lacks those calories sugar has the vitamins provided by other foods.

But gur is something different. It is sugar-cane juice minus much of its water. It retains all the mineral salts and other vitamins present in the juice.

	Sugar	Gur
Sucrose	90.1	58.71
Glucose	nil	33.35
Mucicac	0.55	1.35
Mannite	0.55	0.55

Dr. Kalidas Manna of Patna states that "because of its natural content however small, gur is a superior article of diet as compared to sugar." The present day student of nutrition lays great stress on the presence of 'crude elements' in the diet. One analysis of gur furnished by the Director, Nutrition Research, Calcutta (51) gives the following quantities of the three minerals which play an important role in the metabolic processes, more especially calcium which is prominently present in an aqueous form.

Minerals	mg per 100 Gms. of gur
Calcium	75 mg
Phosphorus	28 mg
Iron	41 mg
Copper	55 mg

Thus the dark colour which 'detrudes' gur is due to much what is good in it. The misunderstanding that it is due to impurities is wrong. This colour is mostly due to these health-giving elements like mineral salts etc.

You will find that nearly one fifth of the total sugar in gur is in the form of glucose or fructose. It will thus be seen that ingestion of gur possesses the advantage over that of sugar in that its glucose content gives the extra concerned the nutrition required to ingest the corresponding amount of sucrose ingested.

Dietetics has increased tremendously in recent years and a part or any rate of this increase may be attributed to the use of white sugar in the

exclusion of gur. White sugar is also one of the causes of dental decay.

Experiments reported from Hawaii in 1933 show that cane molasses is a good source of vitamins B₁ and B₂ and these must be also present in gur. Similar is the experience of Czechoslovakia and Japan.

All this evidence and the accumulated experience of generations of the village people prove it beyond doubt that whereas the use of molasses leads to exhaustion, dental decay and diabetes the diabetes and anaemia, the brown jaggery or gur gives man the gift of health—vitamins A, B₁, B₂ and minerals like calcium, iron and phosphorus and nutrients like carotene, glucose, inositol, proteins and fats, small though they may be.

DEVENDRABHUSHAR GUPTA

NOTES

Coal Gas from Wood

Since the last war, it has become usual to use coal gas instead of petrol for running motors. Instead of getting it from mine-coal it is being extracted from wood fuel.

Villages have always been short of wood fuel. This is one of the reasons why dump-cakes, so valuable as manure are wasted as fuel. Crops for various reasons—particularly for avoidance of smoke—are already using large quantities of wood-coal. Large quantities of beak and other wood are consumed for preparing this coal. If in addition to this, wood fuel is further used for producing coal gas, the life of villages is made extremely difficult.

It appears that coal-gas prepared from wood-coal is extensively used in the motor vehicles of Mahanagar. The Congress Committee of Shimoga has taken up this matter and passed a resolution pointing to the hardship of villagers and asking for stopping this extravagant destruction of wood. The demand should be accorded to.

Wardha, 28-4-49

Artificial Rain

Interesting schemes for getting rain artificially have often been reported in newspapers. I understand that the Government have already spent a good amount on these projects and are about to spend some more on the advice of experts. Dr. M. S. Patel, also a well-known expert, informs me that these are all bogus schemes not worthy of belief. Newlands has the scheme for succeeded and he is positive that the credibility of the Minister is being exploited by designing people. He earnestly desires me to appeal to the Government to beware of them.

Wardha, 21-5-49

Service Men Delayed

From a letter:

"Letters from Nagpur and Gondia used to reach Wardha by the next day on a general rule. Since the increase in postal rates and introduction of all air services they generally arrive on the fifth day. You can imagine how this would affect business."

One more complaint of the above nature is almost every newspaper. No comment is needed to strengthen the Government popular feeling in the matter.

Wardha, 16-5-49

"Revolutionary Charlie"

This pamphlet originally written in Hindi by Shri Dhanendra Misra, who has succeeded Gandhiji as President of the All India Spinning Association, has been brought out in English for the benefit of those who are still unable to follow this language. In a short space of 26 pages it gives a course of the Charlie Movement from its birth in 1935 till we have obtained new attention by Gandhiji in 1945. Shri Misra explains the implications of the Charlie Movement as conceived by Gandhiji for bringing about a non-violent revolution in society. He answers some of the usual doubts and appeals the country's youth to understand the movement intelligently and respond to it enthusiastically and with a sense of responsibility. It is published by A. I. S. A. Sevagram (Wardha) and is priced at 5 ms. plus 9 ms. for postage.

Wardha, 16-5-49

Shant Hartman

I laid on my life for a long time the following paragraph, passed at a conference of the People's Party in January last. As I had not been able to publish it for a considerable time, I requested of my correspondents of the movement still needed publication, when it was possible that, at was sent and exposed, the Government might have given the necessary relief I was informed with deep regret that the situation was unchanged. I have also received from Shri Ramchandra Nandan a series of important articles on this subject which I hope to publish as soon as possible.

THE RESOLUTION

'This Conference of the States held at Ranchi (Jharkhand) draws the attention of the Government to those Fundamental Rights which have been often declared by it, namely that no citizen shall be deprived of the rights of citizenship on the ground of caste or birth. The consequences under the Swadeshi Government of the harsh restrictions imposed by the foreign government under the Criminal Tribes Act upon our people are a hindrance to Democracy and Economy. We therefore strongly demand that those restrictions upon us should be removed without delay, and we should be allowed to have every opportunity to make our social, cultural, political and economic development in the same way as other Indians. We extend our sympathy to those other tribes also, which are subject to similar restrictions.

I hope the Government concerned will attend to this matter promptly.

Wardha, 20-5-49

K. G. M

BAFU — MY MOTHER

By

Margaret Gandhi

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LEST WE FORGET

XIX

ESSAYS IN VARIOUS SUBJECTS

(1)

Of all my original writings I do believe that the opening whet is the most permanent and the most beneficial. [It] will solve the problem of the economic depression millions of India's homes, and it constitutes an effective insurance against famine.

The millions are living in unbroken silence for at least four months in the year. The restoration therefore of the opening whet solves the economic problem at a stroke.

I do say that to supply India with cloth manufactured either outside or inside through private mills was economic blunder of the first magnitude, even as it would be to supply cheap bread through huge bakeries established at the chief centres in India and to destroy the family stove. (Economics of Cloth, pp. 71-72)

(2)

I should use only things that are produced by my immediate neighbours and serve these industries by making them efficient and complete when they might be found wanting. Such Swadeshi, if reduced to practice, will lead to the millennium. (Ibid. p. 4)

(3)

If we follow the Swadeshi doctrine, every village of India will shortly be a self-sufficing and self-contained unit, exchanging only such necessary commodities with other villages as are not locally producible. (Ibid. p. 8)

(4)

India is really a republican country, and it is because of it that it has survived every shock because delivered France and Germany have hardly touched the vast mountains for collecting revenue. The villages managed their internal affairs through the caste system, and through it they dealt with any oppression from the ruling power or power. (Ibid. p. 5)

(5)

I am confident of seeing [the] blessings [of poverty] by suppressing a revival of the Swadeshi. I make my all on it. For every revolution of the wheel upon price, goodwill and love. (Ibid. p. 65)

FOOD SHORTAGE & AGRICULTURE

By

M. K. Gandhi

The problems of food shortage and agriculture are confronting us every day and demand immediate action. The collection of Gandhiji's articles on the subject indicates the way to the solution.

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HARIJAN MOVEMENT IN MADRAS

While Sir Ponnappa Sharma is generally associated with the manner in which Harijan Day is observed every month in Madras, his experience of officers is not happy in some places. He says:

Harijan possibly are afraid of caste Hindu folk, as it was difficult to persuade them to come to temples in some places. In the party was almost almost everything was thrown and literally driven out of the village. His experience that even the Development Officers are against the movement. It is intended to bring about social, economical and cultural improvements in those places. In a small village by name Kumbhagudi of the village both services and members of all castes and sects, had a common dinner. These villagers are proposing to have a common dinner in which even all the members of all castes and Harijans will take part. There is complete unity in the village under a leader Sir Chendiah. Ravi Reddy. This is the best sort of the kind in this district. I am sorry to say that the District Congress has not taken enough interest in this. More work can be done if all the provinces take up the 30th.

A GOOD PAIR OF GLOVES

In the matter of almost daily complaints about the inefficiency, callousness, discrimination, arrogance, and what not of government officers, it is a pleasant relief to hear a report about the good work being done by the District Magistrate and Tahsildar of one of the provincial governments for the uplift of Harijans. For obvious reasons, I cannot give particulars which will leave them. The writer says:

It is not my nature to praise people unless really (The District Magistrate) does justice, gives the work much more. On his way, if he passes by any Harijan locality he never goes without stopping the same and doing some good to them. He is trying to do all that is in his power and never goes off the work for the moment even if he is sick. He is not afraid of doing a good thing even if it displeases people in power. To put it in short, as a result of his actions and qualities he is being literally worshipped throughout the district. (Ravi) Tahsildar is like a Harijan (to his staff), is always courteous, never offends anybody, tries to help big and small, is generous in his work, always carries his point and is not shirk in his official duties. The whole district is being electrified in social work. In another letter, he says:

"There was a suggestion that officers should stop in the Harijan villages. I know one District Magistrate who immediately put this suggestion into practice by stopping in a Harijan locality. In that month all the villagers and officers go to the Harijan street and Harijans are benefited in various ways. He dispenses all petitions of both rich and poor without any delay.

How good it would be if such a report could be given of all government officers in general!

Wardha, 26-3-46 E. G. MADHUPWALA

SOME CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS

One of the reasons for the evils of bribery and corruption in the confidential properties of Government departments if this could be smoothed out only will these evils be lessened but the public will feel great relief and the work will be more easily disposed of. In this connection, a village worker sends the following constructive suggestions:

"People have to apply to government out of necessity and so they have to use all means, but I feel to get a quick and sure hearing because:

(i) sometimes they are told that no application was received.

(ii) the applicant is not informed within a given time limit whether the application has been granted or not, so he has to visit the office a number of times to find it out and in some cases temporary suspension is given.

(iii) when some sort of government help is publicly announced, every applicant goes to the office to have the matter done only a few are successful, several return disappointed and dissatisfied against the government and become a trouble for those who organise propaganda against the government.

REMEDIES:

(i) Every applicant should be given immediately a receipt acknowledging receipt of the application. This will enable the applicant to remind the government, if necessary, of the fact of receipt. This can be done easily by delivering acknowledgment of receipt on printed or rubber stamped loose Government officials should be strictly instructed to give receipt to every applicant.

(ii) Village panchayat should be authorized to receive applications regarding matters which are not of a nature requiring personal attendance of the applicant, and to forward them to the higher authorities. Officers should also be encouraged through the same panchayats. Applicants should be saved the trouble of personal attendance as far as possible.

(iii) Unless it is necessary to call an individual applicant in order to ascertain further details, applications of a personal nature should also be disposed of in the above manner without calling the applicants frequently by giving dates when they can come.

Wardha, 17-3-46 E. G. MADHUPWALA
(Translated from the original in Marathi.)

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HARIJAN

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BASIC AND PSEUDO-BASIC EDUCATION

II

[The following columns show the principal differences between the Wardha and the C. A. B. schemes]

WARDHA SCHEME

CENTRAL ADVISORY BOARD SCHEME

[Dr. Zakir Husain Committee Report]

[Sargent Commission Report]

1 The Wardha Scheme stresses and emphasises that has laid down some craft and 'productive work' as the medium of education and not as an additional subject, the value of the various production occupations received through the scheme is given a large portion of its running expenses are mainly practically but also as an important and integral part of efficiency.

Mr. Zakir Husain Report

P. 8 The basic idea of the scheme is that education if based on its principles should be imparted through some craft or productive work which should provide the medium of all other instruction provided in the school.

P. 20 Classes, experiments and craft are

given to the knowledge acquired by children by making more significant with the basis of education.

Two necessary results are:

(1) The craft should be told in education production.

(2) Productive work should not only form a part of the school

1. Activity principle—preferably a complete the form of craft as a productive work but as a separate subject production as in the Wardha Basic Education Scheme Production is not given any weight.

Mr. Central Advisory Board Report

P. 12 (a) Recommendation No. 6—The Wardha Scheme of Basic Education is in full agreement with the recommendations made in the Wood Report to let in the principle of learning by doing is covered. This activity should be of many kinds in the lower classes and later should lead to a basic craft; the production which should be valuable and the proceeds applied to the upkeep of the school.

curriculum—in craft only but should encompass the method of teaching all other subjects.

P. 13 'The good education will also comprehensively cover the major portion of its running expenses.'

P. 14 Apart from its financial implications we are of opinion that a reasonable draft will be useful in ensuring thoroughness and efficiency in teaching and in the work of the students.

2. Craft, manual, vocational and physical education will be covered by the curriculum and will be closely related to life.

Mr. Zakir Husain Report

P. 20 'Although should be carried on through concern in the curriculum relating to craft or in manual and physical education.'

3. No English in the first seven years.

2. Each school will have manual and physical education. It is to be the common mode of instruction as laid down in the Wardha Scheme but they will be important subjects and curriculum should be added as far as possible.

3. Introduction of English in the sixth or the fifth year—compulsory in Secondary Schools and optional in Senior Basic Schools.

Mr. C. A. B. Report

P. 8 Not one they (Dr. Zakir Husain) needed as in the development of manufacturing in the Senior Basic stage but they suggested that there may be a second public demand for technical areas and they feel that the final decision in this case must be left in the hands of the Provincial Education

1. A minimum course of music years for all children — no selection at all — instruction only three years at right method school.

100. *John H. Mason Report*.

101. The 4-year course (which is a normal, diversified and compulsory) for all children to be followed in the course by higher education for those who are qualified to receive it.

Education Department Cleveland Board Committee's recommendation)

P. 11. Recommendation No. 13—English should not be introduced as an optional subject in Junior schools (after Board Committee's recommendation)

4. A partial system of admission to Secondary instruction in the three upper Primary standards.

Table C & B Report.

P. 10. Recommendation No. 3—Division of students from the Junior school to other kinds of schools should be allowed after the 10th class or about the age of 11.

P. 7. Junior Education while preserving its essential unit will consist of two stages — the Junior (or Primary) stage covering a period of five years and the Senior (or Middle) stage covering three years.

P. 10. Any comparison of the High School system therefore should treat High Schools as distinct units differing in outlook and objective from the ordinary Junior Basic Schools in which most children will complete their full-time education.

P. 21. 50% of the pupils will have to be provided with free places or cost in partial remission of fees.

5. Children on the completion of the fifth class of the Junior Basic Schools be directed either to Senior Basic or to High Schools according to their abilities, aptitudes and general progress.

Table C & B Report.

The following are the conclusions of Education

to ensure that deserving children of poor parents are not denied Secondary Education.

(a) A selection test at the end of the Junior Basic School — 5 years.

The High School course will cover the middle stages for the selected children. Primary departments should be regarded as entirely distinct units and organized accordingly.

(b) Only those who are found fit in the test will be eligible for admission to Secondary Schools.

P. 25. High School Education. The chief purpose of higher education is to form an elite not for its own sake but for that of masses — hence the selection principle by which children should be picked out for higher education on completion of the Junior Basic stage is of the greatest importance. At present admission to High Schools is mainly determined whether parents or guardians are in a position to pay the fees.

(c) 50% free-education ships for children poor but eligible.

If pupils are to be selected by selection only, those without the necessary financial resources will have to be provided with free places and in many cases with maintenance allowances as well.

Partners will have to be provided for the transfer of suitable children from the Senior Basic to the High Schools at some later stage, particularly where they show signs of later development.

The Education of Junior Basic is not to be followed but will 12 when the ability and aptitude are more pronounced and recognizable.

Table John H. Mason Report, page 17 quoted above.

(1) Children who are not thus selected will pay full cost fees to the schools if they want to join Secondary Schools.—Government will not give any grant on these children.

Parents of children who had to reach the standard may consider themselves that children provided they 'are required to pay the whole cost of the education provided'.

(2) For children who develop later some arrangement for selection and easy transfer at the end of the Upper Primary Classes will be made so that these children also get the full benefits of equal opportunity.

Special arrangements should be made in these schools for manufacturing people who decide to continue their education after completing the full course in the basic school, i.e. after reaching the 8th class.

4. Character building and outside school life is a most essential and integral part of the system.

5. The system is fundamentally on educational principles which find a different expression and application as related to Indian conditions.

Corrections

(1) In the Harijan of 22.5.49 page 90, column 2, line 26, the sentence read action, page 90, column 1, line 14 from borrow for and read or page 90, column 2, line 15 from borrow read on taking office that he had ceased to be a public man.

(2) In the Harijan of 22.5.49 on page 97 under sub-note *Rural recommendations* we read the first sentence as follows: 'The rural recommendations of the Central Advisory Board refers to the old recommendations without any change except that while the provisions and safeguards recommended by the *Sarpanch Board* created some opportunity to the children of the poor and those who neither their feet nor shoes or get in the present one.'

SUGAR-COATED FOOD SHORTAGE

Tells *your* industry has not yet been given its due place. We are still relying on mainly sugar-cane for our sugar need. The steady increase of the sugar manufacturers in making their demand on our land progressively increasing. Every year more and more critical producing fields are being swallowed by sugar-cane production as well by evident from the following index figures calculated with 1938-39 yield as 100.

1938-39	100
1942-43	119
1945-46	111
1947-48	118

As present about 40 lakh acres of land, 65% of which is under sugarcane, is occupied by sugar-cane in India. If a firm stand is not taken against it, that acreage will still need to increase because the sugar manufacturers are not worked with the ton thousands tons production they had last year, and have put the target for 48-50 in various thousand tons.

What a tremendous adverse effect this commercial crop makes on the food front of our country can be well judged. As a matter of fact sugar-cane growing for sugar is a wrong policy. The following extract from the observations made in the Congress at Coimbatore by Dr J. E. D. Vay a scientist who studied *your* industry in Java should be an eye-opener. He contends:

The preparation of sugar from palm is the only rational mode of obtaining sugar in the tropics, the reason being: Sugar by itself being composed of a state of purity of Carbon, Hydrogen and Oxygen does not derive nourishment from the soil, but the plants are mainly cultivated for extracting sugar via the latex *Palmyra* and the *Saccharum*. Other sugar-cane requires for their development a great amount of substances from the soil in which they grow, whereas it follows that their culture entails the soil that this is not the only soil what is more is that the space now occupied by best root is *Coconut* and by sugar cane between the tropical region and ought to serve for the culture of wheat or of large or *Kaeng* and for rice in the tropics. Given during the process of population, the time is not far distant when it will be absolutely necessary to derive the culture of wheat, as now the lands are employed for best root or cane. While the cane and best root require soil for its needs the sugar palm grows on soil entirely unfit for these cultures. In fact, related that one might try to want to grow on them rice or cereals. According to my average a field of 1+ acres planted with palm trees, should produce nearly 2400 kilograms (roughly 50 mals) of sugar in a wet season with by any other kind of culture.

It is not a travesty that out of the estimated five crores palm trees can produce as much sugar hardly one lakh can be produced? The palms are waiting!

DEVENDRASWAR GUPTA.

HARIJAN

June 3

1948

THE DIFFERENCE

"The Government of India, as well as some Provincial Governments have waged a war against the Communists. Though one may well see eye to eye with them on some matters, particularly violence, one must weigh their principles for the total destruction of Capitalism and the establishment of a genuine equality amongst men, and sympathy with those expelled as they are by a purpose purely humanitarian. They are trying to build a system based on selfish greed in the outer economy, and the total subjection of whole masses of men and women and children in the inner world. Is not that also the ideal of Socialists? Is it not one's sacred duty to oppose this above class non-violence as opportunistic effort?"

The contrast itself provides the answer. It shows that the difference between Communism and Gandhism is not in the ends but in the means. Gauding himself more than once declared that he was a Communist more than a non-violence. The latter difference is expressed in positive language by saying that he did not propose *anarchy* (the theory or ideology of Communism) but *non-violence* (the practice or duty of equality). His endeavour all the end of his life was to practice this doctrine. He tried to identify himself with the humblest workers of India. He was born in a family which for some generations had practised education and politics as a career. Though he could not except anything that theory he did not take to it as such has been in for the last part in it—namely law. He read Ruskin, and discovered that even if he practised law, he was not justified in making it a means of creating wealth for himself. So he deprived himself of all private property. He read Tolstoy and the Gita and came to the conclusion that law was not a 'productive' occupation, and that he must earn his livelihood by pursuing something by his own physical labour. And so before he turned to land, and dedicated himself to it. An agriculturist, however, even some property, and has a superior mind and economic status to that of peasants. So he became a worker. But a worker is far better off than a land labourer and he, too, far too higher than a Mung, who has no implements no technical skill, no knowledge and no voice in society. And so Gauding called himself a Mung, tried to live amongst them, learned them and rose the conscious of the humble brotherhood of his.

The more he practised equality the more he realised how difficult it is to live by it. He could not say that he had succeeded in doing so. And so, while he weakly endeavoured to reach that goal as much as he could, he did not feel

it as his life to feel anger towards those who took for granted exploitation and inequality in economic and social conditions in the same way as we take for granted the exploitation of the cow and the bullock and the inequality of status between these animals and ourselves. Humanistic treatment and better exploitation of these animals (from the point of view of man's comfort) is all that we aim at through our games and cattle-breeding activities. So too, men, brought up for centuries in an environment of private property, unequal social groupings and the like, take the existence of the rich and the poor, the high and the low as so many realities to be taken without question. It is only during the last 20 or 40 years that the basis of this acceptance has been questioned in India. And though the acceptance has been considerably weakened in the house in the heart the capitalist idea is imbedded in the poorest masses of the country. Everyone if he can, wants some day to be a land-holder or a capitalist and to create conditions in which he will not have to work for his daily food—at any rate not do physical work. It is the aspiration to get an opportunity to lead a comfortable and physically non-labouring life which on the one hand reconciles people to inequalities of life and status, and on the other hand to feel jealous of those who have preceded them in this aspiration. Since none of them believes in simple, hard, labouring life though one is called a Capitalist and the other a Communist, both are but real elements for the same path of ease and comfort. The fact that labourers no worker are easily led into acts of sabotage shows that they have the machine to which they are joined. An angry bullock would do the same thing with the plow to which it is joined. As he keeps the hard work on the machine he destroys it a bit at a time, at the instigation of angry leaders, the very thing which will produce his food when the strike is over. In doing so he kills or disables men, women and children in the same way as in a civil war. There is no regard for life—the above property—over of the perfectly innocent and probably belonging to the same class as himself. He usually pictures himself as a *Shudra* that "he is impelled by a purpose purely humanitarian". As long as men regard comfort and freedom from work as basis of life he will not escape turning to violence to achieve his end.

If non-violence and hard-labour are accepted as inseparable part of the Communist movement, there can be no reason for a quarrel with it, if it accepts them faithfully as no article of creed, and if still Government were to wage war against it simply with a view to suppress a rival party the Communists will find themselves supported by all but the immediately afflicted classes. As it is, it is one violence pitted against another to the detriment of human lives and the wealth of the country. The false claims to Capitalism Communism and indeed all ideologies which allow the use of violence in their scheme, commit in the hands

attempts, that group was its time, be perpetrated in the presence of a bright future is expected.

If those who sympathize with Communist activities can convert them to non-violence, they will indeed have rendered a great service not only to India but to the whole world. Guided by his technique of non-violent resistance to and succeeded in making many a terrorist retreat to violence. He represented their pastime but could not sympathize with their terrorism. In the same way, sympathy for Communism were laid as to seek appropriate non-violent methods of bringing about these changes in the social and economic order which the Communists want to effect through violence.

Wardha 28-5-49

K. G. MADHUKALA

BIDIAS

During my tour in Bandelkhand (Vardha Pradesh), I came to Bidas, a town of about 10,000 population on the morning of the 1st May. After going round the streets inhabited by Sweepers, Bawars, Chamar and other occupying a Marjari town primary school, my party was taken to a street inhabited by a caste known as Bidias. This caste is not very numerous and is to be found in a few places on this side. This street has 12 families consisting of 22 men, 34 women, 8 boys and 10 girls, total 76.

During my visit to the locality of Sweepers, Chamaras, Bawars, etc., I had no difficulty in getting information about their ways of living, their professions, their wages and their social condition. But in this locality it took some time to gather together the men and the women of the locality. The women were the first to come and the men could be gathered with a little difficulty. The first question put to the 8 or 10 men, after they had assembled was about their professions. We were first told that they cultivated the lands given to them by the State but this proved to be incorrect. They said that they had no land to cultivate and the one field (including a well) that was given to one of them has passed off from their hands to the jagadar of the village. A young woman then brought forward a Government stamped paper which proved to be a lease of land given to her old father who was peasant. But this land too was taken away from the family by the jagadar.

I was touched the more correct answer about the profession, when an old man told the party very frankly that besides ordinary labour 'We are living upon the money earned by our assets and daughters'—meaning thereby by prostitution. The wives of ordinary working men among women of other classes and their husbands showed that the women were more forward and advanced than the men. They were the spokesmen of the small gathering. When we pressed upon the gathering that the profession that the caste was following should be left by them in favour of some decent manual work the young lady who was in the

possession of the lease of land, advised me to her story. She said in a complaining mood that though she had proposed some time back to marry a well-to-do husband, the matter was rejected by the police and the landlord (Sub-Inspector of Police) did not approve of the marriage and banned it. 'I was willing to marry and lead an honest domestic life but I was not allowed to do so by the slandering police department.' She added 'there are many others like myself who are willing to lead married life but we are unable to do so for no fault of ours. We are compelled to lead this life as we are traditionally living. If you enable us to get settled in life and give our children some lands to cultivate and earn, then living from the same, we are ready to live like other people of the society.'

Our local friends officials and non-officials and very frankly that this was the first case that they came across the caste and its degraded social condition. They said, 'We are doing our utmost work of men and officers—of Congress and Praga Mandal, and of holding conferences and opening agencies, but we never knew this problem, which exists in our own locality and is so dark a disgrace to the society of which the Bidas are a part.'

Out of the 34 women, about 25 lived as prostitutes. Will our social workers take up the work of reforming these women? There is a class of such women in Khandwa, going by the name of Devdasis. Shri. Kishor Kulkarni, one of our senior and seasoned Marjari workers undertook some years back to educate such Devdasi girls and also educated them into ordinary Marjari girls living in the city of Bhopal, Bombay Province. He has been successful in educating and sending back in the world as respectable women 10 girls since 1938 and some of them are school teachers.

Datta, 2-5-49

A. V. THAKKAR

[Note: I believe this class is to be found in almost every part of at least C. P. and Bihar. Their caste suggests perhaps different, but their career is the same and for the same reasons as above. Nearly 25 years ago, I came across a woman of this class in a casual case in Datta. She was a woman and on being asked by the magistrate to give her husband's name, she replied Pann (money). I was shocked and could not understand. Thereupon the magistrate advised me that prostitution was the traditional profession of that caste.]

I hope the Police Department will be strictly instructed not to come in the way of their social uplift.

—K. G. M.]

BAPU—MY MOTHER

By

Manohar Gadhia

Page No. G-12-C

Page No. G-12-C

MAHATMA PUBLISHING HOUSE

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problems, various policies, sciences, etc. First analysis of such substances is not the whole thing. There should also be the synthesis, that is, the consideration of every article of food from the point of view of a person's particular system, the changing climates and other factors of life. This is called in Ayurveda *agni*—it is a combination of factors. I shall illustrate my point with an instance. I have read somewhere in a book on Indian medicine that the rule of the sun down in the evening is superior to that down in the morning. The reason given is—*pranavahana*! That is, inasmuch as the sun is active during the day, moves out in the sun and takes a lot of moisture, the evening walk is superior to the morning walk because at night the sun is tied up in dark and gets no moisture. In the same way the goodness of honey should also be investigated from the point of view of the flowers from which the honey is drawn. There is a matter which has been studied to a certain extent but requires further investigation.

We should bear in mind that there are in no such doubts as to what an Indian knows as Western sciences. So in the knowledge of Ayurveda we must not close our doors against what has been revealed, not in the West. What needs to be done is to effect the findings of the Western science to the medicine prevailing in India. Western methods are rather expensive. It is no use as to what is *Manusmriti*. Often it has proved to be more costly than treatment by drugs. There should be no doubt for that. It shows lack of proper research. I would request this assembly to apply their talents to this work. This would lead to the founding of a Science of Healing for India as distinguished from the use of India.

If much of the knowledge of disease is obtained by Western Science, there need be no objection to the use of a few tested drugs in aid of it. The latter need not be completely tabooed. There is no reason for the taboo for, ultimately, even food is medicine. But in the use of drugs the law of Similitude has a plain life. The most first matter is the herbs available round about us. *Medicinal* medicines are prepared mostly from foreign herbs. Quite naturally so, because the science has been developed abroad and they were and the herbs which were available to them. On the same principle, we must study local herbs and establish the same. Not only that, I would that every village should have about an acre of land for cultivating some of the most useful medical herbs. Our forest herbs also require to be further studied.

I said herbal drugs might occasionally be used to supplement Nature Cure treatment. I would further add that they should be used in as small a number and measure as possible. The prevailing habit is to mix several drugs together and give large doses. We have much to learn from Homeopathy in this respect. Its specialty succeeds in the treatment of disease and the reduction of a single drug usually. The use of several drugs is harmonised to the patient and related to the herbs. Perhaps, you have the statue of *Dayanandacharya* as the 'non-violence' and 'harmony between' of doctors. They agreed, he has said, the King of men, the tree of sorrow and sorrow of a third person, the root of one tree, the lateral pole

of the trunk of another, the bark of a third, and the leaves of a fourth, the fruit of a fifth tree, and the root, branch, trunk and sapling of a sixth shrub, and prepare a medicine and drink that they have merited service in life!

While I have hardly admitted that there can be no such thing as English Science, German Science and Indian Science, and that we must opportunely take what has been investigated with good brains and diligence by the Western nations, I must leave you to resist the temptation of reacting to reaction, which is so easily prevalent in the West. The body must be preserved but not at the expense of spiritual life. Science does not mean the abandonment of all moral considerations in its development. The great human value of respect and compassion to the life of the lower creation must be preserved even at the cost of the human body. It is a limitation which we must prescribe to ourselves in our work.

One more word and I have done. You must enter not yourselves in the battle of the masses and must not be your petted spiritual child, actually. India is not a petted one, well groomed and well groomed. For example, we too must educate the people also in the matter and create public opinion against these trades. For if the people want these things it is difficult for a democratic government to stop them.

I believe better days are in store for you under popular governments and if you are governments and drive to your sense of duty governments will give you full chance for development.

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

Chronological Disparities

A few chronological discrepancies relating to Gandhi's biography have been brought to my notice by Mr. Louis Parker. I have made enquiries about them and for general information, I mention them below.

1. Date of departure from Bombay to England for studies ought to be 4th Sep. 1888 and not 1887. Gandhi joined the Bombay Medical College towards the end of 1887, joined the Sanshodh College, Dharampur, January to April 1888 (from account) and sailed for England on 4-9-1888. Mr. H. S. L. Polak made enquiries about this matter at my request in England and discovered that "Raja was admitted as a student (at the Inner Temple) on the 6th November, 1888, was called to the Bar on the 10th June, 1891, and was called on the 12th November, 1892. On inquiry at the London University, I am informed that he matriculated in June 1890. It looks therefore, as though he sailed for England in 1888."

2. Indian Opinion—Originally founded by Shri Madanlal in 1903, and taken over by Gandhi completely in 1904. The date mentioned in some places is 1893 and at others 1904. This explanation will clear the doubt.

3. Date of writing *Wardha Journal*—22.11.1938—on board the S. S. Kilkenny Castle—the mention of 1938 in the contents of this book is obviously a mistake. Shri Pandit says that Gandhi's manuscript had been drawn to this and he wanted to correct it, but failed to do it during his life-time.

Wardha 24-9-42

K. G. M.

GANDHI'S INFLUENCE IN CHINA & JAPAN

We (i.e. the writer and his wife) arrived in Shanghai on the 10th (April) and stayed there for two days. We spent six days in Tokyo. The World Buddhist Mission of Shanghai, of which Dr. Zou is the President, invited me and in my speech there, I urged the need for closer cultural relations between China and India. I also mentioned about the Sarvodaya Society. The idea was liked by them and Dr. Zou has become a member. We were also invited by Dr. Liu, Chairman of the Library of Western Thought, Shanghai, where I gave a short speech. All the people desired that there should be a greater publicity of Gandhian literature in China. (In Japan) we met a large number of Japanese professors and members of the Diet who exhibited great interest in Gandhian philosophy. There exists in Japan a Gandhi Society since a long time. It has a very large membership. Sri Mahipala, High Priest of Honganji Buddhist Temple, Tokyo, who is a very enthusiastic worker in the Secretary of the Gandhi Society. A few days after Bapu's death, he undertook a fast for three weeks. They celebrated Gandhi's First Anniversary on 15th February—the Anniversary Day of Lord Buddha—by keeping Bapu's photo near the idol of Lord Buddha in the Honganji temple, which is the biggest Buddhist temple in Tokyo. Yesterday I gave a lecture in Honganji temple on the Message of Gandhi under the auspices of the Gandhi Society, the Buddha Worshipers' Association, the International Religious Association and the International Cultural Association. I also dined on the Sarvodaya club. Yesterday, just before my speech Sri Mahipala, Acting Head of the Indian Liaison Mission, presented a collection of Gandhian literature to the Gandhi Society on behalf of the Government of India. Shriwan Mahabir Gadh of the writer) also presented a manuscript of Bapu on every Two days ago she also addressed a meeting. She spoke well.

We met in Tokyo two Japanese students, Major Kamabata and Major Sugawara, who had worked with Subhas Bahu in the I. N. A., an organization from the beginning to the end. They told us many interesting things. We also learnt from them how Subhas Bahu died. It is almost to believe that he is alive even now.

In China and Japan, they use various types of spinning wheels. Sri Narayan Kapadia of the Cloth and Village Industries Association, Bombay, who was in Tokyo, has gathered considerable information about them. He is also taking with him in India chiefly some models of these spinning wheels. These Japanese wheels are capable of producing four times more yarn than our charkha. We also saw a spinning wheel in China, which is worked by means of a pedal and has twelve spindles. It is worked by the leg and by power. I

have asked for a design of the same. I think that Narayan Kapadia, Mumbai and others should visit China and Japan since it will help our research work.

I think that every one of our witnesses should keep sufficient Gandhian literature in their office and should also subscribe for the Harjan.

In route to Honolulu: S. N. AGGARWAL.
International Date Line 30.4.1949-3.49

(From a letter to Hindustan)

Cebuany

Several correspondents have come to me during the last week starting from the 15th—a Bombay weekly—and on request in some other papers containing columns about Sri Vinoba and Sri Prasad. Tomorrow Sri Vinoba is a repetition of what had appeared some months ago. I had made enquiries about the matter then and have also inquired of Sri Prasad now. It would occupy too much space to give full details of both. It is unnecessary and none of them wishes to publish any 'defence'. Suffice it to say that the reports are greatly exaggerated. The conduct of both was correct.

Some of the correspondents have suggested that the paper should be suspended again, if it has made a false charge. It cannot be done. A public worker cannot afford to waste his time and energy after every false report that may be spread against him. He must presently go up with them. The public will understand, sooner or later, what and what reports should be believed.

Woolin, 27-5-49

K. G. M.

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EDITED BY E. C. NARAYAN

VOL. XIII No. 17

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TWO ANNAS

NOTES

Governorships

It is gratifying to note that the Constituent Assembly has revised its former decision and decided to keep Governorships outside the sphere of elections. The nomination of the Governor should also as a general rule, be of a person not belonging to that province. I do not see how such nomination is inconsistent with democratic principles. Democracy does not mean that there should be direct election at every stage and for every office. If the person empowered to make appointments is responsible to the people, that is, can be removed from office by the will of the people duly expressed, an appointment made by him is a kind of indirect election. Every association has to invest its office-bearers with important powers. The delegates of the power of appointing constitutional Governors to the President and his Prime Minister is perhaps a less important one than many extensive powers with which they are invested.

Wardha, 2-6-48

"On Paper One Per Month"

Especially gratifying is the appointment of Dr. Jyoti Mehta as Advisor to the Ministry of Health on the nominal salary of Rs. 1 per month. It is a good appointment, and I hope will be repeated in suitable cases in other spheres of service also. When an appointee either because he is already rich or drawing sufficient salary from some other post, does not really need a salary, and being fully qualified, is willing to offer his services free to his country, there is no reason why they should not be availed of free of charge. If it is a service post, honorary appointment might conservatively prevent some difficulty and hence the fiction of a nominal salary. Some people carry a feeling that there is honour in becoming an honorary officer and if that is not possible, one should receive the salary which is proper to the dignity of the post. It is creditable to Dr. Jyoti Mehta that he carries no such vain feeling and has allowed himself to be described a paid servant of the State, though virtually he receives nothing. I hope

some day we might have some Governors and other dignitaries also who draw only a nominal salary.

Wardha, 2-6-48

"The Problem of Criminal Tribes"

Shri V. Kishore, Joint Secretary, Akhil Bharatiya Adivasi Sangh, Delhi, has always taken deep interest in the life and conditions of the Forested Castes of India otherwise called 'Criminal Tribes'. Before he took up his present duties he was for a long time serving these people in Andhra. In a pamphlet of 32 pages titled as above, he has given a detailed report of the condition of these unfortunate people in various parts of India. The condition of even Adivasi is much better than that of these people, for a Adivasi is not placed under police surveillance and driven from place to place simply because he is born of Adivasi parents, but a child of these people is a victim of police persecution simply because of his birth in that particular caste.

This pamphlet must be studied by every Home Minister and M.L.A. It might be had from the office of the Sangh at Harijan Colony, Kingsway, Delhi.

26-6-48

E. C. N.

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With the reopening of our school on July 1, '48, we intend gradually converting it into a full-fledged institution of Basic Education for girls. This year Basic Education will be introduced only in the first two grades.

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SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY

15th June is the foundation date of the Servants of India Society. Forty-four years ago, when Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the youngest all-India leader of the day, and I believe, three colleagues, took a pledge at Poona to dedicate their lives to the service of the country. This was the foundation of the Servants of India Society, the first of its kind in our country. In course of time it attracted several talented and earnest young men, so that within a decade or two, it had branches in most of the provinces of India, carrying on national activities of various types. It is not only one institution itself, but parent of several institutions through each of its members.

As is well known, Gandhi claimed Gokhale as his political guru and had applied to be a member of that society. Though he could not be formally accepted, he always regarded him self as an unaccepted member and took as deep an interest in it as a regular member would, and rarely took an aid, as also gave it life in many a national activity and the Society's good and bad fortunes.

I did not have the privilege of having come into personal contact with Gokhale, but it was one of his senior disciples and successors, Shri Gopal Krishna Deodhar, who first injected in my mind the idea of a life of national service. As I recollect, I find that it is more than 45 years since, when a strange personal incident first brought me in touch with the Society. Though it was yet only three years old, it had gained strength enough to establish a branch in Bombay. That branch came to be located in the same part of the house in which I had passed my childhood. The boyish attachment to the family house and the desire to take every opportunity to visit it made me cultivate relations with Shri Gopal Krishna Deodhar and his colleagues. Thus I came to know Shri N. M. Joshi, Shri Thakharbapa and others. One afternoon, as I was seated alone with Shri Deodhar on his terrace, he made me seriously consider the condition of the country and the need of young men for her service. I was so moved that if family circumstances had been favourable, I would have promised to seek admission into the Society as soon as I had graduated. But as it was, the idea planted by him took two years to mature. By that time Shri Anantlal Thakhar (Thakharbapa, as he is now) had become almost a member of my family. When he found me ready, one day he quietly pushed me on into Gandhi's service.

I offer my homage to that parent institution of national workers and its illustrious members.

Wardha, 25-5-49

S. S. NARREWALA

RETURN OF ECONOMIC CONFIDENCE

All who do not want to be forced into the role of spectators must demand from their government that the purchasing power of money be kept permanently stable.

If the general price level rises or falls, as in the past, then money's purchasing power fluctuates. But if the general price level, as measured by a commodity index, becomes stabilised, then money has a stable purchasing power.

The most urgent task before any government is, therefore, to see to it that stable purchasing power of money be established. Such a stable currency system would eliminate most of the realisations, worries and difficulties which a fluctuating currency imposes on every nation. It would do away, once and for all, with the traditional chaotic currency policy leading to an ever changing value of money as measured in the products we buy.

(1) Stable currency would mean for the workers and employees that wages and salaries would have a permanently stable purchasing value. They will not have to go on strike for a rise in wages or salaries in order to be able to buy just as much food, clothing and shelter as before.

(2) Stable currency would mean for the producers to assure people that their small incomes would on the average always buy the same amount of products. They would not be rendered helpless by shorting them, in spite of a constantly rising income, they can buy less and less for it.

(3) For the farmer a stabilized currency would mean that in selling their produce as well as buying the articles and equipment needed by them, they can rely on their budget on stable prices.

(4) For the consumer a stable currency means a stable purchasing power that they need no longer worry about the fluctuations of the price level which caused their business of production and consumption to be all wrong.

(5) For the Government a stable currency means that the tax sources of the country will be sure steady and easy to meet governmental expenditures.

Consequently, the introduction of a stable currency represents an essential condition for the return of economic confidence. Without a stable currency, agriculture, industry and trade will never be able to develop freely and fully.

He who has the power to cause, by means of deflation, a falling market and, by means of inflation, a rising market, has also the power, just like a general on the parade grounds, to command the entire industrial activity with a *Halt* or a *Forward*! I am ready to take it upon myself, with the limited powers of the central bank of issue, to drive the merchants and employees to despair, to throw the workers into the streets to bring all freight lines to a stop, to let the rivers fill with water, and within a week, nay, 48 hours later to start the mildest boom the world has ever seen.

(1512)

SELVIG GIBELL

(From *Freedom and Plenty*, Jan.-Feb. '49)

THE SO-CALLED CRIMINAL TRIBES

I

My work, amongst the Marjats and close association with Thakkarbapa got me into contact with a section of our people called the 'Criminal Tribes'. They belong to the category of Harjans, but their sufferings and their problems are quite different. They are not free men and have been kept under the control of the Government for several years past. I was, therefore, not able to come into as close a contact with them, as I did with the rest of the Harjans, but I was interested in them, and watched their plight and their difficulties from a distance. I visited their colonies which were run by Government in many places. But naturally I did so in the company of Government officials and so could only see the side of the picture presented by them. But I was conscious all along of the fact that there was another side of the picture which required presentation before the public.

There is an old Sam called the Samal Sam which has been in existence in Delhi for some time, where some of these people live. An old and devoted worker Prof. D. D. Datta who has dedicated his life to the service of these unfortunate persons was deputed by the Harjan Brak Singh a few years ago to serve in this colony. He has served the inmates, watching their interests and solving their difficulties as best he could. He has succeeded in making many men and women literate, some of whom have become fairly educated. During the last year Sir Arthur Dhan, the president of the Improvement Trust, also interested himself in this Colony, and arranged educational facilities for the children. Recently I renewed my acquaintance with this Sam and its affairs.

In Delhi there is another lot of Samal refugees from the West Punjab who are at present living in batches of 8, 10 or more families in different parts of the city. In company with Shri Sevankaran I went to see them, as reports of their terrible sufferings were brought to me. I can never forget the miserable conditions and surroundings in which these poor out-castes of humanity were living. The picture of an old woman crushed with misfortune with grey hair and a wrinkled face is indelibly printed on my memory. She said in pitiable despair, "No one helps us, even our God has forgotten us." There was no anger, no bitterness in her words, only helpless despair in her eyes.

These people along with those large numbers of displaced persons who poured into Delhi, found their way here. They got themselves fixed somewhere in wretched huts made of rags or old tin. But as soon as they were settled, the police poured upon them and started harassing them as they belonged to the Crimi-

nal Tribes. Not that they had done anything criminal, but only because they were born amongst them. They were confined from wherever they picked their unsupervised tents and were barred out from any place to another. They could stay only on payment of bribes to the police who were extracting money and even then harassing them. No help of any kind was given to them—either by the Government or by the people. They lived in most neglected and filthy places which were unfit for human habitation. There were naturally no arrangements for water, sanitation or lighting. Their women and children had to go long distances to fetch a pail of water and even in these conditions they were not left to stay in peace. They were told to leave Delhi which they did not want to do, as they had already staked themselves in the economic life of the city.

I was pleasantly surprised to find that most of them were engaged in gainful occupations. Some of them were even earning as much as Rs. 100 and over. Many of them were educated, many some of the women could read and write. They looked perfect specimens of healthy humanity, and yet were made to undergo terrible sufferings. They had lived in Government Criminal Tribes Settlements in the Punjab and the education and training they had received was the result of their residence in these Settlements where arrangements for their training and education existed.

Later on Thakkarbapa also visited their huts and took with him one highly placed officer of the Ministry of Rehabilitation to see their condition. Thakkarbapa, Shri Sevankaran and myself then interviewed the Chief Commissioner, explained the whole situation to him and requested him to give a plot of land adjoining the Samal Sam for the permanent residence of these people. After great efforts and long negotiations he has agreed to do it, and it is now proposed that all these fifty families will be shifted on to this plot of land and gradually houses will be built for them for their permanent residence. The whole of the Sam will be entrusted to the Harjan Brak Singh for social welfare work in co-operation with the Government. The work will soon be started, and I hope that this will result in the mitigation of the sufferings of these people. But, of course, the remedy lies in a more radical change.

RAMNATHAN MENON

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HARIJAN

June 12

1949

DISAPPEARANCE OF RESERVED SEATS IN LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS

The disappearance of reserved seats for minority communities in legislative elections is one of the several major national shortcomings since India's Independence. The report which the Minority Advisory Committee had placed before the Constituent Assembly in the early days of its career had not been able to discuss that seriously altogether. That it has been possible to do so now shows what progress the country has made during less than two years of her independence. Reservations have been maintained for ten years for two classes only, namely Harijans (Scheduled Caste) and for a similar class among the Sikhs.

The fact that this resolution was almost unanimously adopted and several of the leaders of minority communities had expressed their whole-hearted satisfaction to the British agents, witnesses to the process of the Government. The credit of bringing about this result goes to the constructive statesmanship of Sardar Patel, who received unstinted tribute from every section of the Assembly. To the mayor of Lucknow, Sardar Vallabhbhai has added several of his associates. As Pandit Jambhwal Mehta said the resolution means an 'historic turn of our destiny'. He also reminded the various caste-sites to realize their responsibility hereafter.

"Now when this House is going to take a major decision which will affect our future growth, let us be clear in our minds that in order to proceed further each one of us whether belonging to a minority or majority should try to function in a way so as to stop the growth of the other group or individual."

"Mahatma Gandhi stressed the need to serve individual or groups and draw good out of him and made him function to the best of his ability. This is the only way of doing good. Mr. Jambhwal had reminded the House that the motion before it was an act of faith for all, particularly for the majority community because it would have to behave towards others in a generous fair and just way. Let us live up to this faith."

Sardar Patel reminded the majority community about its duties towards the minorities and Harijans in particular. About the latter he said—

"There they are, place where they can call their home though Mr. Nagappa (Scheduled Caste member from Madras) said that India is his. I am proud of it. But what about the poor people who are oppressed

continually? They cannot ask yet under our protection. We have given a pledge to them under the Poona Pact. Have we fulfilled that? We must confess we are guilty. Thousands of them in other parts of the country (obviously the reference is to Pakistan) want to come back, but they are not allowed to return. Unfortunately, we are not able to help them. That is the condition of the Scheduled Caste."

Further thanking the leaders of the minority communities for their co-operation in achieving this great task, he made these remarkable words—

"Although you have acknowledged with satisfaction the concessions shown to you, I am grateful to you because in this country we want an atmosphere of peace and harmony out of confusion and distrust."

"India today is suffering from want of blood. It is completely anemic. We must put blood into her veins first. We have to build up the country and lay the foundation for the future."

"I feel proud that today we are able to bring about unanimity in removing the past bias in our constitution."

"And now we are today with the grace of God and with the blessings of the Almighty, laying the foundation of a free, secular democratic State where everybody has an equal chance and equal opportunity. May God give us wisdom and courage to do the right thing to all manner of people as our Constitution provides."

Varanasi, 22-5-49

E. S. RAMSHTHALA

"POOR SHEPHERD" AND AGRICULTURE

Under this title, the Hariprasanna Publishing House has just published a collection of articles by Gandhiji and others in the Harijan weekly during 1942 to 1947 edited by Dr. Bhawanee Karmacharya. The following is taken from his editorial note—1942.

One thought which runs through all Gandhiji's writings is that we must be self-reliant and solve our problems ourselves without looking for aid from outside. In regard to food shortage he is convinced that if all of us rich and poor, agricultural and trader, Government and the people did our part, there will be enough food in the country and no need to beg for it from abroad. An agricultural country like India should be able to feed itself, and not only itself but also help to feed others.

This profound belief in self-dependence is what underlies also his intense dislike of Government control over food. He cannot tolerate the idea of the people being made to depend on the Government for this most primary need of life. He can understand the Government stepping in in times of emergency. The war is taking over the effects of economic dislocation. But to continue control and rationing even when the war is long over, he regards as positively wrong. The people should stand on their own legs and

"The Poor" 3-1-49, "Poverty" 20-5-49

not be spoon-fed by the Government. Otherwise, he believes, democracy is a mockery and means a failure. True democracy requires that the people should manage their own affairs. The less there is of Government, therefore, the better. Instead of this, food control increases the dominance of the Government over the life of the people. Hence his uncompromising opposition to control.

Besides food control has led to corruption and black-marketing. Never before has the business mentality of our people been so low as it is under control, when leaders hoard up stock and thus increase scarcity, sell in the black market and pile up huge fortunes for themselves. The temptation for Government officials, both high and low, to receive bribes has increased with the advent of control, and many are failing a prey to it. Naturally both these interests would have the controls relaxed, and so work hard against their withdrawal. But if Gandhiji's advice is to be followed, it would mean that the Government would have to be firm and remove the controls resolutely. This may lead to high prices temporarily, but Gandhiji held that they would settle down soon to a more normal level. He believed in the end that there really was no food shortage beyond what was created by hoarders under the food control policy of the Government.

Under Agriculture have been included here from the *Harjan*, whatever hints could be found generally regarding methods of improving agriculture even if they were not made from the point of view of meeting food scarcity. So far as agriculture went, Gandhiji seemed to concern himself only with the question of increasing soil fertility by the use of organic manures and with improving the cattle, apparently because other problems relating to agriculture were too big to be tackled by the individual immediately without State aid. Consequently the suggestions contained here relate primarily to these two topics. They are however of great importance, especially as the tendency in our country today seems to be towards the use of chemical fertilisers and tractors and away from a realisation of the vital importance of tackling problems relating to cattle both for supplying us with milk as well as with manure and motive power for agriculture. As Gandhiji himself did not write much as regard to agriculture, it seemed well to include more matter on this topic by others.

If our devotion to Gandhiji is sincere, both the Government and the people should try to put his teachings into effect. Besides, the problems of food shortage and agriculture are confronting us everyday and on all sides, and require to be tackled immediately. It is to help in these directions that this book has been compiled.

BOARD OF REFEREES

The *Weekly Chronicle* of 26th May, '49 has examined carefully my article "Democracy and Good Government." It has come to the conclusion that the suggestion of a Board of Referees is an impracticable scheme.

Another correspondent in a private letter has also questioned the wisdom of my scheme.

The editor of the *Mask* in Karachi weekly from Miraji on the other hand considers it and suggests that the principle should be extended to village panchayats also and has desired me to carry the point further.

This invites the further explanation as necessary. Let me try.

Let me make it clear at the outset that I do not run down the democratic basis of the State. The word "substitute" used by me in the sentence, "What is needed is to find such substitute for the type of democracy known as government of majority as could be of use to all minorities which consider themselves to be placed under similar handicaps" has been misapprehended. It is as the *Chronicle* has rightly pointed out normally no more than the suggestion of an additional "check" or a system of checks in the Legislature and the Executive. In an abnormal situation, it can also be a substitute for the normal type of responsible government. Instead of "substitute for", I ought to have said "checks upon". I am glad to note that the necessity for such checks is recognised.

The *Chronicle* conceals further "I now regard it (democracy) as a panacea for all social ills. Few also need to be reminded that 'mere majority opinion is not necessarily correct'." With these comments I would say, put aside my suggestion, if it is considered as "impossible" one. Find out some other way.

One more thing I would like to make clear. Though my suggestions might appear as undemocratic they are suggested from a consideration of realities facing the country. These must be faced and solved. In my recent article *Drone Politics*, I have shown how power politics has been smothering democracy in several of our provinces. Leaders of rural groups are asked to work together. They are unable to do it. Though with less or no justification, the situation created by their mutual rivalries is not different from that created by the enforced coalition of the Congress-League parties by Lord Wavell. That tangle was solved by the partition of the country. Such solution is not possible and would be still worse if applied to provinces. As the editor of the *Mask* says, the existence of rival groups in the provinces is but the magnification of the same evil which exists in almost every village of India. Most villages are torn by parties not based on ideologies but personal or caste leadership.

When this happens in large areas like provinces, the solution provided is that of Ben-

of the Government of India Act is the supreme rule of the Governor or Administrator appointed by the Central Government. As there can never then, there will democracy to absolute majority. There is no middle course. This was the entire intention of the great spirit of ancient India because subject to when they began to feel. It led to permanent monarchical rule. Rascals and governments even on a divided will never seem to have responded in India thereafter.

This is also what happens at present when a District Board or a Municipal Committee or a Village Panchayat fails to function. The top government goes on to take all decisions of democracy. An officer of the government is appointed to take over the whole administration.

Menon Sahib had supposed that what has happened in some of the provinces happens also in the Central Government some day. Suppose the House becomes a divided body under those or four influential leaders unable to work together and having sufficient number of followers each to dominate any one leader from forming a stable government. This has happened in France and there need be no surprise if some day it happens in India also. It is Gopal Krishna who has at present two other leaders in the Central Assembly to save the country from such a catastrophe.

What is the safeguard against this misstep? Nothing except fresh elections, I believe. But as in France fresh elections may not improve the situation much and you cannot have too frequent elections. Elections are to a certain extent moribund as had at war.

As a remedy against this I have suggested the House of Reference to carry on the Government in a democratic manner until situation improves. It is a purely democratic body being elected by the people's own representatives but on a different principle. Its election would be the first act of the houses after they are first summoned and it will not be confined to the members returned or persons belonging to their parties. It is akin to the provision in a document for the appointment of arbitrators before any dispute has arisen.

The Council thinks that this cannot be done by law or convention. I do not see why consider the election of our Constituent Assembly itself. It was elected by the Provincial Legislatures. By convention, it is arranged that several eminent persons who could not have been elected under ordinary party system were returned without being bound to vote with the parties who had nominated them.

We must bear in mind one more feature of the temperament of several good and capable men in our country. They are not unwilling to take part in the affairs of the country. But standing up and campaigning for elections does not suit them. They would render service but

would not enter into the election arena (bring for the purpose). It is those who are capable of taking a detached view of matters. Democracy must not be deprived of them. It is not impossible to do so either through convention or legal provision.

It can be done in several ways. When it is known that members have to nominate also persons outside their party, they would necessarily cast their eyes on good men outside their circles and propose their names. Thus if 30 members are to be elected, there might be about 75 or 80 nominations. These may be classified into groups according to their political affiliations if any. If the rule is that no member may vote for more than 15 members from his own party, and there will have to be members necessarily from other groups, they will not refrain from casting their vote in favour of people of the other party if for nothing better than to see that right type of people come from the other parties.

The Council feels that this Board would share a sort of dual government with the Ministry. Not so. When the ministerial government is functioning, it will not interfere with the administration any more than the legislature itself does. It is only on legislative matters that it functions as a kind of superior house. It is like a Standing Committee of the two Houses or its function may be compared to that of the Select Committee on a bill. The difference is that the Select Committee's report is not final and is therefore, again discussed and liable to be altered by the legislature and what results becomes binding on the Government, while the decision of the Reference will follow the final discussion by the two lower houses, and give the bill its final shape, before it becomes law.

The Council also doubts if the reference will have no party bias even though they may not technically belong to any party. This is quite possible not only as it would be expected that in making their reports they would bear in mind the fundamental principles to which the party in power is committed. But the fact that they are expected by their opponents and pledged to be impartial and fair in spite of party bias and will not be subject to party discipline may be taken as a sufficient guarantee. We have already a precedent of the method in the election of the Speaker. The fact that he is returned by a party and is often a prominent member of that party has not proved to be a handicap in the proper performance of his duties.

In a way the idea suggested by me is a revised edition of the Panchayat principle traditionally familiar to India.

Finally even if this is a novel experiment, it will be on democratic lines, and for making democracies more successful and strong. It is a second line of action, in the absence of which absolute rule becomes the only alternative.

Wancha, 26-5-49

F. C. MANGRUKHIA

MANJHUM

I have been criticised in some of the Bihar papers for expending my high esteem for Shri Atalbihari Ghosh. I am told that my high opinion about him was correct some years ago, but now he has fallen low and does not merit it. I came into almost daily contact with him for some months in 1947-48. My old esteem for him increased rather than otherwise during the period. It is difficult to believe that he has fallen suddenly in the course of less than twelve months.

I know there is in Bengal a group, which agitates for the transfer of Manjhum to Bengal. I have received from that group as also from Bihar considerable literature dealing with the distribution of the two languages in this district among its inhabitants and have been asked by each to study it.

Let me make my views clear.

I view the question in the same way as I do the case of Durg and Thana as between Maharashtra and Gujarat, or of Belgaur in between Madras and Karnataka. They are mixed areas, and should be recognised as such by whatever province they are administered.

I do not attach much importance to past investigations of scholars. It is the present that matters, however brought about. The people who will understand a writing or a speech made in Bengali more easily than one in Hindi are Bengalis and vice versa, for the purpose of their literary language. They are all Biharis for administrative purposes.

The Adivasis have their own dialects. Both Bengali and Hindi have been often imposed on them or they have picked up the one or the other according as they came into close contact with the speakers of the one or the other language. The present reality must be accepted as such and should not be disturbed. They should be allowed to have the language they have assimilated better. If they wish to change it, let them do so by their own choice.

Hindi or Hindustani will be there for every one, even for the Bengalis of Bengal proper. Its provision to teach it will always be there. But it is advisable that everyone in Manjhum should learn Bengali also, being the language of his neighbour, rather as the principal language or as next to the principal.

The question of amalgamation with Bengali must not be raised. I have been clearly given to understand by Shri Atalbihari that he and his friends do not agitate for getting Manjhum transferred to Bengal. If he resiles from that position, I would say that he has strayed from a nationalist into a provincialist. His love for Bihar must be as strong as that of every Biharis of, say, Patna or Champaran. He says it is so, and his word must be accepted. Subject to this all reasonable apprehensions of the Bengalis must be removed.

I understand that the Propagating Committee has appointed a Committee of four to investigate the matter. Whichever dialect is chosen to stand to be accepted as final by both sides and faithfully acted upon. The names of Dr. P. C. Ghosh, Shrihari Sacheta Kapurani, late Jagannarain and Shri Pragnanath Misra must inspire confidence in everyone that what they will decide will be, to the best of their light, in accordance with the true interest of the people of the district and the nation.

Wazirah, 1-6-49.

A. C. KARIKAWALA

"LIGHT HOUSE"

The reader will remember the historic march of Gandhiji from Sabaramati to Dandi (literally, light house or lamp-post) in 1930 for breaking the Salt Laws. Kanada in the village nearest to Dandi and has been for more than quarter of a century now a centre of national education and thought. The population of the village is about 1200. It is a village of sea-men and agriculturists. The national school (Bharat Vidyalaya) under the able management of its two successive principals, Shri Manabhai Patel and Shri Lalabhaiji Vyas, carries on non-stop activity among children. It has now entered upon making experiments in the field of Basic Education from the point of view of making it a self-supporting school. For instance, in October last, the teachers and pupils of Standards VI and VII made a project of going on a journey to Yeladri about 50 miles on foot. They decided that they should earn the money needed for the travel. This is the report of the experiment.

"The experiment was so very successful that I have begun to feel that it will be possible for us to realise in actual life Mahatma's dream of self-supporting life. The school as pupils open for us last night for 36 days. The remaining hour and a quarter was given to washing (as we have not yet acquired proficiency in washing, we had to get part of the work done by women). The food thus produced, as also, cooked in the lift. The cost of cooking and washing charges was Rs. 24. Our travelling expenses including railway fare for our return journey were Rs. 20-10-0. So the result has been very pleasant."

Thursday during 36 days of work I am Bharat in January 1949. There was vacation for about a month. The boys studying in Standards II, IV and V produced collectively 1245 kg. pieces of hand-woven cloth. After deducting the cost of cotton, weaving charges and miscellaneous expenses, we have realised Rs. 224 in cash. During the vacation year 120 boys of the lower standards, who are still playing the role will begin to ply the cloth. Moreover the outcome of year will be greater with their help. I, therefore, believe that we shall surely be able to reach the ideal of self-support. We shall have the credit more distinguish at the end of the year. The monthly payment of the weaving cost of the school is Rs. 300. If we succeed well, we may not have to go begging before the government or other donors for funds.

Shri Thakur was pleased with our efforts and remarked: "The experiment is good." He explained to us that co-ordination of knowledge with work was

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HARIJAN

FOUNDED BY JAHNATA DASGUPTA

Editor: K. G. HARNEDHARA



VOL. XIII No. 16

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, JUNE 18, 1944

TWO ANNAS

NOTES

"A Sacred Obligation"

The Hon'ble Sarda Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, in a message to the 12th Session of the All India Depressed Classes League said:

"India's independence would be incomplete until every Harijan can claim and obtain complete equality with the highest placed persons in the State. The cause of Harijans is the sacred obligation of every Indian. All of us must let our heads down so long as there is any single disability from which they suffer. The uplift of Harijans was more a trial for others than for themselves and their advancement is alike the duty of the State and the citizen. The political rights and the social reforms of Harijans are not merely their due but also the inescapable obligation of all administrations and Constitutional Assemblies."

A. T. TRIVAKA

(From Monthly Letter for May, 1944)

Abolition of Death Sentence

The following sentiment reported to have been expressed by Dr. Ambedkar in the Constituent Assembly will be generally endorsed by India. Indeed, it stands on the list of the famous Karachi Resolutions of the Congress. It is to be hoped that the Constituent Assembly will fulfil the country's hope by providing it in the constitution. The subject should not be left to the Legislature.

"This country by and large believes in the principle of non-violence. It has been her ancient tradition. Some people may not be believing in actual practice but all certainly adhere to the principle of non-violence. The proper thing for our country, therefore, is to abolish death sentence altogether."

K. G. K.

Wardha Mahadaxram Excursions

The coming Purnimika, Purnak, Rong, Savara and Purnagata excursions of Mahadaxram (Wardha) will be held in the second week of next September. Those wishing to open centres for holding these excursions and those wishing to appear at them should please apply as early as possible and in time July 27th (Wednesday) has been fixed as the

last date for opening a centre. August 12th is the last date fixed for receiving applications from candidates desiring to open at the excursions. For further information please enclose stamps worth annas five and ask for a prospectus from the Secretary, Mahadaxram, Mahadaxram, Wardha. (C. P.)

The Weekly Off-Day

Even since the Marjan was restarted I have reversed off and on the suggestion to recommend that Friday should be fixed as India's weekly off-day, in place of the present Sunday. Now that the constitution is being seriously considered, the suggestion has been repeated. It is a change which Muslims will appreciate, writes a Muslim correspondent. It is the day on which Gandhi was deprived of his life; once wrote a nationalist. It is also the day on which Jesus was crucified, observed a respecter of religions. Now that we are independent, we should have our own off-day, write a Socialist.

Personally my feelings do not warm up much over these matters. If a day is needed for resting, over-eating, gossiping, and over-indulging perhaps it is better to have the usual Sunday. My notion of independence does not rise in me a desire to mean different from other nations in every manner. Rather I would have as many things in common with the rest of the world as I can, where no principles of truth, good character and right conduct are concerned.

However, it is not that Sunday is an off-day in all the countries of the world. If Friday is desired by our people, there is no reason why this harmless desire of theirs should not be satisfied. I hope some member of the Constituent Assembly will take up this matter.

But if this change is made, let those who have urged it bear in mind that Friday should be a day of play and service and not self-indulgence.

Wardha, 4-6/49

K. G. K.

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THE SO-CALLED CRIMINAL TRIBES

II

A detachment of men belonging to the Criminal Tribes from the Rohak District came to see us the other day. One of them was a Hindu, called and was a teacher in a school and the other—also a Hindu—was a clerk in one of the offices. They had previously seen the Hon'ble Shri Jagannathan, Labour Minister Government of India. The occasion for their seeking these interviews was a letter issued by the Deputy Commissioner, Criminal Tribes Department, Jalandhar to officers in the East Punjab to enforce rigorously restrictions on the liberty of all the refugee criminal tribes in different parts of the East Punjab. I will not give the details of the restrictions put on the movement of these people; suffice it to say that under the directions given these people, some of whom had already got their partial freedom before the partition, were once again subjected to the same rigorous regulations which robbed them completely of freedom of movement. This was particularly hard on them as they had to go out in search of a living by themselves. Being able-bodied men, the Government did not consider itself responsible for their food and shelter. Apart from the harassment which these orders inflicted, they made the members of the Criminal Tribes in the Rohak district numbering about a thousand, victims of police atrocities. The slightest delay in reporting as any minor breach of the regulations real or imaginary gave sufficient handle to the police to arrest them. I give below some of the noteworthy points from the Memorandum which these people submitted demanding repeal of the Act.

1. We object to being in the Rajput Tribes whose territories fringed the border of India under the banner of Sikhism. Freely we had to migrate to the Punjab during in the tyranny of the British rule of the time.

2. Before the partition the British Government worked many of us in the Canal Colonies of Multan, Montgomery and Salween as free men. Many of our young men were also recruited in the police and the armed forces.

3. All our young boys and girls are literate and many of them are Mathematics and Graduates. Several girls have passed 2 Y and 3 Y and are trained teachers, who were all working before the partition in the Punjab as school teachers.

4. We are not criminal minded as is proved by the fact that we do not consume even one per cent of jail services.

5. Our main grievance is that in free India under the present Government instead of getting our freedom and other facilities we are even deprived of the facilities given to us by the British, and then are confined to general law in much worse than previously. At a time when we expect relaxation in the restrictions imposed on us for the report of which we had been pleading, fresh and stricter regulations are being imposed.

RAMESHWARI PRASAD

THE VETERINARIAN IN INDIA

The value and importance of a veterinarian can be judged from the fact that two-thirds of the income of India is derived from animals. This is in spite of the situation that, as estimated by experts, 375 crores of rupees are wasted annually for the upkeep of useless livestock. Only veterinarians can improve these animals and thus can not only save this enormous sum annually but even add to it many times more by turning these useless creatures into workable ones.

Cow is an agricultural country. Agriculture and livestock go hand in hand. They are complementary and each is indispensable to the other. To promote agriculture, efficient labour-power is essential. The chief agency that supplies this motor-power is the ox. If we take away the ox, or allow it to be inefficient, there is no agriculture. Veterinarians have an irrefragable place here.

Milk which is nature's best, complete and thoroughly wholesome food both for children and adults is a product of the animals. But the average milk yield of our cow is less than one unit while it is nine units in the case of cows of Denmark. It is shocking to know that before the last war the quantity of milk that we drew from 18 crores of animals was drawn from 24 crores in Germany, 34 crores in U.S.A., 74 crores in Great Britain and 7 crores in Russia. Denmark started to improve their cattle when the average milk yield of their cow was not better than the average milk yield of a milch cow in India today. Yet in less than fifty years the average yield of butter fat per cow has been raised from 20 lb to 225 lb per annum, or more than four times. Similarly marked increases have been effected in other countries. There is no reason to believe that our cows would not be able to yield as much milk as the cows of other countries.

In spite of the fact that India has one third of the cattle of the world, the average milk consumption per head of population is only 7 ounces, while it is 30 ounces in France, 35 in U.S.A., 39 in Great Britain, 43 in Norway and 60 in New Zealand.

There seems to be some relation between milk consumption per head of population and the average age of man. The average longevity of an Indian with low milk consumption is 37 years, while that of the New Zealander with milk consumption of 56 ounces is about 70 years.

The infant mortality occurring in India is probably the highest. Similar relation as in the case of milk consumption and average longevity seems to exist here too. Here is the task for the veterinarian. For, he alone can help our fellow man to grow healthier with better brains and long life.

Indian sheep are of bad quality and their average live weight would be hardly sixty lb.

Their average wool was 11 1/2 lb. per head, which is very low. As against this, sheep of European countries are of superior quality, their average live weight and wool yield are about three times more than those of Indian sheep. India has 6 per cent of the total number of sheep of the world but produces only 2 per cent of the total wool of the world that is three times less when compared with the number of sheep it has. This too is the task of the veterinarian who by turning the sheep into as good as those of other advanced countries will supply better and more woollen clothes and more wool as well.

The same is the case with goats and poultry. They also need improvement. By improving these, the veterinarians will be able to make milk and eggs within the reach of everybody.

Let us now consider the losses that we have to meet due to some of the major contagious diseases of the animals.

There are three main contagious diseases that generally occur as epidemics. These are Rinderpest, H S, and Foot and Mouth. These cause immense losses to India. The deaths recorded in 1938-39 due to Rinderpest were 2122 thousands, H S 304 thousands and Foot and Mouth 12.4 thousands. As a matter of fact these figures are far below the actual state of affairs. This is clearly shown by the transmission of the figures from Burma, in a part of which the notification of deaths from cattle diseases was made compulsory. There it was found that if these figures were believed to be correct then the calculated average age of an animal would come to 54 years which is nothing but absurd. The average age of cattle is probably 6 years which is nine times less than the average age calculated in Burma. So roughly we can say that actual deaths are nine times more than those reported. Perhaps still heavier losses are sustained by the cultivator indirectly, as, in case of Foot and Mouth for one animal that dies 95 may be temporarily incapacitated and also there is loss due to imperfect cultivation and decrease in milk too. There are also other numerous known and unknown parasitic and protozoan diseases, the losses due to which also are fairly heavy. The loss due to vermin-bly infestation has been estimated even on a conservative estimate to be 1 1/2 crores of rupees annually. These diseases have been practically stamped out in European countries and these the losses due to these amount to a negligible quantity compared to the losses in India. There is no reason to believe that we should not be able to accomplish what others have. Thus we see that it is a veterinarian only who can save the majority of the tremendous loss by eradicating diseases, etc.

There are a number of diseases like T B, rabies, anthrax, undulant fever, streptococcus, Foot and Mouth, etc., that are communicable from animals to men. There are also the so-

called zoonotic diseases such as cholera, dysentery, typhoid, scarlet fever, septic sore throat that may be transmitted through the agency of milk from one individual to another. Thus the veterinarians by eradicating such diseases in animals and supplying scrupulously clean milk will reduce the incidence of these in human beings too.

I think this should suffice to convince any impartial judge of the great importance of veterinarians in India. As a matter of fact the key to the prosperity of India lies in the hands of the veterinarians.

Yet we see that the veterinarians are ignored everywhere. No due regard is paid to them. They are looked down upon by the majority of the people. This is all due to the ignorance of the public who do not understand their worth. Even some veterinarians think that there is no real job. They think themselves to be under-taught ones to join this profession. But the veterinary profession is economically the most productive and its service is indispensable one. Even then veterinarians are not properly paid by the government.

Let bygones be bygones. Let us look to the future with hope. For we have now at the helm of affairs persons men who will pay attention to these. Up till now the most important things were the most neglected. So the veterinarians have been neglected to the utmost. Today they are so devalued that a veterinarian often hesitates to choose his profession.

The reader will see from the above that most important problems confront the veterinarian. These are:

- (1) Production of milk and its hygienic
- (2) Improvement of cattle and the supply of milk for agricultural purposes.
- (3) Supply of meat by improving sheep and goats.
- (4) Supply of wool by improving the sheep.
- (5) Supply of eggs by improving poultry.
- (6) Control of contagious and non-contagious diseases of animals.
- (7) Eradication of disease carriers in man and animals.
- (8) Eradication of zoonotic diseases.
- (9) Treatment of sick animals.

Besides this, the veterinarian has to supply beef and pork to persons who wish it.

These are important problems for the nation. If our country is to progress and prosper soon, the most efficient and competent persons should be trained to join the veterinary profession. But unfortunately those who generally fail to find a place elsewhere join this profession. To attract efficient and competent persons, it is essential that the status of the veterinarians must be raised. I hope leaders of the nation and various govt. workers will consider this subject with zeal.

HARIJAN

June 15

1945

SUCCESSION DEMAND

A correspondent occupying a good position in his province is extremely dissatisfied with the public affairs of his province (in Union of merged States) and despairingly writes that it would be better if the Central Government took over the province under its direct administration than allow the present mislady to function. He thinks that some of the ministers are inefficient and unable to control their officers and others are not actuated by the spirit of public service.

I do not wish to enter into the merits of my correspondent's opinion about his provincial government. Though my personal opinion is much higher about it, let me assume that the criticism is far worse than described by him, and desists to be dismissed. Even so no responsible citizen should demand or desire that the administration of his province should be taken over by the Central Government and placed under an Administrator. We did not struggle against the British Government and the Princes for more than a quarter of a century to exchange them for government under Sec. 35 or military or civil administrators. This manner of government was well known under the British regime and was often efficient and even better than the previous one. But it was not democracy. We deliberately elected to establish democratic states, that is to manage our affairs ourselves through our own elected men. We always said that good government was no substitute for self-government, and that we wanted democracy even if we made mistakes. Indeed, we said we wanted the right to make mistakes. Our ideal has been to make even small village, taluquas or a manage their own affairs through people elected from among themselves.

Demand for an Administrator appointed by the Central Government will be a request to subvert. The Administrator is not responsible to the people of the province.

Whether we are well-governed or ill-governed, we should insist upon being self-governed. In the first place, let us have some patience. The mistakes are new, the task is too heavy and difficult, neither they nor the people are sufficiently experienced. We do not yet understand sufficiently the heavy responsibilities which fall upon the people of an independent country. The will to build them is also very weak. To add to this, power politics has so vitiated the atmosphere that a great deal of time and energy of the nation is exhausted in mending the problems created by this condition. Let us give them some time, educate the people, awaken their moral sense and things will

improve. But even if our patience is exhausted, and we are convinced that the Cabinet is not worthy, we may take all measures that are open to a people. We may agitate and conduct public opinion, condemn its actions, pass vote of no-confidence, ask for fresh elections and take other constitutional measures. If these do not prove sufficient, we can adopt other non-violent methods also, even to the extent of non-payment of taxes and civil resistance. Let no one understand that I recommended that any such extreme agitation needs to be organised or contemplated. I mention these measures just to show what ways are open to the citizens of a province as a last resort. But to ask for being governed by a military or civil officers is suicidal. It means but lead to a sort of militarism or semi-militarism.

The people of a province are in a position to look to the Central Government and appeal to it to intervene in case of maladministration. But when may the whole country look to if the Central Cabinet is unworthy and misgoverned? If we cannot trust the people of our own province for electing good government, we shall not be able to trust the Centre also to do so. Shall we then ask a foreign power to come and take charge of our country? Our ancestors did this several times in the past and banded even a whole nation in a single battle or even without it. Let us not commit the same fatal mistake again. Whether we are happy or miserable, well-governed or ill-governed, we must not ascribe from the determination to be self-governed. We should strain every nerve to improve the administration and to overthrow bad government, but we must do it with our own democratic effort. We may not ask a Super-State to lend it over us.

Wardha, 5-6-45

K. G. KARNIKWALA

QUESTION BOX

liquor Advertisements

Q. A well-known Daily of U. P. has been publishing Whisky and Brandy advertisements dressed up in an attractive style. Should not a Government, committed to the policy of Prohibition prohibit them?

A. I am afraid that the present Prohibition policy of the Congress governments allows certain class of citizens to drink wine subject to certain rules. If the policy had been one of total prohibition, prohibition of such advertisements could be ordered, but it might not then be even necessary. For, how could any one sell wines openly in that case?

But, whatever the policy of the government might be, a materialist paper belonging to prohibition would be expected not to take an advertisement of that type.

Wardha, 5-6-45

K. G. KARNIKWALA

SALARY PROVISIONS

I do not know if articles in the Draft Constitution relating to salary provisions of some of the principal officers of the Union and the States have already been discussed and adopted. In my opinion no definite amounts ought to be fixed in the Constitution itself. To do so seems to me bad in principle. Whether they should be usually proposed and passed along with the budget or should be fixed by special acts of the Legislature, which would remain good until altered, is a point which I keep open.

I do not say so simply because the amounts of Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 5,500 proposed in the draft for some of the big officers are extravagantly high, but because they are antagonistic to the main pledge set forth in the preamble, namely to secure to all the citizens *equality of status and of opportunity*. — social, economic and political — (read) *Equality of status and of opportunity*. The drafters have been showed enough not to promise equality of economic gains for all. Nevertheless, even if there was economic inequality among its citizens, it would have to be consistent with justice and not so great as to make the attainment of equality of status and opportunity impossible. In other words, the difference between the main mass and the minimum incomes of its citizens would have to be within reasonable limits. — say, to take a very mild view of socialism, in the proportion of 10 to 12 to 1. For with a wider difference, it would be impossible for a citizen to obtain equal status and opportunity.

If the Supreme Chief Justice or the President who to have an income of Rs. 5,000 per month, it would mean that India would have reached the condition of securing to its poorest citizens an income of not less than Rs. 400 per month, so that the spirit of the pledge might be fulfilled to at least a mild degree. As a matter of fact, it is difficult to expect that a person with an income of Rs. 400 per month can enjoy the status and opportunity of a person earning Rs. 5,000 a month. But one might take the fact-factor of making progress in the right direction. Even if one restricted the application of the principle within the narrow limits of the Chief Justice or the President, and their respective staff, it would mean that the lowest paid sweeper, cleaner or waiter of the Government would have to be paid about Rs. 400 to 500 per month, *if it is possible*. If not, can the Republic afford to promise such salaries through its Constitution?

There are other reasons also for making no mention of definite amounts in the Constitution itself. Money has ceased to be a reliable standard of measure, if ever it was. At the time of the Kerala Revolution, Rs. 500 per month was considered a decent provision for a minister; in 1939 it was just sufficient; in 1940 it is regarded as insufficient. In 1950 it might become

anything between a luxurious salary and a half-cent amount even for the minister's pass to his upon! Money might get so debased that wheat would sell at Rs. 10 a seer or so appreciated that it sells at 10 seers per rupee. Where is the good of speaking in terms of a measure which varies so widely as the characteristic of New Delhi on a windy night and a summer noon?

But I do not wish to discuss here the question of currency. I beg only to point out that the provisions for emoluments should be consistent with the pledge in the preamble. This requires that at least in departments of State, the Constitution should lay down that the maximum salary of a Stateservant shall not exceed so many times the minimum salary paid by it to any of its servants. I would not insist even if the present maximum is more than 10 or 12 times the minimum as suggested by me, if we can thereby fix a distance which we shall not allow to increase, but shall endeavour constantly to reduce.

The salaries of the judges are certainly exorbitantly high. I know that I shall be told that even with these salaries, it becomes almost difficult to induce eminent lawyers to sit on the bench. As advocates they earn fabulous sums and they are actually losers in terms of money as judges.

This is a matter for serious consideration for constitution-drafters, pledged to a more or less socialist ideal. Is it possible, except in a capitalist order, to have a system of litigation which enables advocates to earn, consistently with justice, equity and good conscience, as much as Rs. 25,000 or more per month, as some of them do? How much shall a man earn through practice of law, or medicine, or engineering? They were termed 'honourable professions' because they were once practised in the spirit of service. They were not meant to make their practitioners rich. But modern civilization has made them some of the most exploiter occupations. The system is so demoralising that we are told that after an efficient practice of more than 10 or 20 years, an able advocate falls in much deep loss with money that he cannot be easily induced to become a judge! An able advocate never loses to retire. The judge has to retire compulsorily after 60 or 65. He would like to reserve his love for money after leaving the bench. Since he cannot do so, it is another reason why the judgeship does not tempt him. With all his deep learning, balanced thinking, clear reasoning, judicial approach, uprightness and impartiality, the one thing which the learned judge or advocate is not credited with is that he cannot give to the society the benefit of his legal knowledge except in compensation of very substantial payment. I am sure that this is an evil arising out of wrong traditions and opinions. It is not an evil inherent in advocacy. It cannot be set right by providing opportunities to earn good salaries, but by creating traditions of rendering free service

An invitation to work on the beach should be regarded by the advocate as an obligation which should be honoured in the same way as a knight would do a call to duty. It should be regarded as a condition of his creed that he would not refuse to accept patronage if the State required his services. The emolument might be nominal, a rupee per month, upto the limit upto which the State can give under the principles indicated above.

An offer of responsibility should be regarded as a sacred obligation not to be refused on terms of money.

Wardha, 1-6-46

S. C. KARNATKAR

PENALIZED TRIBES

[Under instructions from Mahatma Kameshwari Meher, that Research Officer, Rajputana Office, East Punjab and Pwani, visited several settlements of the so-called Criminal Tribes displaced approximately in the East Punjab. The following note is based on his report.—E.S.]

I toured two of these settlements, namely, Ghumthala Garia and Barthabam from 18th to 19th of May, 1946. In the first, the police officials informed me that no criminal case had been registered against any member of the 86 families settled in Ghumthala Garia for more than one year. Still restrictions regarding controlling their movements had been increased in compliance with a circular issued by the Deputy Commissioner, Criminal Tribes, East Punjab. Previous escapees, numbering six, who had been freed from the operation of the bill were once again placed on the police roll-list.

Barthabam is an agricultural settlement housed in barracks specially meant for the so-called criminal tribes. It was inhabited by 16000 criminal tribes before the partition. I was privileged to find that many young men had joined the National Volunteer Corps but their inferior disabilities had not been heeded on that account by the Superintendent who resided on the spot. For guards on duty at Rajmudh Thana they had to cover a distance of four miles. They could leave the settlement only with the permission of the Superintendent even for the national service. And, if and when they were detailed on duty elsewhere from Rajmudh they had first to walk back to the settlement, secure the Superintendent's permission to go to the place and then alone they could proceed on their duty.

Some educated inmates of the settlement had formed an association, namely Anand Sadhar Sabha. The officer-brothers were harassed by the Superintendent in all sorts of ways. So many other grievances were brought to my notice. I assured these unfortunate and worst oppressed class of Harijans that steps were being taken by the All India Harijan Sevak Samithi to remove their stigma.

19-5-46

SRINIVASA CHALAN

RELATION BETWEEN POLITICAL POWER AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION

The following is Acharya Vinoba Bhave's speech at the evening prayer meeting on the second day of the All India Harijan Sevak Samithi held at Pwani, Madras, on the 16th, 17th and 18th May 1946. In order to follow that Vinoba's observations, it is necessary to mention that in the course of his speech in the open session of the Conference on the 16th, Acharya Vinoba observed that Mr. Tolstoy could not take the first step in ending violence and social evils. Social reforms and socialism in the true sense of these terms. A revolution was needed to bring about that, and revolution could not be achieved without making the Indian use of the political power. The entire history of a new social order after our kind was not possible through Mr. Tolstoy alone in the open forum. A change in the present social order must come as quickly as possible, even a slight delay being dangerous. It was necessary therefore to take up the work with great vigour and enthusiasm. —(2 M.)

I repeat to make that all of you do not understand that, I request you to learn. I believe this Conference meets again next year. For, unless you do learn that, English cannot be replaced, though the British rule has been. There is no feeling of hatred for English in this. It is necessary to replace it in order to contain the masses. Therefore, remove this and so conditioned the propaganda for Hindu to Hindu battle. Many people brought up the charge in many not so extensive law police without government and that you see that the social which Gandhi would have steadily grown into a tree. Its growth is however slow, and it is not to flower and bear fruit. The reason is that we never put any such new constructive programme. At last, it was taken on a better machine as to be conditioned, as if it were, the programme to be paid for giving its leadership, which alone we really appreciated. Hence it is that in spite of independence we do not yet see its growth at home. We know less than never. I request you at least the national language within a year. During the whole day I heard English speeches at the Conference. They became horrible only because I was occupied in speaking at the time.

This is by the way. The main subject I wish to speak about is the opinion which Acharya Vinoba expressed this morning. He has expressed the same views at the New Conference. That Vinoba had said that without taking power into our own hands, it was not possible to establish the social order of our imagination. But is not power in our hands today? If we think that by using power from the hands of those who are willing to bring us about the state to be desired, we are very much relieved. My view is that social power is in our hands, we can make use of whatever help the power itself is able to confer in establishing a social order of our conception, but government itself cannot be supposed to do much. If I myself had the power in my hands, I would not be able to do very much. Because power must reflect only public opinion and is never revolution itself. A democratic government represents the will of the general people & government is what the people are. If the majority wants to work, government would not be able to enforce prohibition. If the government is good though the people are not so, it must be something other than democracy.

Many social revolutionaries have to give up political power and carry on their work. The work creates the power necessary to bring about a political revolution. Gandhi had to leave his kingdom in being about a revolution. If he had remained a king, he could not have become a revolutionary, though he might have been a good ruler. Similarly Ashoka was a good ruler but he was not a revolutionary. Buddha, Jesus Christ and Gandhi were all revolutionaries, but their power was

not good. A government, like any other, is bound to be influenced by the moral character of its leaders.

A way for power will not create it. It can be created only by promoting a superior moral law. Therefore I say that if we develop the Tamil mind to its own level in a spiritual manner, we may achieve the revolution. We may take the help of the government while we wait, but we cannot make ourselves dependent upon it. We must rely on it in our own way and allow the government to follow us, if it will. It means that we shall lead the government. And if there are such progressive people in the country, a government favorable to them will follow in their footsteps.

It is a pessimistic view and unbecoming of us to think that we cannot do anything without power. I would wish you to feel more hopeful and self-confident. Let us look at Gandhi. He was not a man like us. If he became a great power, it was due to the truth in that power. Gandhi cannot stand alone. It follows the Spirit (Shakti). If we are devoted to the Spirit, power must come to us. The Spirit does not come to anyone for power. Hence it is the factor which makes the difference. We should not expect the power but for the Spirit, i.e., God. That is what Gandhi taught us.

It is true that in order that the constructive programme may achieve a revolution, it should be worked out with a revolutionary outlook. Then only the necessary power will be generated. The constructive programme is not a means of creating power.

Can any Government establish a national body for a nation? The Government passed the Hindu Act, but still it has not started at the age of 18 and 19. We are told that it is so, because it has not been made a capital offence just as death is. But in a society of Hindus, death would not be a capital offence.

To say that we must bring about a revolution only with the help of the governmental machinery is to show our state faith in machinery for that we accept that it is false and not those who bring about change. We must possess the faith of Bhakti-marg in this. He being asked by people what he would do if they did not understand his ideas he replied: "I shall explain them to you." "But if we cannot understand you still?" "I shall explain to you again, and again and again." The law is that darkness must exist before light. Dark-ness is not power. Light is power. Then the right action in darkness has to go.

Devan gave a shorter answer, when he was asked how many times should you forgive a wrongdoer. He said: "As many times as he commits the wrong." Anger is not power. Forgiveness is power. The former cannot stand against the latter. This is faith in forgiveness. If we have faith in our ideas and in our forgiveness, we shall be able to bring about a revolution in the society. If we give our faith in power, then we come to be politicians and just become rulers. Suppose we issued an order that those who did not wear shoes should be imprisoned, and so people were dead out of fear would think that they thought that the revolution had come. If there is anything revolutionary about shoes and dead, it is the fact that it stands against the will, and it will kill the will by its law. The revolution after Gandhi's ideas cannot be achieved by waiting it out; it is necessary to work that.

We should, therefore, have courage and stand yourselves on the will of Bhakti-marg. People look to you and entertain high hopes of you. You should take that Krishna's work as an inspiration to take up the work of Sri Yogananda with great vigor and enthusiasm and with full understanding of his revolutionary implications. You must believe that Sri Yogananda is a revolutionary hero.

Do not who says that without power we cannot spread this education, my answer is without education we cannot create that power. It is a circle similar to that expressed in the Tamil proverb: "The pot cannot

be created as long as it is used (Kuparum), and the machine (Kuparum) will not go unless the is created," which means that we must create a virtuous circle by holding on to the revolution then power by spreading our education and ideas. With the help of that power, Sri Yogananda will advance further. If I use a good today a hundred seeds will come out of it and if I use those hundred seeds, a hundred times more seeds would grow. Similarly through educational work we shall attain power and through that power the constructive work will make further progress.

If I suppose you are in place your faith in power led to right. All power lies latent in the soul and let us realize it.

(Translated from the original in Hindustani.)

LETTERS FROM KIRAVADA MANJUN

(Dr. M. K. Gandhi)

XVI

I have discovered one great defect in our nation, namely that they lack their thoughts from the world. They thus become hypocritical. Hypocrisy comes only to those alone who are created in isolation. I do not know of anything as injurious as hypocrisy, but the hypocrisy of our middle class women who are always subject to pressure sets into their mind's like a veritable cancer. Every now and then they do things which they do not like, and believe that they must do so. If they apply their mind to the subject a little, they will see that there is no reason why they should yield to outside pressure, no matter from what quarter. Let them master that first lesson that they must cultivate the courage to stand before the world just as they are and everything else will be added unto them.

XVII

(To Gandhiji's Son)

It is good that you saw Harlan's sorry plight with your own eyes. I know everything already. However let us not give up hope. For with God all things are possible. If there is any merit with us in Harlan's death, it will make itself felt. We must not pamper him nor feel false pity for him. If only he became purer and purer, and more and more ready to receive a moral influence over him. You must be tough and write to Harlan that you cannot have anything to do with him so long as he has not given up drink. He might run from his master if all of us stand such a strong attitude. A drunkard often gives up drink if he feels a severe shock.

I approve of your views on your marriage. You were desperately ill as a little child and there was no hope that you would recover. But your life was saved thanks to his devoted nursing and skilled medical treatment. But that illness was so severe that your growth was arrested for the best part of five years, and you are weak even now, so that you might fall ill but for his excellent care. Therefore I always consider you to be at least 5 years younger than you actually are. For as in the Ashram the earliest age at which a girl should think of contracting marriage is twenty-two. At this rate you will hardly be ready for marriage at 25. But I have no intention of hindering you down.

For the present you must attend to your studies, build up a good constitution and understand as well as discharge your duties in terms of the Jain doctrine.

XVIII

(The Star, Montreal, Nov.)

Why are you worrying over Debenture's presence? Here you are, by all means take a load from my back, for I am an expert in the subject. I had worried and worried long before the country made a mistake of me. Just as one may not carry on trade with borrowed capital, one may not conduct a public institution on a credit basis. And if an institution has to send out the ablest members of its staff in order to collect the necessary funds, I would say that it operates on a credit basis. Instead of pinching upon a certain sum of money in your budget, you should back the number of debentures so as to be able to manage with the funds actually collected. It is the easiest thing in the world to carry out my suggestion. You have only to make up your mind, that is all. At the beginning of the year you should fix the amount of money you will need. If you get that amount without having your post of duty at the school you carry on. If you don't you close the school down. Your school has an excellent record and efficient teachers. Why then don't you have faith? Perhaps the whole thing is God who will conduct it if He so will. He has never been known to let down His servants" as the Gajapati poet puts it. You say you could have surmounted the difficulty if the banker or I had been available. But where is the difficulty? And who are we to help you forward? One blind man cannot lead another. Therefore cut your burden as Him alone.

(XVI to XVIII translated from Gajapati.

by T G D)

LEST WE FORGET

XIX

Kash in Various Aspects

(a)

If not an article of commerce had been brought from outside India, she would be today a land flowing with milk and honey. (Bhagwan of Kash, p 2)

The coin live for herself only if she produces everything for her requirements within her own borders. (Ibid p 3)

(b)

I would . . . plead for a stiff protective duty upon foreign goods. (Ibid p 3)

(c)

God be thanked that the beautiful women of the Punjab have not yet lost the cunning of their fingers. It is to see a perfect delight to find them squeezing milk of ghee into the lap. (Ibid p 34)

(d)

Without a cottage industry the Indian peasant is doomed. His capital is hidden away from the produce of the land. He needs a supplementary industry. Spending is the enemy, the cheapest and the best. (Ibid p 35)

(e)

Multiplication of cattle . . . can only cause concentration of money and labour and thus make confusion worse confounded. (Ibid p 36)

(f)

Students is our valuable Kashiwan, supplying all our wants and solving many of our difficult problems. (Ibid, p 37)

HARDMAN DISABILITIES IN NORTH MALAKA

[The contents is stated on the following—Ed.]

The Malaya Government have passed the Temple Entry Act and the Civil Disabilities Removal Act. There is no doubt that these Acts have gone a long way in removing many of the disabilities of the Harijans. But our experience shows that unless workers interest themselves in the cause of the Harijans, their difficulties and disabilities continue to exist in spite of the legislation. I give below two painful instances that happened in South Kanara District recently.

1. Kankavalli in Talukdargi is a small village where festivals are conducted occasionally. The Harijans had participated in this village after the promulgation of the Temple Entry Act, but during a recent festival conducted on a large scale with huge collection of money from the public, the Harijans were not permitted to enter the festival area. Food and money had been collected from Harijans on previous occasions and they had been expected also to contribute more for the occasion. Still they were refused to attend a festival by their members. A local head of a street committee set up a party of goondas to keep away the Harijans from the temple premises. The police who were on the spot adopted an impartial attitude and treated the complaints of Harijans with contempt. The more reasonable officers never turned up till after the end of the festival, which lasted for seven days. Even now no enquiry has been made on the complaints made by the police. This attitude has created an impression in the poor Harijans that they are not entitled to exercise their legitimate rights.

2. At Polkade about five miles from Talukdargi poor Harijans had been summoned to the Village Court by the Village Headiff in connection with a case. But the Village Headiff would not permit them to enter the court, and wanted them to stand at a distance. The Harijans have complained to the collector and an enquiry is being made.

The Temple Entry Act and the Civil Disabilities Act have not been given wide publicity. The subordinate officials who come in touch with the public should take greater interest in the Harijans and try to implement the policy of the Government. We often feel the need of more workers in the Harijan cause.

B. K. ANANDATHEER.

Harjan Sewak, Puyayoor

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TWO ANNAS

A CHARGE TO TEACHERS

Extract from the address of Shri Keshavnath on the occasion of granting diplomas to teachers trained at the Mahatmashiksha Training School at Amrit Dabadi on "24-12"

—S. M.

I have been described by a complimentary student in the introductory speech. Yes, he said of me definitely in a correct. What I myself can say about me is that I am a servant of the society and the country and what my qualifications I possess I have inherited from the society which has sustained me till now. Hence the credit for the qualification goes to the society and not to me. There is nothing up to me to believe that man does not live for himself but for the society. The way of self-education is to regard oneself as existing for the world. It should be this ideal.

Shri Mahatma Gandhi referred to the question of grades. Shri Keshavnath has this question arisen. Is a joint family of students a decent members, we do not think of grades. If all students live in one family, the question of grades would not arise. Grades are linked with power. If they did not mean anything in terms of power, no one would speak about them.

Man has developed an obsession for money. He thinks that happiness flows from the possession of riches. He wishes to marry his daughter into a rich family. He would have servants to work for him and have all comforts and that would make him happy. This idea is that a person is happy to the extent that he has freedom from work. He wants money so that he may not have to work and could buy all comforts. But he does not pause to consider how far money succeeds in making him personally happy. Personally I consider them to be rather unhappy people. But I know that they themselves will not accept this statement. But are the rich healthy? If they were so they would not need doctors and analysis. They would not have to run to hospitals and other institutions for health. Are they talented? It is not the case of the rich that generally stand at the top in public examinations. Are they always men of high character? They often are otherwise. When all my work brought into Khairabad, the popular name for the moment then began was "rich people's competence." The reason was that it was furnished with resources and comfort and the popular notion was that a man would need these things, even during travelling only if he were ill. Society is needed to have more comfort, and there are needed if a person was unhealthy. So the desire for grades and more grades and freedom from work is indicative of physical or mental ill-health.

But the longing for money is so universal that it may be concluded that we are all suffering from some disorder. The disorder is an erroneous approach towards life. It is curable only by adopting a more correct approach. To the extent we give education and impart upon to the development of human virtues and families are become "men in health." It would advise you to take more of becoming right men than of grades.

The charge to establish more importance and power must where is concerned to students. Perhaps it is not unreasonable. It is present in the child and also in the grown man. The method of establishing it varies according to circumstances. The child tries to get the teacher might go to it. It is the child's way to assert his importance and power over the teacher. The correct way, or by making himself not independent. The correct statement that he is indispensable to the teacher gives him the satisfaction of having established his importance. The teacher surrenders himself to the idea of that he will live and possess him completely and to state equally with him. He wants that to do everything for him so that he need not have to worry. The struggle exists the time to make him understand a ripple dependence upon his own services. I am my girl because sometimes when some one comes to follow up in a direction. For I do not wish to be dependent upon others for things which I can do myself. I do not wish any one to say that she does not have to order that I may give him whatever benefit I am capable of. The spirit of service is indeed a great virtue. But it must be rendered out of love and sympathy, not with an eye on moral direction or recognition. Dislike and power do not enter into such service. But when they are doing it for their own, we do not call them as helping him to do it.

The teachers involved by the discipline have good freedom to serve to students. They do not say that you have everything that you need. Anybody of knowledge is a lifelong work for men never ceases perfection in life. Only a good student becomes a good teacher themselves; you are not students in with no teachers. It is a great responsibility not easily discharged. But by practice you will not find it very difficult to do it.

I was for long inactive in the institution. As I see it I realize how difficult it must have been with Shri Mahatma Gandhi and his co-workers to develop it. But patience and perseverance and in a spirit of service they have created a great institution. Shri Mahatma is an example for you to follow. He shows the way and shows how to be built up and developed. The dream which has been in us at present was not achieved with satisfaction from someone of us. So we do not yet see the expected good results. We can keep them and under it the success of Mahatmashiksha depends only upon more and deeper to work hard for it and contribute to its development.

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

RAMANATHA

By

M. K. Gandhi

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THE TRUE ROAD TO SURVIVAL

It quite recently in *Road to Survival* Paul Hays sought to make our skin creep by warning us of the slippery slope we are descending toward social planning and control of the economic system. Mr. William Vogt with equal conviction and supported by an impressive array of documentary evidence, now before us in his book *Road to Survival* the grim prospect of the world starved of its rich taproot and robbed of its precious storage from its bounties due to the rapidly expanding and pervasive insatiable of man. It would be foolish not to recognize that there is a real threat in the trends identified and analyzed in the book—a threat which is fully as serious as that which forms the theme of *Road to Survival*.

Mr. Bernard M. Baruch in his introduction observes that it is the first attempt through carefully chosen examples, on large part drawn from wide first-hand experience, to show man as part of his total environment, what he is doing to that environment on a global scale and what that environment is doing to him. It is no dry as dust study; it deals with the raw stuff of living. The fact that thoughtful men are already engaged in solving the problem facing man is a just recognition of the threat developed. It does not forecast immediate danger. It only shows that the phantom of plenty and the problem of poverty are but the phases of the same thing, the increase and decrease of the same coin and that man who the least destroys the environment because of his cupidity. During a period in which all the people of the world in general and the Indian people in particular are faced with the most formidable economic difficulties, the problem stated must be faced with courage and vision before it envelops us. It will not vanish like the morning mist before the rising sun of intensive and mechanical cultivation and large-scale industry. Deforestation and soil erosion have assumed alarming proportions and land is losing the rich topsoil.

The argument of the book, namely that economic progress so far achieved is unbalanced and it has been terribly costly in the use of resources and cannot be extrapolated into even a near future is recognized by earnest people. Invention mainly serves the materials of industrial equipment in manufacture and transport, but we do not live on these, though we live by their help, and knowing better how to handle supplies is not the same thing as having more supply. Discovery of new sources has now a weak elasticity and the area of the earth's surface that is most suitable for essential cultivation is small. It is not the wars that have caused scarcity; they have rather been a test of that reserve producing capacity of the world. The author shows that the world is becoming progressively poorer. The backward and underdeveloped countries have as far surpassed the cost

of the higher standard of a few. With the increasing weakness, they will not remain buyers of wool and drivers of water and purveyors of tin materials for the more developed countries.

The dilemma of Mahatma has to be applied to our time; it has to be related as an exercise in the true, and not the historical, relation of the laws of nature.

The universal waste of materials, human and non-human, under the competitive system is not sufficiently seen and appreciated. The author discusses the evils of the competitive system as the exploitation of resources. The argument, whether it is in the matter of food control, or harvesting the rivers for energy and cultivation, or large-scale manufacture, is sustained by a most valuable collection and arrangement of facts. The answer to the question whether the solution to the present scarcity lies through betterment of distribution is in the negative. The author shows that we are living on capital without replacing it. As between rich and poorer classes in the same country, incentive and invention and hence of the example of higher standards have perhaps more here than when applied as between rich and poor nations.

Time and again it has been proclaimed that the problem of production was solved enough and that distribution was the real problem. According to the author neither of these can solve the problem without reference to the population, which exists to the fore front again. The author has a telling argument that progress in machine is used to prolong human life in poor countries by adding years to life rather than life to years. The truth of this is obvious in our Government's drive to avert B.C.G. vaccine to give humanity against tuberculosis thereby prolonging human misery.

We have become victims of gaudiness and pretensions. At no time prior to our own, have so many men and women been led to indulge in useless dreams about the benefits which science and large-scale production could confer upon them. At no time has imagination found escape from reality than now. It seeks refuge in wishfully constructed dreams and plans.

The problem is stated in a telling manner but the solution is not satisfactory. It is wishful. Therefore two reflections arise. There are not dissent in the author's work. The problem is not merely one of slowing down the pace of progress and control of population. It is a moral and spiritual one: truth and integrity in matter. If we take over the moral and spiritual failure of our great religious teachers, then the civilization will be saved and the upsurging doom averted. The theory of economics and birth control through self-control not for the selfish purpose of maintaining high standards of living of Mahatma will only achieve the world of food, work and human for all. Contentment and not multiplicity of wants self-sufficiency

and not self-interest is the only law upon which human society can be grounded with any hope of prosperity and permanence. The God of machine will prove too weak for this task because it has no soul and conscience. Bowing to this tacitly assumed prime mover of all our actions, we are sure to destroy ourselves by destroying the source for higher socioeconomic values. To the Westerners in general and to the author in particular, all this may not be clear for,

"If one

Pauses on subjects of the sense, there springs

Attraction from attraction, green desire,
Deare fance to faine passion, passion
leaves

Recklessness, then the memory—all be-
trayed—

Less noble purpose go, and wipe the
mud,

The purpose, mud, and man are all un-
done"

How true! and if only man redresses the great truth conveyed in these immortal lines of the Gita then the impending catastrophe will be avoided.

Bombay, 25-3-40

PURPA KALSHREKAR

THE SO-CALLED CRIMINAL TRIBES

III

During the British Raj, certain tribes were declared "Criminal" and placed under numerous restrictions and disabilities. Accordingly, a Criminal Tribes Act was passed in 1871 by the Government of India. It was first applied in Sind and then extended to other provinces. Persons inhabiting such areas brought under the operation of the Act. They were ordered to be confined to a certain area, which they could not leave except with the written permission of district authorities. Between the hours of dusk and daylight they had to be confined to their houses. Every day they had to attend a roll-call. Up till today even a newly born child is presumed to be a criminal because a happens to be born in the condemned tribe.

The All-India India Commission of 1930 had found that the object of the Criminal Tribes Act was more information of the Tribes than protection of public safety. This led to the provision of certain measures of education and training for those who lived in the Settlements. But the Act was preserved in its entirety and its application remained as rigorous as before. This in itself condemned the tribes to a miserable existence and frustrated the very object for which according to the Commission the Act was passed. No reforms is possible under conditions of slavery and without a certain amount of freedom of action and movement. No human being can morally evolve under the administration of this inhuman law which condemns a person from cradle to grave to the suffering

life of virtual imprisonment. The slightest breach of restrictions prescribed by the Statute or Sections of the Act makes a person liable to numerous punishments. The condemnation of a whole tribe for generations to the category of "The Criminal Tribes" is sufficient to breed crime instead of bringing about any reform.

The Criminal Tribes Act has, therefore, no place in modern penology. The ordinary Penal Law of the land is quite adequate to meet the need. Its very existence and continuance is a blot on the fair name of free India. I cannot understand why it has been allowed to remain on the Statute Book all these months. A Criminal Tribes Enquiry Committee was appointed in December, 1936, which, in its report, has recommended the total repeal of the Act. I am very glad to find that Madras repealed the Act altogether in the year 1937. The Bombay Government have passed the 'Habeas Offender' Restriction Act in December 1937, which contains provision for the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act after two years. So, naturally at the end of this year, in December, 1940, Bombay also will be free from the operation of this Act. The United Provinces Government appointed a Criminal Tribes Enquiry Committee in December, 1938, which has recommended in its report the total repeal of the Act. The United Provinces Government is still considering it and has not yet acted on the recommendations of the Committee. Only recently Shri Anantashayaram Ayyangar brought forward a bill in the Central Legislative Assembly for the repeal of this Act. This was referred to certain Provincial Governments, and it was said in the Assembly that some of them opposed the repeal of this Act. It seems that the Punjab Government is one of those who opposed its repeal. I cannot say anything else except that it is the misfortune of the Punjab that such a view should be held by its Congress Government.

The "Criminal Tribes" of the Punjab are getting perished and deteriorated. The representations for its repeal are made by them on a large scale. Letters and Memorials are being received every day in this connection. It is but natural. These people also want to shake off their chains of slavery and breathe the fresh air of free India.

It is believed that an All India Committee will soon be appointed by the Government of India to go ahead into the question and to make the final recommendations. I hope that no further time will be lost in collecting the needed information, and early steps will be taken to repeal the Act. The sooner such a righteous measure is put out of operation the better for all concerned. It had been reported to me that the Peshawar Government has already repealed the Act and abolished the department concerned.

RAMSHPHARI KUMAR

HARIJAN

June 26

1949

PUBLIC HOLIDAYS

[The following is a paper chosen for being made the state article of the week.
—E. G. H.]

The Government have been very anxious to increase the production of our industries, the work in the offices and the education of the children in the school, but they have given little thought to the number of public holidays that the nation as a whole should observe. No progressive country in the world has such a large number of holidays as we have. There can be no justification for incorporating every seasonal holiday as a nation-wide holiday. Birthdays and anniversaries of great men are specially observed with the aim of refreshing our memory with the selfless service they rendered to the country and for instilling into us a fresh resolve to follow them in a similar spirit, accompanied with a programme of social service in some form. The holiday allowed on such occasions should not be a closed holiday and it should not be used for trinket-shopping, shopping or sight-seeing.

With the attainment of freedom, there is more the greater need for some intensive efforts to improve our condition. But we do not realise our responsibility to the society or the country, and have limited our activities merely to our personal needs. The continuous enjoyment of so many holidays has brought about in us a holiday mood, which gravely impedes our progress and I believe has led to so many strikes. Any worker or leader of public opinion who realises the gravity of the present economic distress can never even think of such frequent strikes. The number of holidays are on the increase as each community successfully presses its claim for putting its festivals on the nation's list. Formerly seasonal holidays were enjoyed only by educational institutions, then it caught on the offices and now it has spread to trade and industry too. Our leaders and Government have declared that the best interests of the society can be served only by establishing a secular State, it shall therefore be only very appropriate that they accept as general holidays only those which have some national significance. Our workers in the public and government offices, trades, industry and schools should shake off themselves of the old conservative sectional trend of thought.

During the second world war, when the pressure of work was very great, the then government even at the hands of the clock forward by an hour. They stopped all holidays including the Sunday. Workers could take seasonal holidays according to their community. They had to work on holidays of other communities

All hands could not take off Sunday immediately, they enjoyed the weekly holiday in batches on different days of the week, so that the office could remain open all round the week. Is our national mind any the less today, or that we lack in responsibility or patriotism? We have not shaken of our old slave mentality yet, and can do things only on the orders from above, rather than establish new and healthy conventions and attain higher heights in work ourselves. Our employees in the offices are ever anxious to do as little work as possible. Why does a shop-owner not close his shop even for the mid-day lunch? Because he knows that if he does so that will be his own loss. Cannot the same spirit enter all of us?

The problems of National Language, National Dress, Flag, National Anthem and so on are in the forefront, but why not that of National Work. Today the nation rests work first and pleasure afterwards. Where we call our leaders, do they also enjoy all these holidays or weekly rest? Look to Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel, Rajendrasinh, Mahatma Ambedkar or Dr. Bhanu Prasad, they have known of no Sunday or other holiday since they began public service. Why should we not work with equal rest to elevate our country?

The need of the hour calls for more work and a uniformity in our lives all over the country. In the United Provinces the policemen and shopkeepers avail of 15 days medical, 15 days casual, 31 days festivals and 52 days weekly holidays—a total of 113 days or more. In Punjab and the Punjab, they can have only 15 days casual leave besides the weekly rest days. These are quite sufficient to keep us in good trim without any serious loss to the working capacity of the nation. To them we may add a few National holidays which will all add up to 35 days or so—say about one-fifth of a year.

No sound reason can be found for such long vacations in the schools, universities (and High Courts) as over almost a quarter of the year. We see the natural habitation of a warm country and we cannot get away from it—even if we do not attend our classes. Then why waste so much of valuable time, why not utilise it covering more of our courses in it and thus shorten the total period in education? At present the teachers go home and leave the children to roam on the streets. Being idle they learn mischief and bad habits. If at all we must have vacations, their duration should not be longer than 15 days at a time and they should come after each term more in accordance with the change of seasons. These vacations should be utilised in holding games, sports, meetings, outdoor games, tours and visits to factories, farms and places of cultural interest. Thus we shall understand the wisdom of practical life in the studies in the class rooms.

Sukhdevam, Bager, U.P.

A. KADRAL

VACCINATION AS A PROPHYLACTIC MEASURE

[I gladly publish the following articles of my readers—Ed.]

I had the great pleasure to go through your articles in the *Harjan* dated 25/2/49 and 27/2/49. I am pleased to note that you have clearly expressed that this vaccination must not be compelled on all alike; that the conscientious objectors must not be compelled to undergo this operation. You have also pointed out that the Government does not regard this as a substitute for sanitation and that it alone feels compelled to resort to these vaccinations also, because sanitation and sound nutrition require more time, more workers and day to day application. If only the money used and the workers employed in the manufacture of vaccines and serums be diverted to sanitation, we will have many more workers for sanitation. Such an experiment was tried in Leicester in England some 60 years ago and they succeeded well. There the believers in vaccination had to vaccinate themselves at their own cost.

Your hesitation in asking the Government not to resort to these measures at all, is based on your opinion that when right prophylactic measures are not available and cannot be quickly expanded, and when speedy measures are necessary to arrest the spread of the disease in a virulent form, vaccination becomes an unavoidable necessity in spite of all the evils attributed to it. In this connection, I may point out that you seem to regard vaccines and serums in the same way as we regard many other things in the world which have both a good and a bad side. The immediate effect of a thing is always different from the remote effect. The immediate effect is temporary while the remote effect is permanent and opposite of the immediate effect. It is by the remote and the permanent effect of a thing that its goodness or badness is to be decided. Only those that produce permanent good can be said to be good.

Considering the inherent evil nature of vaccines and serums, and considering the injuries to health and life it has caused in many cases all over the world, we must not hesitate in asking the Government to avoid all these measures. At least they must not spend money on experimental methods and methods which have been commercialised. There are many other causes, the chief of which is ethical. What is immoral must also be unhygienic. What is unhygienic is also immoral. The modern so-called scientific methods must be judged in the light of this eternal principle. All these methods involve experiments on animals and artificial production of diseases and so they are really war against Health and Nature. I do admit that those of us who regard this as a sin against Health and Nature must help in the emergency

and quick cessation of sanitation and sound nutritional programmes. But the absence of such a positive drive must not be taken as an excuse for employing these evil measures. To quote a medical doctor, "If I cannot do good, let me at least cease to do evil." Let us leave the problem to God.

Even the temporary effect of arresting the virulence of the epidemic has not been achieved. It is the opinion of some medical doctors (based on their experience) that vaccination done at the time of epidemic only worsens the epidemic. A thing which is the product of disease cannot be useful even in times of emergency. Emergencies cannot alter the eternal laws. We are to do what is right always. Right means well always. Good is wrong only when I only appeal to our countrymen to benefit by the experience of the West. There especially in England after the passing of the compulsory disease vaccination declined and sanitation improved, the result was small-pox was stamped out and Leicester was able to prove it to the full. Now the Act itself has been repealed. The question of vaccination and sanitation needs to be studied and investigated by impartial and intelligent bodies with the cooperation of scientists who strive to abolish these and achieve the best results by sanitation—internal and external—alone both before and at the time of epidemic. Internal sanitation is possible only through dietetic righteousness and external sanitation by clean water, air, sunlight and some natural agents such as clean, healthy cow-dung or mud, etc., and not the so-called scientific cleaners, namely phenol and other poisonous lotions.

Application of sanitation and sound nutrition based on biological laws of Nature adjusted to particular conditions, alone have been found to be effective in not only preventing disease as a long term measure but also in controlling epidemic even at the time of the emergency.

"A little of this disease will save you from great danger."

It is merely because of want of sufficient quantitative experience in this respect that we hesitate to advocate it wholly. What is inherently right is right and useful always. So-called emergencies do not make any difference. If readers will go through the literature on the subject published by the Anti-Vaccination League, they will be able to derive great light on the subject. I may suggest that there may be a few conferences of laymen where all the facts and *modus operandi* might be explained to them by the people on both sides of the question, namely those who say that they are necessary at least in emergencies and those who say otherwise.

Puducherry, 26-2-49. L. KAMATHA SARKA.

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF SCIENCE

[The following is a summary of the address at the first lecture by Dr. Norvion F. Brown, assistant professor in the Institute for Nuclear Study, University of Chicago, on *Social Responsibility of Science*. He was introduced by the U. S. A. Group's science advisor, Clifford Price and Dr. Fredson C. Spearman.—Ed. (4)]

"When I was graduated from high school, a prominent business man in my home town spoke at our commencement. 'The world is in a sorry plight,' he told us. 'It is up to you—the students of tomorrow—to make the world into a globe fit for human habitation. It is up to you to slash war and to see to it that the properties of life are made available to all mankind.'"

Such graduation speeches were given then, were throughout the world, and for all I know they are still being given.

But when the high-school graduate goes out into the world and attempts to change things for the better, he suddenly finds himself called "naïve", "rash", "unexperienced." He learns that the elders really don't want the youngsters to remake the world after all. The sciences at the tops of many young heads (resulting from much hammering against stone walls) tend to slip to the margins that confront them.

Yet if we look back a few years we find that the majority of the scientists who fought and died in the last war were in their early twenties and younger. The majority of the scientists who contributed actively toward the development of the atomic bomb were in their twenties. Youngsters, we are told, are old enough to fight and die; they are old enough to help figure out how to make atomic bombs but they are too young to have anything to say about what to do about the frightening problems that face the modern world and threaten to destroy it.

In speaking today about the social responsibility of science, I will speak of things which are relatively easy for young people, but difficult for older persons, to understand. This is because young people possess a quality that is general diminishes with the years: the quality of imagination. Imagination is a quality which is an integral part of science, and naturally endowed to young people. It is a quality which early enough uncorrupts with advancing age, yet it is a quality which our unhappy world desperately needs in abundance at the present time.

Disastrous Use of Science

For the last three centuries the findings of science have had marked impact upon society, but people as the whole have not understood just how our world has been affected, nor have they acted. From the time of Newton men began to realize that through technology, which is based upon the findings of science, substantial comforts and profits could be gained. From the time of Pasteur men began to realize that through the application of science to medicine they might be able to live longer.

From the time of Leonardo da Vinci, men appreciated that science could materially aid in winning wars. As years went by a technological materialism was developed—demands for new technical knowledge became greater and greater; more and more men became scientists and technologists. The scientist came to be looked upon as the master of a new and abundant life. To make substantial profits, to work less, to live longer, to win wars—what more could the people of a nation desire? In the valour of its ignorance humanity accepted science and technology as its benefactors, seldom questioning, seldom asking where it was leading.

And where has it led?

To a large part of the world it has brought unprecedented disaster.

To an even larger part of the world it has brought unprecedented agony.

To the world of the future (the world in which you young people must live) technological expansion may bring total catastrophe, or it may aid in the building of a balanced world in which men may have the opportunity to live in reasonable harmony with their environment and with each other. The real result will depend upon the wisdom and imagination with which we plan for the future—upon the wisdom and imagination with which we integrate our scientific and technical knowledge from other fields of human endeavour, into a pattern for a peaceful and stable world.

An Unhappy Record

Let's look at the record. It is not a happy one! Science and technology have played in the hands of the rulers of nations tools of coercion and persistence of unprecedented effectiveness. Modern implements of war make it possible for small groups of men to subvert their rule over large groups of people. In modern totalitarian states, the weapons in the hands of rulers make impossible successful popular revolts.

In the past, uprisings against despots by masses of people armed only with crude weapons were possible. Today, applied science makes despots invulnerable to internal overthrow by violent means.

Improvements in transportation and communications have increased the ineffectiveness of police forces. Revolutionary methods of mass communication, rotary presses, radio and motion pictures provide powerful tools of persuasion. Today, when propaganda can be spread to millions of people, when the governed can be unknowingly led with untruths and kept in ignorance of the truth by government control of communications outlets, the people become powerless.

History has taught us that intense nationalisms sooner or later results in wars between nations. Today wars are, more than ever before, wars of competing technologies. The first

half of the twentieth century will go down in history as the period within which technological developments took place which converted destruction from a difficult operation into a fantastically easy one. But as yet, we have seen only the crude beginnings of what can be done, should circumstances dictate. Now that nations, each in the interest of its own military security, have exploited science, we can expect developments in the technology of war to proceed at an accelerated pace.

Even our good intentions have brought trouble. The spread of sanitation measures and the control of disease to ever-increasing bodies of humanity has created the problem of over-population. With the population check of disease removed, we are now confronted with the gigantic task of finding ways to feed people and to keep populations in check.

Increased populations and wars have, in turn, placed tremendous drains upon our natural resources, upon our power reserves, upon our arable land.

The net result of our haphazard and unplanned use of science and technology has been disastrous to society. We should now, realising the danger that confronts us, study the future plus soundly and wisely those aspects of science that can aid us in making a more hopeful destiny than that which now confronts us.

The first social responsibility of science is to abstain from the temptations whenever it uses science and technology being used in the dangerous ways in which they have been used in the past.

The second responsibility is to develop wherever possible constructive solutions to the technical problems that now confront mankind, the production of food, clothing and shelter.

A third, and in many respects an even more important responsibility exists and that is to disseminate far and wide an attitude that I like to call the "scientific attitude."

"A Way of Life"

The scientific attitude is at once a way of thought, a way of conduct and a way of life. It has many component parts, the most important of which are:

The scientist must avoid dogmatism.

He must always stand upon solid argument.

He must proceed cautiously, yet he must be ready for change.

He must insist upon the truth.

He cannot permit personal feelings to influence his judgment.

And above all he must insist upon complete, unsharpened and uncompromising freedom of speech.

The summation of a scientific attitude will enable all of you to build the kind of world you want to live in—a world free of fear, free of war and free of want.

STERLING BERTHE

It gives great pleasure to read the following account. The Reader, Government and the workers deserve to be congratulated for their sterling service to the Indian untouchable people of North Gujarat. —(M.)

The untouchables of human have spread to Radhanagar Circle where not a single gram was produced this year due to the failure of monsoon. Drinking water is not available anywhere. Shri Navabharat Vyas and the Government have literally saved the people from the claws of death by their tremendous good efforts. The Government went all-out in giving relief to the people, while Shri Navabharat has been working day and night in this area with missionary zeal.

Famine was declared in the three taluhs of Sam, Gandhidpur and Radhanagar consisting of 30 villages. In Gandhidpur, twelve tanks have been excavated costing thousands of rupees. The work of digging 30 more tanks has been undertaken in Radhanagar and Sam taluhs in which 1,300 labourers are engaged daily at an amount of Rs. 1,20,000 has already been spent and the work is still in progress. In this circle two fodder centres have been opened, where about 4,500 head of cattle are given shelter and each head is given three acres of grain and eight acres of grass. The Government has cancelled the monopoly in charcoal and gum trade, enabling thousands of people to earn their livelihood by preparing charcoal and collecting gum. About 4 lakh pounds of charcoal must have been made during the year.

In Radhanagar circle the Government is distributing loans to loans for digging wells, buying bullocks, grain and seeds and for their own maintenance. So far Rs. 15 lakhs have been distributed.

Foodgrains are brought from outside and distributed through government shops opened in the villages and in Radhanagar proper.

Scarcity of water however still continues and so people have to drink the impure sub-soil water obtained from river beds, while the cattle have to cover about three to four miles to graze their thirst.

(Transcribed from the original in Gujarati.)

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI

By Bimal Kumar Das

With a Foreword by Gandhi

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BAPU—MY MOTHER

By

Manabhai Gandhi

Price Rs. 0-12-0

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NOTES

Gandhi's Physical Description

At my request the Bombay Government has supplied me with the following information regarding Gandhi from its last records:

Height—5' 5"

Identification marks—

(1) A scar 1/4" x 1/8" on the right thigh at a distance of about one-third from the lower end on the front side.

(2) A small mole on the outer side under the lower right eyelid.

(3) A scar of about the size of a pea below the left elbow on the inner side at about one-third distance from the lower end.

I sent my request in English under the impression that it would be more convenient for the department concerned. I was pleasantly surprised to receive the reply in Gujarati.

Words: 14-5-48

L. G. V.

Worm-Mania in India

India is really a waste of space, at present in building artificial fertilizer factories. Without an army of soil analysis all this effort may even turn against us in this land where we have an actual plague with the worms. All this in the name of Science!

The more progressive agriculturists elsewhere are turning to nature for help. In Australia they have discovered the enormous dependence of man on worms so much so that worm-eating is becoming an industry like bee-keeping.

Earthworms live on the humus in the soil and convert it into assimilable matter. They bore their way into the soil which gets loosed and aerated by this process and water also percolates through these holes. These worms cannot live on chemicals. They need farm yard manure or compost. Artificial fertilizers kill these friends of man.

Harold Karp of Randolph, Spodny has registered a business concern "Earthworm Enterprise" and has built up a "Stock" of half a million worms. He says "If home gardens used more worms they would get better flowers and vegetables. With a box of 250 worms in breeding stock any garden can be started on the way to high fertility." He hopes to sell his worms at about \$5 per box.

We hope our agriculturists will also become worm-minded.

"Hydrogenated Oil"—the First Step

A committee of public opinion has made the Government of India stir. They have after all these long months taken a halting step against margarine. They have made it obligatory on all factories manufacturing vegetable oil products to stop the use of the words "Vanagani" or "Vegetable products" on their containers in which hydrogenated vegetable oil products are packed and sold from 1 August, 1949. The producers have been ordered to describe the contents as "Hydrogenated groundnut oil" or "Hydro-

genated groundnut and coconut oil" or as the case may be.

This is all to the good though it could have been done several months ago. It does not yet safeguard the consumer from getting phos. acid loaded with this stuff.

A Long Hoped for Step

We need progressive youthful leadership. The development of such is being aided by lack of opportunity. The older people—the so-called leaders—expect and demand the first place everywhere. The youth is pushed back. If our country is to be progressive we must give full scope for the younger people to play their part in all responsible spheres. They may make mistakes but these are the steps to success. The men who never make any mistakes will never achieve anything.

Hence it is that we were very pleased to see that at the Hindustani Tahsil Singh Conference recently held at Parbhakulpur a boy of about 12 years was invited to unfurl the flag and another of about the same age played the music of ceremonies. The fact that the former was a messenger by name only added colour to the occasion. While we congratulate those responsible for this novel step we hope this is only a precursor of further responsibilities devolving on the young. The older generation should stand back and take pride in their future successors playing an active part in all walks of life.

Expendable Trade

We get an example of how expenditure is detrimental to the moral growth of man in the British Civil Appropriation Accounts Report. In 1946, India ordered 10,000 railway buffers from Great Britain. The trade price of these was £4-6-0 each but India was charged £24-11-3 per buffer. Finally now it has been agreed to charge 50 per cent more than the trade price i.e. £7-13-0 per buffer and to write off the balance debent—£104,744. The individual British trader boasts of his honesty in business but when it comes to group transactions this standard is abandoned and "what you can grab takes its place."

J. C. K.

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HARIJAN

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AMRITSAR—SUNDAY JULY 7, 1940

TWO ANNAS

"THIS IS MY PRAYER"

[The following letter to the Editor was received by the editorial page of *Harigan*. It was the manuscript that Miss Vaidya, who changed subsequently to Miss April, sent some days ago, which a number of days earlier—the day of her first—was announced to a person against the Harijan. The arrest of Gandhi in connection with this movement led to an outbreak of violence and violence in the Punjab and Orissa. While Gandhi on his side showed a stern determination for the independence of the people in Orissa, the happenings in the Punjab having been set on fire by the British Government on their side caused by military violence, resulting in the massacre of the Harijan, the tragedy of the April the latter obviously refers to the events of this last night.]

Shantidhara,
April 13, 1940

Dear Vaidya,

Power in all its forms is irrational—it is like the horse that drags the carriage blindfolded. The moral element in it is only represented in the man who drives the horse. Gandhi's resistance is a force which is not necessarily equal in itself; it can be used against truth as well as for it. The danger inherent in all force grows stronger when it is likely to pass violence for then it becomes temptation.

I know your tendency is to fight against evil by the help of the good. But such a fight is for horses and not for men led by impulses of the moment. Evil on one side naturally begets evil on the other, resulting leading to violence and result to vengeance. Unfortunately such a force has already been started and other through passive or through truth our authorities have shown in their slave whose mere effect is to drive some of us into the wrong path of resentment and others into after demoralisation.

In this time you, as a great leader of men, have stood among us to protect your faith in the ideal which you know to be that of India,—the ideal which is both against the cowardliness of Indian revenge and the coward self-sacrifice of the terror-stricken. You have said as Lord Buddha has done in his time and for all time to come,—

Abhayaṃ Jāte Kāṇhaṃ anāṇhaṃ anāṇhaṃ Jāte
Greatest courage by the power of non-anger and
evil by the power of good?

This power of good must prove its truth and strength by its fruitfulness, by its refusal to accept any hypothesis which depends for its

success upon its power to produce frightfulness and is not ashamed to use its machine of de-struction to transform a population completely destroyed. We must know that moral conquest does not consist in asserting that failure does not deprive it of its dignity and worth. Those who believe in spiritual life know that is stand against wrong which has overwhelming material power behind it is victory itself—it is the victory of the whole faith is the ideal in the north of violent death.

I have already told and said accordingly that the great gift of freedom can never come to a people through charity. We must win it before we can do it. And India's opportunity for winning it will come to her when she can prove that she is morally superior to the people who rule her by their right of conquest. She must willingly accept her position of suffering—the suffering which is the crown of the great. Armed with her truth, back in goodness she must stand unshaken before the arrogance that scoffs at the power of spirit.

And you have come to your motherland in the time of her need to remind her of her true soul, to lead her in the true path of conquest, to purge her present-day politics of its feebleness which imagines that it has gained its purpose when it writes in the borrowed language of diplomatic diplomacy.

This is why I pray most fervently that nothing that tends to weaken our spiritual freedom may intrude into your thinking here, that martyrdom for the cause of truth may never degenerate into heroism for mere verbal forms, becoming into the self-deception that hides itself behind armed names.

With these few words for an introduction allow me to offer the following as a poet's contribution to your noble work.

I

Let me hold my head high in the faith that they are you abiding, that all fear is mere distrust of thee.

Fear of man? But what man is there in this world, what king, O King of Kings, who is thy equal, who has held the fear all time and in all truth?

What power is there in this world is rob-ber of my freedom? For do not thy arms reach the captive through the dungeon-walls, bringing unfettered release to the soul?

And man, I cling to the body in fear of death, in a quest to his barren treasure? His

not this spark of mine the eternal call to thy least of everlasting life?

Let me know that all pain and death are shadows of the moment, that the dark fears which sweep between me and thy truth be but the mist before the sunrise: that these stars are runs far over and greater than all pride of strength that dares to mock my weakness with its minute.

II

Give me the supreme courage of love, that is my prayer, — the courage to speak in do to suffer at thy will to leave all things or be left alone.

Give me the supreme faith of love, that is my prayer — the faith of the life in death, of the victory in defeat, of the power hidden in the weakness of beauty, of the dignity of pain that sweeps hurt, but dares to return it.

Very sincerely yours,
RICHARDNATH TAGORE

Kumbakonam,
February 20, 1931

Dear Mahatmas

I do not want to dwell upon my joy at the fact of your freedom from imprisonment, but I cannot remain silent and inactive when I feel great anxiety at the unbounded prospect of freedom which other people have in wrecking your health and peace of mind. All I can do to serve you in this crisis is to send Charlie to keep you company and help you as only he knows how to do.

With love,

Richardnath Tagore

Posts and Telegrams

Shanabadhat, June 5

To Mahatmas Gandhi, Seamen Hospital,
Poona

WE REJOICE

Postal date, Richardnath
5-4-1931

BOYD ORR, DADD AND OURSELVES

A few months ago Lord Boyd Orr was invited to advise the Government of India on the Food Problem. Considering the extent of food shortage and the chances of increasing food production he held we could be self-sufficient in food only if the problem was treated as a war issue. He stated, "India has got to throw herself into the drive for increased food production with the same enthusiasm and the same energy as she would if an enemy were at the gates. The enemy is at the gates—the enemy of hunger." It is in this advice that our Food Ministry has laid up its hope of reaching that goal by 1931.

In the candidate-president project¹ by the Government machinery going all-out to make the situation "Under was overtake every other objective is eclipsed by the predominant emphasis given to the war effort. Austerity and self-sufficiency become command and health self-sufficiency and conservation. Let our leaders set the pace and indicate their commitment. This cannot be done by allowing large sums of money being spent on dinner parties and

the like. This state of affairs is a denial of the existence of the very basis on which Lord Boyd Orr's optimism was based. The men in the street cannot visualize thousands of tons of food shortage in this vast country but he can appreciate a situation which makes the leaders tighten their belts.

There is hardly any co-ordination between the various departments. Each one is liberating in its own water-tight compartment. Even high placed non-officials at the centre with access to the ministers concerned are unable to obtain selected seeds or manure or other technical aid from the Agricultural Department while the Food Department concerns itself with paper propaganda. It is not natural as these departments are presided over by the hitherto civil servants whose knowledge of field work is practically nil and whose prospects are tied on to efficiency of time rather than to any criterion of efficiency. Hence all that they are concerned with is the passing of time. In this art they are masters. Therefore, one of the preliminary steps must be to place men who know their jobs, not sit at the head and set before them a definite target of attainment in a given time. When they fall short of the target, they should not be promoted to a bigger job as in the case now but put "on hold" for good and all. Particular situations call for stern measures.

A little later on Mr. Martin Dadd, the successor of Lord Boyd Orr as Director-General of the I. M. Food and Agricultural Organization, sounded a more pessimistic note. He thought the situation could be improved in about 10 years so as to reduce the present imports of food of 4 million tons to about 24 million tons.

He further ventured to advise our highly paid "modern, scientific and progressive" agricultural technical experts. He wanted to limit mechanization to the harvesting of new land and tinning to avoid soil erosion and suggested that instead of going in for extensive use of artificial fertilizers they should advise clover crops for their nitrogen restoring and water holding properties. He felt confident that only by observing these principles and by control of soil erosion by strict limitation of forest cutting and with the extension of lake well irrigation could India eventually solve her food problem.

He was quick to recognize the folly of attempting "to revolutionize long established agricultural practices by the adoption of large scale farming methods of the West". There is a world of difference in the principles governing Agriculture as an industry and Agriculture as an occupation. In America Agriculture is as much an industry as the Motor Industry. In the principles that enter into their consideration are much the same. While in India the circumstances surrounding Agriculture are fundamentally different and call for a different set of principles in dealing with them. For instance, looking to a hotel follows certain considerations

of cheapness of materials even at the cost of quality but that is not so when a mother cooks for her children. In the former, cooking is an industry, while in the latter case, cooking is a profession. This difference has to be borne in mind while dealing with Agriculture in our country and not try to import capitalistic principles where capital is scarce and labour is in abundance.

J. C. KUMARAPP.

COMBATING INFLATION AND HIGH PRICES

Inflation and high prices, and the vicious circle set up thereby have been engaging the attention not only of the Governments of India and Pakistan but also of the Governments and Political Parties the world over. In August last the Government of India called a Conference of Economic Experts and Industralists and in September and October that followed they put the recommendations of the Conference in the test but after a fair trial found them wanting. The subject figured most prominently at the Budget Session of the Central and Provincial Legislatures, but yet without the discovery of the real remedy which the British Government in India applied with amazing success after the close of World War I. The remedy was the withdrawal from circulation of one-rupee notes, the creation of that War. It is true that the adoption of similar measures produced a great deal of unemployment in Europe and America due to the industrial nature of the economy of the West but it had no such effect on our economy which was and is still agricultural. It follows, therefore, that if the reform is introduced in our country now, not only will it produce the same magic effect as it did at the close of World War I, but it will also have the much desired effect of sending the unhappily diverted agricultural labour back to the villages to help grow more food, the crying need of the present and many a future year. The reform could be introduced as soon as the new silver rupee came into circulation and now when the Government of India must feel concerned that it is the only direct, logical and the most successfully tried remedy there need be no more vacillation or delay in giving effect to it. All that the Government of India have to do is to approximate to the ratio of the silver and paper currency (for the present leaving out of circulation the two-rupee notes) as it obtained at the close of World War I.

Not should considerations of possible fall in revenue receipts weigh with the Government, so long before it comes to be realised it will have been more than counter-balanced by the vast economies and retrenchment in expenditure which the Government will be able to effect within three to six months of the introduction of the reform. Rather than complacently hang on to the abortive proposals of the Conference

or pedantically put their heads on the lead of the Western countries which is wholly unrelated to our economy I would request the Government of India to take care of the terrible all-round distress, demoralisation, corruption and discontent working as a disfection which have resulted from their failure to tackle this problem successfully and would, in all honesty, urge the immediate adoption of the measure which, with my personal experience I venture to assure them will work miracles—within three to six months further I venture to submit that nothing else will succeed.

K. P. VERMA.

[Note: This is a bold suggestion. But its success rests upon the fulfilment of the condition that vast economies and retrenchment in expenditure are carried out by Government.]

The more I think of it the more I feel that this false measure of wealth—called money—must be replaced by a truer one. The old money, when free money was allowed, represented at least a fixed quantity of gold or silver. The current money represents only an intangible substance called 'credit' at the sewer. It varies from day to day and place to place as a barometer. Suppose cloth was measured by a barometer-yard, or to say, the length of money (value) at the time of measurement was to be regarded as unit of measure.

To add to this, it is artificially made as boardable as actual gold and silver because it is supposed to retain the full value as long as the Government lasts. The result is that with decline in credit, hoarding becomes and so inflation and prices. To counteract hoarding interest is offered to investors, and then another artificial prop is put up. But capital is found to be 'dry', for it is not satisfied with a small rate of interest, and refuses to come out. So more interest is offered, and a power is attributed to money, which it does not possess, namely, of reproducing itself by getting into a dealer's hands. And this is all made into a difficult 'science'. When you produce more than you consume, you are producing economy. This is so simple that it is easily understood by everyone, but it is not 'science'. Science is brought into being to denote a scheme which, without producing more and consuming less, will enable you to feel the bite of boom.

The more I consider the more I feel that if money—as a representative of not concrete and useful substance but intangible credit—has to be retained, it must be made an unhoardable commodity, and must not be the sole legal tender in business relations. There must be along with it another article which the people can produce with their own effort and give to another if they so choose when they wish to deal with him. The first can be done by a regular distribution of the price of the note in one of the ways suggested by Siris

Crash! The second by incagenering payment in an article at two penceable by mass and needed by everyone such as grain or yare

I wonder if there is any hope of such steps being considered!

Wardha, 22-6-49

—R. G. M.

HARIJAN

July 3,

1949

DISGRACEFUL BEHAVIOUR

In a big-bum week-end in Calcutta Shri Sarvechandra Bose has scored a victory over the Congress candidate. It has given a shock to the Congress leaders. It has been explained to some as a personal triumph of Sarvechandra, by others as the victory of the people's constitutional protest against nepotism, favouritism and corruption that have crept into the Congress and its administration and by still others as the result of group politics which has reached a level so low that even some prominent Congressmen are alleged to have actually worked against the Congress candidate in order that they might be able to overthrow the present Congress ministry.

I have no material to form my own judgement on the merits of these charges and I have no desire to present any analysis. What perturbs me is the disgraceful behaviour of those who took part in the election campaign in respect of two grave items. One was the burning of the National Flag and the second, the dastardly assault on Shriuran Sacheta Kripalani, who, I understand, was abused, beaten and deliberately created in a shameful manner.

Whether Dr B C Ray or Dr P C Ghosh or Shri Sarvechandra Bose should lead their province is a question of secondary importance. So far as I am able to see, their rivalries are personal. No ideological differences worth the name are involved. What is more important is the kind of cultural and moral lead and training which is sought to be imparted to the people of our country. Are the future citizens of India (who have happened in Bengal may happen in any other part of the country) about to be trained to despoil their country's flag and to assault and assault their daughters simply because in party politics some people are on one side and some on another? May I know what culture this is? Is it Indian, Bengali, British, German, Russian, American or modern? And whatever it is, I wish to ask whether this culture is not in, moral and unwholesome? Can it lead to good government and happiness of its people? Those who are responsible for the conduct of this election to whatever party they belong, deserve severe condemnation. Bengalis or, for the matter of that, any people can never hope to get good administration if they allow their passions

to damaged all standards of decency. The party in whose name this barbarity was perpetrated owes an apology to the people of India for the wrong done to the flag and to Shriuran Sacheta Kripalani for the disgraceful assault to his person. Let it restore the gravity of this misbehaviour. No people can deserve good government and happiness if it pulls down its own flag and assaults its own daughters.

New Delhi

24-6-49

K. K. BHAKTAVATSALA

PRINCIPLES OF NAI TALIM

[From the inaugural address of Shri Vinoba at the First National Nai Talim Congress at Patanjali, Kanyakumari on 24-6-49]

—R. G.]

We had been meeting that Vinoba came to various parts of India during the last year. He found everywhere that people realised that it is the task of a governing or governing body and asked him to explain how it could be done. He told them that the way to do it is, through Nai Talim.

The principle of Nai Talim had been recognised by educationists and accepted as a policy by provincial governments. Though its implementation was not uniform in all the provinces, he and his friends that they would have all to a high degree in 1949.

He was now worried about the period, that Vinoba said. What he was concerned with was what shape Nai Talim would take in the coming through the provincial machinery. Would it retain the shape as could be recognised as Nai Talim to those who had received it? That is what he wanted to be very likely without any body being blamed for it. What a new idea had to be carried out through a machinery which was old. It was necessary for educationists to be alert in the matter, so that the principle may not get misunderstood and diluted in its application on a large scale. It was necessary for this that they should consider a few model institutions in every province.

It was suggested that the Basic Education Centre should be retained from where it has come. The first that would be said about it was that it would not then be too large or too big. Education, Nai Talim was an integral whole incapable of disintegration. Disintegration would lead to something like integral character. A large piece of cloth woven at one place was not the same thing as one or made by weaving together small pieces.

Shri Vinoba had also heard it suggested that the co-ordination of subjects with the child is the life of the child was to be made as far as possible. The mostly big plan was followed an enormous approach. The more varied there was that whatever subject could not be so correlated with the life or work of the child should be dropped to an enormous burden. Acquisition of knowledge, the task of wealth had also to be subject to the proper instruction. All the knowledge in the world was not necessary for everyone. It was necessary for mind development to have both knowledge as well as practical. That is how he understood the (practical) part.

And what is (practical) part?

He who was concerned with both knowledge as well as ignorance. The (practical) part was not required just wholesome things for life was also necessary. The object of learning was not to impart information to the mind or to the heart but to provide them with the type of knowledge so that it might have the (practical) part become necessary to him from time to time.

Another important subject in Nai Talim was "Labour". People really liked it. They did not know even the right way of doing things, making things, doing and other daily work of life. This we had to learn from the West. India did not need for learning. The West had not developed a proper form of social structure. That of India was a more developed one, based on

ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

VII

Removal of Detachability

(Continued)

If the ashrama scheme had broken down, the plight of the *varnas* is equally bad. At first there were four *varnas* (classes); but now there are unreasonable sections or only one. If we take it that there are as many *varnas* as there are castes and subcastes, their name is legion; on the other hand if as I think *varnas* have nothing to do with caste, there is only a single *varna* left and that is the Shudra. We are here not finding fault with anybody but only stating the facts of the case. Shudras are those who serve and are dependent upon others. India is a dependency, therefore every Indian is a Shudra. The cultivator does not own his land, the merchant his merchandise. There is hardly a Kshatriya or a Brahman who possesses the virtues which the Shudras attribute to his *varna*.

My impression is that there was no idea of high and low when the *varna* system was discovered. We are in high and no one is low in this world, therefore he who thinks he belongs to a high class is nearer high-class, and he who believes himself to be low is nearer the realm of ignorance. He has been taught by his masters that he is low. If a Brahman has knowledge, those who are without it will respect him as a master of course. But if that Brahman is pulled up by the respect thus shown to him and imagines himself to belong to a high class, he directly ceases to be a Brahman. Virtue will always command respect, but when the man of virtue thinks much of himself, his virtue ceases to have any significance for the world. Talents of all kinds are a trust and must be utilized for the benefit of society. The individual has no right to live unto himself. Indeed it is impossible to live unto oneself. We fully live unto ourselves when we live unto society.

No matter what was the position in ancient times, no one can nowadays go through life claiming to belong to a high class. Society will not willingly admit any such claim to superiority, but only under duress. The world is now wide awake. The awakening has perhaps given rise to some horror, but even as public opinion is not now prepared to accept any distinctions of high and low, which are being attacked on all sides. There is our increasing realization that all are equal as human souls. The fact that we are all the creatures of one God rules out all ideas of high and low. When we say that no one is high-born or low-born, it does not mean that all have or ought to have equal talents. All have not equal talents, equal property or equal opportunities. Still all are equal like brothers

and sisters of different dispositions, abilities and ages.

If therefore the *varna* system is a spiritual arrangement there cannot be any place in it for high and low.

There there are four *varnas*: all equal in status, and they are determined by birth. They can be changed by a person choosing another profession, but if *varnas* are set as a rule determined by birth, they tend to lose all meaning.

The *varna* system is ethical as well as economic. It recognizes the influence of previous lives and of heredity. All are not born with equal powers and similar tendencies. Neither the parents nor the state can measure the intelligence of each child. But there would be no difficulty if each child is prepared for the profession indicated by heredity, environment and the influence of former lives, no one would be lost in fruitless experiments; there would be no unfruitful competition, a spirit of contentment would pervade society and there would be no struggle for existence.

The *varna* system implies the abolition of all distinctions of high and low. If the carpenter is held to be superior to the shoemaker and the pleader or doctor is superior to both of them, no one would willingly become a shoemaker or carpenter and all would try to become pleaders or doctors. They would be entitled to do so and to be praised for doing so. That is to say, the *varna* system would be linked upon as an evil and abolished as such.

But when it is suggested that every one should practise his father's profession, the suggestion is coupled with the condition that the practitioner of every profession will earn only a living wage and no more. If the carpenter earns more than a shoemaker and the pleader or doctor more than both, every one would become a lawyer or doctor. Such is the case at present with the result that hatred has increased and there are more lawyers and doctors than are necessary. It may be that society needs the lawyer or doctor even as it needs the shoemaker and the carpenter. These four professions are here taken only as illustrations and no comparison. It would be irrelevant to stop to consider whether society has particular need or no need at all for this, that or the other profession.

This principle then is an integral part of the *varna* system that learning is not a trade and may not be used in order to secure riches. Therefore in so far as his maintenance may be necessary, the lawyer or doctor ought by practising his profession to earn only a living wage. And such was vitally the case formerly. The village *vaishya* (physician) did not earn more than the carpenter but only a living wage. In short the emoluments of all trades and professions should be equal and amount to a living wage. The number of *varnas* has no sanctity about it; their value is due to the fact that they

* *Speech in 1931.* — V. D. D.

defiantly affirmed to me: "I never may be supposed to be one or more just as we like. The wordman dramatize four of them. But when once we have assigned equal status to all, it makes little difference whether we think that there are four of them or that there is only one."

Such is the *carus* system which the Ashrams is trying to manufacture. It is like Doree Harding with her crop, trying to push back the Atlantic Ocean. I have already mentioned six two fundamental principles namely that there are no high and low, and every one is entitled to a living wage, the living wage being the same for all. It is so far as these principles with acceptance they will render a positive service to society.

It may be objected that if such a plan is accepted there will be no incentive for the acquisition of knowledge. But the object with which knowledge is acquired nowadays tends to corrupt it, and therefore the absence of an incentive will be entirely beneficial. Knowledge truly so called is intended for one's salvation, that is to say, service of mankind. Whoever has a desire to render service will certainly try to equip himself with the requisite knowledge, and his knowledge will be an ornament to himself as well as to society. Again when the temptation to acquire riches is removed, there will be a change for the better in the curriculum of studies as well as in the methods of education. There is much misuse of knowledge at present. This misuse will be reduced to the minimum in the 'new order'.

Even then there will be scope for competition in trying to be good and serviceable. And there will be no discontent or disorder as all will receive a living wage.

Man is wrongly understood today. That wrong understanding must make a way for the principles outlined above. Unconsciousness, egoism, and *carus*, should have nothing to do with interbreeding or intermarriage. A person will dine with and marry whom he likes. But as a rule he will marry some one who belongs to the same *carus* as himself. But if he marries a person belonging to another *carus*, his act will not count as a sin. A person will be boycotted not by the *carus*, but by society at large when his conduct proves such a measure. Society will be so far as possible, restrained that it is at present, and the superiority and hypocrisy which infect it now will be destroyed.

(Translated from Gujarati by V. G. D.)

BAMANAMA

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M. K. Gandhi

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MAHATMA PUBLISHING HOUSE

Box 211, 20, AHMEDABAD

THE BHARAT UNIVERSITY ON SCIENTIFIC TERMINOLOGY

Shri P. G. Shah must be thanked for drawing the attention of the public to the resolution of the Bharat University on scientific terminology in our languages, by his article, *Scientific Terminology in India*, published in the *Margin* dated 12-2-59. The relevant part of the resolution is as follows:

"That there should be a common scientific terminology for the Marathi-based science subjects for all the modern Indian languages and that the system of scientific terminology developed by Dr. Bhabhawan in his great *English-Indian Dictionary* should be adopted."

It is surprising that although the resolution in question was circulated by my letter to the University on that matter, I never received any information of it from the University and was ignorant of it till I read Shri P. G. Shah's article.

The Gujarat Vidyapeeth has published a book by name *Bhav* (Scientific Terminology). The name suggests its subject. The introduction gives the principles on which the work is based. The terminology so framed is accepted by teachers and textbook-writers of science in Gujarat and has been well-received in Gujarat.

Encouraged by this response and general acceptance, I wrote about it to the Registrar, Bharat University (26-2-1948), and proposed that it be adopted for the Matriculation examination, and requested him to place the matter before the proper authority. This seems to have been done, though I was not informed of it.

I am constrained to say that the resolution shows want of mature thought on the subject of Scientific Terminology in Gujarati and other provincial languages. It does not take cognizance of the very relevant and fundamental point of the needs of persons receiving primary, secondary or adult education and that great mass of people, who either as traders, customers or artisans, deal with objects related to science without a systematic study of science. To do that has not been perhaps the way, particularly of Indian educationists, whose meetings are set in the English language at one end and a classical language at the other and who have confined their attention to the field of university education only. They are at present carrying on through English. They now realize that they cannot escape the necessity to change the medium. And quite rightly they think that a single terminology, common for the whole of our country, could be devised and put in the shoes of the outgoing English. This they got from Dr. Bhabhawan and ordered that it should prevail in schools. I am afraid it will remain a dead ordinance or create scholars who will have to forget most of these words as soon as they enter the world.

I quite agree that as far as we can help it, we should have a common scientific vocabulary, and to that extent the resolution is right. It

showing that point. But this has an obvious flaw. These limits have been forgotten in the desire to have total uniformity. Some of these limits are:

First, a language is not mere pronunciation and combination of words in a certain grammatical order. It is the expression of the life and thought processes of a group of people. The mind and soul of a people embodies itself through their speech. Secondly, a live language is the result of the total effort of the whole people and not of a small section or class, unless the language is to be a mere learned jargon of a class however exalted. If this happens, the people suffer culturally and cease to advance and progress.

Scholars like Dr. Nagavalla and others of his way of thinking perhaps overlook this simple thing. They think that coming of terminology is a function of an academician's or philologist's studio, and they devise terms which may be true in some measure, but not in the manner in which they have to be primarily true. They set aside the claims of the language of the common man and try to implant words in the field of his living language. Naturally they do not take root. For a case in point I may cite the case of the Gandhi University's Urdu work.

The chief thing that we have to mind is that we should begin at the beginning. This is both natural and necessary. It means that the needs of primary secondary and adult education should come first. The terms to be chosen for this have to be popular to individual languages. Their retention on the ground of familiarity is essential in the interests of popular and primary education. Therefore absolutely common all-India terms are not possible without leaving the interests of these types of national education. As many of our languages are allied, many words in our languages are likely to have similar features. It is surely welcome. But we cannot make a fetish of uniformity.

Much is being made of in the name of international terminology, which is really European, and in our case, English. It must be noted that terms in various European languages are not the same. They may be similar due to their common Latin origin. Nevertheless, they differ in details as in our own allied languages like Hindustani, Gujarati, Marathi etc. It do not refer to symbols, signs, etc., which are generally common. As science is a new subject, all our languages will have freely to borrow from outside. That is all right, and it will contribute to the enrichment of our languages. But the borrowing will have to be done judiciously so that it should not injure the beauty and the texture of the language.

All this has found due recognition in the book published by the Gujarat Vidyapeeth. I am

afraid the Bombay University authorities did not care to go into all that. They do not seem to have seen the conclusions arrived at by the Scientific Terminology Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education 1949. I quote the conclusions from the report of the Committee:

"(1) Indian Scientific Terminology will therefore consist of—

"(1) An international terminology, in its English form which will be acceptable throughout India.

"(2) Terms borrowed or adapted from Hindustani or the Devanagiri languages according to the facilities of the area, but striving as far as possible to retain words of Sanskrit, Persian or other classical languages.

"(3) Terms peculiar to individual languages whose retention on the ground of familiarity may be essential in the interest of popular education, in the higher stages of education terms drawn categories (1) and (2) may be progressively substituted for them in measure time.

As far as I know these conclusions are generally accepted till now. And the Bombay University would do well to go into the question again and sound their decision, which is wrong and harmful.

VINAYAK P. DESAI

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Further enquires may please be addressed to Gnan Udyog Gandhi Hat, Bhadra, Ahmedabad.

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HARIJAN

FOUNDED BY MANKINA SANTOSH

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Two Annas

OFFICIAL AUCTIONS

In the article on Sub I have referred to the necessity of abolishing the *lewa* system (granting of licences to big traders). It pushes out small traders and creates monopolies or combinations. A similar evil prevails in the way in which official auctions are held for the disposal of government stocks. Often these stocks are worth thousands of rupees, and consist of articles which could be disposed of in small or big lots as the department might choose. Usually they are auctioned off in big lots. The result is that small traders cannot take part in the auction, and it is practically open only to a few wealthy merchants. They combine together often in secret partnerships not to bid heavily against one another and get the whole stock at a nominal price.

A few weeks ago quite a scandal was created at Wardha by one of such auctions. It appears that the Government had a very large stock of old gram and sugar, which it wanted to dispose of. If it had been auctioned off in small lots of, say, 5 to 10 bags each, several small traders of this and the neighbouring districts could have taken part in the auction and the Government could have realised a better price. But the whole stock consisting of hundreds of bags was put up as a single lot, with the result that only a handful of wealthy dealers took part in it. As usual they had combined among themselves and it is alleged that they purchased gram at a price of half an anna per *seer* and sugar at 2 or 3 pice per *seer*. Though there was some amount of bad stuff in it, after careful sifting, the purchaser is said to have made thousands of rupees by this transaction within a few days. The subject became a scandal of the city and was naturally exploited by local political groups. Every kind of allegation has been made against the Ministry and the officers concerned. Whether anyone is guilty of reprehensible conduct in the matter or no, this much can be said with certainty that where articles are divisible, they should never be sold in too large lots. They discourage the small trader and also raise the price for the consumer by creating an unnecessary, large middleman. A small trader is indispensable in the process of distribution. Not so the whole-sale purchaser, if he is not a producer himself.

Will governments and similar public insti-

tutions make it a rule that portions of their government stocks of whatever kind should be sold in as small lots as is reasonably possible?

Wardha 10-6-46

K. S. MANDREKAR

SECOND CLASS SLEEPING CARS

Last week I ventured a tip to Dehkan. Luckily I could get sleeping berths reserved during the entire journey both ways. From Wardha to Delhi it was a O. I. P. car in which no special sleeping compartments are provided. The result is that passengers without sleeping reservations are obliged to vacate the compartment at 5 p.m. and find accommodation elsewhere or fill up the gangways, unless those who have reserved their berths are magnanimous enough to forgive their rights and accommodate same. As a heavy extra charge of Rs. 10 per night per berth is levied, this magnanimity is rather rare and the scene which was enacted at about 5 p.m. in my compartment because of the unwillingness of some of the berthless passengers to go elsewhere until compelled deprived me of what remains the half-berth which I allowed to myself could have been.

Compared with this, the special sleeping car on the R. R. system from Delhi to Dehkan and back was very comfortable. As there were non-sleeping compartments also, those who had not reserved sleeping berths did not enter this compartment at all. It was a long compartment with 14 lower and 14 upper berths on each side and a broad gangway between the two rows. The window-panes and the Indian style lavatories were not quite satisfactory, but otherwise this sleeping car provides a good model.

There was also a sleeping car on the return journey from Delhi to Wardha. This time it was an M. S. M. R. model. It seemed as if no luggage was spaced to provide as much discomfort as possible at Rs. 10 per night and the normal second class fare for day to passengers, who presumed to purchase sleep while several fellow travellers could not get even a seat on a bench in spite of a second class ticket and had to fill up narrow gangways and an or stand on their luggage during the whole night. It was a long car divided into cabins for 6 passengers each both for day and night. There were 6 berths, 2 lower, 2 middle and 2 upper ones. The space between the opposite rows was extremely narrow, perhaps

not fourth of that in the E. L. R. compartment. The height between the berths was such that one could not sit erect on one's berth if they were all down, so that either one must lie all late or all must occupy only the lower berths during the day, and not attempt to get out of the berth during the whole night. The middle berth could not be lowered or raised, without completely emptying the lower berths of both life and luggage. There was an iron ladder provided to get to the upper berth, which when lowered so hung at its lower end that the passenger on the lower berth might injure himself by an unconscious movement of the body during sleep. The window-panes had a latch which if not carefully closed in order to close the window might injure the fingers. It was designed to raise itself while raising the pane, but it could be done only by a strong man. There was a narrow corridor, gangway on one side of the cabin, through which passengers had to enter and leave the train, bring their luggage, and go to the lavatories. It was all occupied by "non-reserved" passengers and their luggage.

Indian-style Lavatories

About Indian-style lavatories in railway trains, the less said the better. It would seem that they are designed by people who have no idea as to how they are used. They are perhaps told that a wash-basin, a water-tap and a lavatory seat must be provided and they are somehow provided within the space available. Sometimes you find the tap at a height of about 2 feet, sometimes 5 or 6 inches above the flooring. It may be on your back, front or sides, or even at a distance beyond the reach of the hand. The springs are often so hard that only a strong man might be able to make the taps work. The spout made the basin so close to the edge that water cannot run directly on your hands, as generally required by Indians.

The seat in this particular car of the M. E. M. Ry. was a raised Indian-style contrivance, which, I think, is better than the sink-like seats found elsewhere. But it was too small for even a thin person like me, and the wooden board was set with such hard springs that a child or light-bodied person might be hurt if it did not jump out of it quickly. Actually a child which was taken in once or twice got very much frightened by its quick bumping action and took time to be consoled.

I do not think I ever travelled in a more inconveniently designed Second or Intermediate compartment than in the Second class sleeping car of the Grand Trunk Express on the 24th and 25th June. The compartment would be good enough for a party of children under 12, if there was a strong-bodied Superintendent travelling with them, with a few alterations in the berths to prevent accidents. In that case, each cabin might carry even 8 children. For adults it deserves to be condemned.

Wardha, 29-6-49

M. N. BHAKTAVATSALA

THE SWISS MANAGEMENT OF LANGUAGES

[The writer, Mr. Donald C. Townsend, is an American, who has lived in India and wants to write about India, but is stopped in my account for some years for domestic reasons. At present he is in Switzerland. The following is his answer to the questions I put to him regarding the way Switzerland manages its various languages. In the course of a covering letter to this article Mr. Townsend writes:

"The Swiss method could be applied in India if only we can get rid of a sense of inferiority or linguistic race and caste pride and by writing their soul back to the deeply Indian, and Hindu, roots, Bengali, Marathi and Hindustani."

"The great wisdom and tolerance of what here is referred to as much is taken for granted and common when anyone has. New law provisions are made in the Swiss Constitution on questions of other languages or religions and yet there is no sense of superiority, proudly nationality etc. etc. One-sidedness here friends who in conversation speak in French and English. Individuals like a pinch work with and when they find that the more apt word to convey their idea is to be found only in German, and we tell into the same habit."

I might only add that the answers sent here with him are shared with the Librarian of The Municipal Library who is here checked with some in charge of the department of law at the University of Lausanne. L."

—D. C. T.

If we are to appreciate the way in which the Swiss have dealt with the linguistic question, we must go directly to the Federal Constitution where, in two very short Articles the basis of the Government's policy is stated.

Switzerland, though a strong national unity, is made up of four races, German, French, Italian and Romansh, each of which retains its national language.

Article 116 of the Federal Constitution states:

German, French, Italian and Romansh are the four National Languages of Switzerland.

German, French and Italian are declared to be the official languages of the Confederation.

There is here no possibility of a question of superiority or popularity arising, and as we shall see, this multiplicity of tongues which might so easily have poisoned the national unity of Switzerland has been handled in such a way that it offers no difficulties. Wherever you go in the country you hear conversations carried on in a mixture of two or three or more languages which blend as they flow, like water poured into water.

Among the domains of life over which the Cantons (Provinces) retained their individual control when, in joining the Confederation, they ceded certain powers to the Federal Government, was that of Education. Though subsidies may be granted from the Centre, the Government does not mix in the Cantonal responsibility save as provided under Article 22 which says:

The Confederation has the right to create in addition to the already existing Federal Polytechnic School a Federal University and other schools of higher education or to subsidise institutions of like kind.

The Canton shall protect a primary education of an adequate efficiency which shall be placed under the exclusive direction of civil authority. This is obligatory and in public schools it is free.

The public schools may be attended by those professing any religious faith without any disadvantage whatever in respect of attendance or tuition.

The Confederation will take necessary measures against those Cantons which may not live up to this law.

Article 27 In addition

In order to help the Cantons fulfil their duties those regarding primary education, necessary educational aid are granted.

The organization, direction and surveillance of the primary school is the responsibility and right of the Cantons under provision of the Federal Confederation's management.

Bearing these provisions in mind we may turn to the detailed answer to your questions.

1. What is the medium of instruction in Schools and Universities?

2. Are there different universities for those of French, Italian or German? Or are there three sections for every department of education in every university?

3. What is the educational arrangement in areas where there are mixed populations?

The medium of instruction in Schools and Universities corresponds to the linguistic area where in the Federal Polytechnic School and the University of Fribourg, where professors lecture in their own language, be it French or German. Even in the Italian Canton of Geneva where Romansh is spoken, a knowledge of Italian is required too. Students wishing to specialize in a language other than that of their Canton, go to that Canton where the desired language is currently used. There are, therefore, no special sections for the various departments of education in any universities. Where the population is mixed, students are obliged to make their studies in the official language of the Canton or go to another language area.

4. What is the language of the Swiss Press and? Do members speak in one of the three languages? May please? Are their speeches interpreted in the other two languages? Or is every member expected to understand all three languages?

The language of the Parliament is German on the seat of the Federal Government in Bern, but even if the French, German and Italian texts do not correspond exactly, it is not only the German which is accepted. Members address the Parliament in their mother tongue. No speeches are translated. As we shall see, most members know the three Official Languages.

5. What is the language in which laws are first drafted?

The laws of each Canton are drafted in the language of the Canton. Federal laws are drafted simultaneously in German, French and Italian. In the Romansh area may be translated from the Italian into Romansh when necessary or when a demand is made. That is a local question.

6. What is the language of the Courts? Courts cases publications, etc.?

Criminal Courts and publicists are of course in the language of the Canton. But here as in the Federal Courts each lawyer uses his own language while the judgment is pronounced in the language of the accused. Instructions of the Court are given in the language of the region concerned.

Federal Government publications are in the three Official Languages, and are published simultaneously.

7. What is the language in which ministers as well as officers, and their subordinates carry on their official correspondence etc. among themselves? If their mother tongue are different?

Again, each man speaks in his own tongue. But as they all speak each other's languages—or mostly all—conversations naturally fall into one or another or as is often the case, are a free mixture of them all.

But as throughout Switzerland two languages in addition to one's own are obligatory in the schools, it is rare to find educated people who do not speak the three Official tongues. English being very popular, students often choose it as a supplementary course.

Civil servants, such as postmen are sent to pass periods of apprenticeship in different Cantons to master the languages which they must know.

8. Are there common technical terms, designs, plans, etc. in all the three languages?

Not necessarily. Newly coined scientific terms may or may not be common to all three. English technical terms, for instance, are often heard in factories and radio shops. The same applies to new French scientific or technical words. Not so much with German and Italian.

9. Which of the three is most common in technical or popular?

Each language enjoys popularity in its own area. None is more fashionable or considered superior to another. Nor is there any rivalry for precedence. To a Swiss who speaks several languages, it is immaterial which he uses.

10. Does the French, the German, and the Italian of Switzerland differ from the ones of France, Germany and Italy?

No. Not essentially though dialects have crept in in places.

11. Do Swiss Universities have any connection or affiliation with the Universities of those countries?

As Universities are each one independent and autonomous, whatever relations they may or may not have with universities of other countries, depends on their own choice.

The application of the spirit of Article 144 would be very difficult if it did not coincide with the general desire of all Swiss. But it seems to them that nothing could be more contrary to the respect which all members of the Confederation owe to each other than the violation of the principle of equality between the three National Languages. Philippe Monod, Professor of Law, University of Geneva, *Le Nouveau Journal de Genève*, Vol. VI.

HARIJAN

July 10,

1949

SARVODAYA CLUB

Shri Kaka Kalelkar has forwarded to me the following received by him from a correspondent with a request that I should comment upon it in the *Harjan* :

"I have a suggestion to make for your consideration and consideration is the proper person if you approve of it. I take my clue from the Rotary Club and would suggest that a Sarvodaya Club be started in India. The main purpose at which should be the propagation of the ideas that Mahatma Gandhi must and gave his life for through periodical meetings in which work of importance would be invited to speak on these ideas. The membership of this Club would of course be open to all without distinction of caste, colour, creed or nationality and the subject would be "Service to Humanity and Propagation of Ideals of Peace and Non-violence". The monthly subscription should be nominal say Rs 1 or Rs 2. I am sure and all important people of each centre would be glad to join it. The main difference is the Rotary Club and the proposed Sarvodaya Club would be that whereas the Rotary Club has mainly a Western outlook on the basis, the Sarvodaya Club will be necessarily developed on the basis of Indian Culture and traditions so necessary to give the lead to the world at present. As it develops, district and provincial circles would be formed and Government allowed on the lines of Rotary Clubs. I am thinking that in a short time this Club would develop into not only an All India Club but an International All World Club and then it would contribute more to bring peace to this world troubled world of the present day than any other single organisation at present existing.

We must understand the difference between institutions of the type of the Rotary Club and a Sarvodaya or Gandhian type of institution. While propagation of ideas through speeches, study, discussion, story-telling, drama, songs, display of articles used by Gandhiji, etc. have a place it must be realised that in the establishment of Sarvodaya or social and economic order of the Gandhian conception their place is only a subsidiary one. If it assumed primary importance, you may succeed in having something attractive to look at, but you cannot propagate Sarvodaya. A Sarvodaya Club or Mandal can be started only by having a post programme of work with the following stipulations :

(1) A part of the work must be the production of something beneficial to the community with one's own hands.

(2) Another part of it must be such as will clean the surroundings and improve the life of the community.

(3) It must be a kind of work which even the poor and unemployed can themselves do and thus self-respectingly help themselves.

(4) Its subscription must be in the form of something produced by its members.

Then, in India, a Sarvodaya Club can be started only through a regular programme of joint speaking and working. Without these I cannot conceive of a Sarvodaya Club for the propagation of Gandhian ideals.

If these ideas do not attract one, the so-called Sarvodaya Club would degenerate or develop into more fashionable meetings for debate and entertainment. Since the scope of its discussions would be limited to "Gandhism" and "Indian Culture and Traditions", its sphere would be necessarily narrower than that of the Rotary Club and therefore it can never vie with it. Instead of taking the clue from the Rotary Club I would ask the reader and the correspondent to take it from Richard B. Gregg's *A Dilemma for Non-violence*, published by the Navajivan Press. The Rotary Club cannot furnish a model for Sarvodaya.

I would also urge the correspondent and all those who think on similar lines to abandon the sense of rivalry about "Indian Culture and Traditions" and the habit of making too a gross general false distinction between Western outlook and Eastern outlook and so forth. I, for one, do not understand where the West ends and the East begins, and whereas do we see the superlative qualities of Eastern outlook is our life. The example of Gandhiji seems to believe very honestly that it was the Gita that gave him the necessary courage to kill out of the selfish human beings mankind had produced. Shall we grade ourselves upon this specimen of Eastern culture? Or, shall we point to the Hindu-Muslim-Club killings, abductions and incendiary acts of 1947-48 as proper examples of the high culture which our people had inherited from India, Greece and the teachings of the Gita? Or, shall we gaze ourselves upon our institutions of untouchability and high and low castes and our provincial, sectarian and linguistic quarrels? These are things deep down in our blood. Is that the cultural heritage which we shall restore and develop? Our false self-praise cannot but lead to these results. If we wish to progress on right lines let us shed vanity and humbly accept that to whatever supreme height of noble thoughts our surprises and a few individuals might have attained, our mass life is much gone down, both in knowledge and culture, and is much behind the masses of other countries, and must humbly learn from them. These are verities which have to be abandoned.

All mankind is one, and throughout the world it has developed two and only two cultural traits : the Satanic on the lover of power, pomp and leisure ; and the Sannyasi or the lover of noble virtues, simplicity and work. Every country has its share of both, as ourselves.

¹From B. S. S. Foreign etc. it is 1949.

Gandhiji was a representative of the latter and he found his models as well as his tools and ideas gone in every part of the world. It is only the farmer that becomes regional. There are no regions in the latter. The Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel of my conception cannot be one who takes too high a view of one particular regional culture.

Wardha, 28-6-49

K. G. MOHAPATRA

SALT

The Salt Tax was abolished as Gandhiji's insistence as soon as power came into the hands of popular institutions. Considering the cost of manufacture of salt, the tax was disproportionately heavy and as people expected that as its abolition salt would become cheap. But as this expectation has not been fulfilled, there is disappointment and complaints are pouring in.

On studying the information I have received I find that there is some defect in the administrative machinery and adequate attention has not been given to remove that defect. It seems that salt was not dear simply on account of the tax, heavy and unpopular as it was, but it was so also on account of the system of licensing by sections which led to monopolisation of the business in the hands of a few traders. This system was adopted in order to facilitate the collection of the tax. Just as the zamindars of C. P. were originally merely contractors for the collection of land revenue, so the right to manufacture and sell salt is given to a few licensed traders. The price of an article of daily necessity becomes high when its sale is entrusted to a monopolist, even though it might be a charitable institution for service. If the monopolist is a hypocrite, the loss and the losses. When the salt tax was abolished, the license system should also have been abolished, but it does not seem to have been done even now. The result is that while the manufacturer of salt sells it at 6 as per mound, the licensee (dealer) has to be paid at Rs. 1 per mound. 6 as. per mound would work out at less than a pice per lb., Rs. 1 per mound at more than 2½ pice per lb.

Besides, there is also one more feature in this system meant for the convenience of the licensee and tax collection, namely the moral system under which each licensee or group of licensees is allotted a different area for supplying salt. In this system it is not the convenience of the public, which has been kept in mind and, therefore, it is necessary that it should be changed. For instance, though Mithana in North Gujarat is very near the Kharghoda centre, salt has to be carried to that place from Bhavnagar. Whether it is any longer necessary to retain this moral system is a subject which should be reviewed and if at all it is considered necessary, the areas should be altered to suit the convenience of the people.

Another factor which contributes to the

dearness of salt is transport and other trade expenses. On the abolition of the tax salt has become cheap at the site of manufacture but in transporting it to other places the freight charges, which include not only the cost of conveyance but the profits also of the transporting agents, and retail merchants' profits are all added to its cost and thus the additional cost is in no way less than the old tax itself. These expenses, I understand, come to about 14 as. per mound so that the licensee's rate of about 2½ pice per lb. reaches 5 pice per lb. at the other end.

Besides, due to the shortage of railway waggons and the resultant corruption in the railways, salt does not reach certain places in time, thus creating scarcity and black markets. Though on the one hand railways and motor transport has facilitated quick movement it has, on the other hand, routed out the various modes of indigenous transport and has thus crippled the merchants and the people. Some of the modes of burden have almost become extinct. When there were no railways or motor-transport, people had caravans of mules, bullocks, camels, horses, mules, dandies and even elephants and in that way Indian articles used to reach as far as Europe. If the system of modern transport breaks down suddenly, there can be famine in one place and plenty in another though the distance between the two may not be more than a hundred miles. It is also possible to create exactly opposite conditions—famine in places of plenty and plenty in barren areas—by these modern transport facilities. Thus people in Kheda may be unable to get salt and arrange in their own places, but people living in Bombay and Ahmedabad might get their salt at their doorstep brought from that very district. Similarly, best foodgrains, fruits, etc., of C. P. may have to be bought in Bombay.

There should be an arrangement whereby, along with railways and motor-transport, there should exist other means of transport as well but how this can be achieved is a baffling question. It is evident that we cannot do without having both these means of transport and we have to put up with the present difficulties as long as we do not find a way out.

If the Congress Committees would render service, they can think over these problems and help both the Government and the people in solving them. Salt merchants also can play a part, because they too are bound under the license system. If these defects can be removed with the help of experienced men, I reckon that salt can be made available in any part of the country at a retail rate of half anna per lb. even in the present order of all-round high prices. The wholesale rate will be still less. Even under the present system according to the prices fixed by Government, salt should sell at 7½ to 8 pice per lb. all over India, but on account of the

defective transport system and black marketing, it is not strictly in the villages at the rate.

It seems that Government should stop the license system and the ration system also should be revised. Government is considering the problems of transport but the necessities of the country are growing so rapidly every day that they should investigate what part animal transport can play along with railway and motor transport. This should be viewed as a second line of defence. To think of creating a second line after the front line collapses is like digging a well after fire breaks out. Even though the front line may be strong and working, the second line should be always maintained in working order as if the front line had crashed. If we think on these lines, we should also see the necessity for keeping our animal power in good working order. The Transport and Communications Department should consider the problem of reviving animal transport as an important duty and charge. This is neither less important nor less difficult than the problems of transport by railway motor steamer and air.

Washu, 3-4-66 R. S. HANDEWALA

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

ECONOMIC JUSTICE

Under Gandhiji's leadership, India attained political freedom through more or less a non-violent struggle. Had we all followed Mahatma Gandhi both in letter and spirit, we would not have had today to qualify our freedom as mainly political. Within a small period, then, of thirty years India would have undergone a metamorphosis out of all recognition. As it is, as a result of Gandhiji's insistence on the removal of untouchability, equality of women with men and a spirit of tolerance towards all religions, the Hindu society has made considerable advance in the field of social progress. The reason is that to that extent we fulfilled part of the Constructive Programme. Those, however, who take a broad retrospective view of the past 33 years of constructive work will agree that we have signally failed in carrying out certain other items of the programme inasmuch as the economic structure of society has remained the same. Swamy for Gandhiji meant nothing more and nothing less than complete followership of the Constructive Programme. But with the attainment of independence many a Congressman from top to bottom, has realised that not only was his belief in non-violence a matter of policy but that his advocacy of the Constructive Programme as well was motivated by political expediency. It would be improper to attribute an animosity to all such Congressmen. Even today, however, the folkist among them exhibit weakness to promote the Constructive Programme with faith and vigour. It is perhaps more out of inertia than conviction. This is especially true with regard to *shudra* and village indus-

tries. Gandhiji, three months before his assassination, confessed as much when he wrote in the *Harvard* thus: "The plain matter of fact is that I am not the narrowest soul that I had feared, I once was. Mine is a voice in wilderness. Those who bring in the political field support *shudra* do so because it has seemed that *shudra* Today three cheers belong not to *shudra* but to mill cloth for we labour under the delusion that but for the manufactures from our mills, *shudra* would have to go naked." Those who have lost faith in the possibility of the economic of *shudra* do not generally dispute the superior democracy of a society based on a planned decentralised economy wherein machinery would play a role deliberately restricted. But they have judged the pros and cons of the present alternatives before the country and have for the time being, at least, decided in favour of industrialisation. In the overall picture, therefore, of the economic system, which they want to introduce in India, *shudra* and village industries have been allotted a secondary place, if they have not been relegated to the background. Big schemes for large scale industrialisation have been undertaken and mechanisation of agriculture is in full swing. This is being done with a view to increase the industrial output and the agricultural production in the country respectively. Expansion of the nation's armed forces is proceeding at a rapid pace and they are being equipped with the most modern weapons of war. Those in power in all slavery want to make India strong and perhaps to raise her to the status of a "Big Fifth" among the powers of the world. They probably represent the view of the majority of the Indian people. It is well known however that Gandhiji wanted India to lead the world along quite a different path, and it is equally well known that he failed to carry conviction in this respect to the great and closest of his colleagues.

Thus it is obvious that there is no prospect of the Government undertaking any nationwide experiment in introducing Gandhian economy in the country at present or in the near future. On the contrary, the emphasis is in just the opposite direction. We, constructive workers, are mostly expected to work in villages. We, therefore, should be more concerned with the measures that the various governments adopt for the development of villages and especially that of agriculture. Some developments are taking place which will put the village workers in a very awkward position. On the one hand, when we, while trying to serve the poor, shall be preparing the soil of decentralised economy by our presence in *shudra* and village industries, the Governments, which are also helping to promote them, would, on the other hand, be proceeding with their plans for the mechanisation of agriculture. Simultaneously with the installation of big industrial plants in the cities

and suburbs, the countryside is going to be invaded by tractors and other modern agricultural machinery. At present the greatest outside check on rapid industrialization is the shortage of available machinery. Yet the appearance today of even a single tractor in every district, for example, and the demonstration of its working attended by Government publicity is bound to impress the peasants and make them machinery-minded. We know how cow-mills and motor-trucks have respectively come to replace hand-mills and bullock-carts. The shape of things to come is obvious to him who would give a moment's thought to the present policy of the Prussian Government.

The problem before us—rillage workers—however, is not how we should hold on to our economies of bloodlet against the overwhelming odds. If after knowing the vast possibilities of the electric and new power of the atomic, energy is sweeping material plenty, we deliberately reject or rather restrict the employment of highly complicated machinery for the production of the primary necessities for the millions, we do so on some ideologically sound grounds. We believe that material plenty beyond a certain limit does not conduce to the moral or spiritual development of men, more often than not it acts as a hindrance to it. Besides in a highly industrialized society, as a result of the comparative ignorance of the masses about the complex processes of planned economy, it is the few politicians at the top and the few experts in the various sciences who would hold real power in spite of the so-called democratic form of government. The problem before us is a little different.

As the first half of the 20th century is coming to a close, the struggle for livelihood is getting sharper and sharper every day almost all over the world. The materialist philosophy of life, which had its birth in the West and which emphasizes only the economic aspect of life to the probably total exclusion of the others, is as it were sweeping the whole world back by its skirts and the services it creates. He who runs may see that after the second World War the forces of Socialism and more especially of Communism are on the aggressive not only in part of Europe but in many Asian countries also. In India too the rage of labour and peasant unrest are unquenchable. The deadly struggle for supremacy between Communism and Capitalism goes on continuously whether in a subtle manner as during peace time or openly as during wars. It has resulted in general disregard for moral values on either side. As if to match the unscrupulousness of the Communists in the employment of any means to achieve political ends we find the unscrupulousness of the Capitalists who, not content with their already ill-gotten money, resort, as a rule, to profiteering and black-marketing at the expense of the hungry and child millions!

It is such a world around us that we find ourselves in both in lurch and stress. What with its pre-occupation with the tremendous problems created by the partition of the country and the problem of the integration of the States, the Union Government has not been in a position to place before the people any definite picture of the economy which it holds as the ideal to be reached. The Congress, however, has declared its objective and has described it as a Co-operative Commonwealth. Though it is claimed to be a good via media between the two opposite systems symbolized by Russia and America, it is vague and unappealing to the common people. The Government, on the one hand, is preoccupied with its policy of rapid and progressive industrialization of the country. On the other, it is finding it difficult to follow this up by a policy of immediate nationalization of the means of production—land and industries. In spite of vast investments, it seems as if it is failing to make approximation of its difficulties in this respect by the letter and the peasantry. The result is that the number of agricultural and especially industrial disputes is on the increase. And they are bound to increase until either the Government is compelled to change its policy or until it succeeds in effectively suppressing those who demand the change.

That the present economic system is based on injustice is a truth which, I hope, none of us will deny. What we are doing, in our own way, to restore justice? Are we to rely wholly on the Government to take the initiative or and when it acts then or are we to fight this particular injustice with as much earnestness as we do untouchability or communalism? If we bury our heads merely like in a deliberate conscience at the conflict, we may be ignored as mere vagabonds by the large masses of people whom it is our desire to serve. If, on the other hand, we are to make an attempt, through service and sacrifice, to recommend to the people at large the method of Truth and Non-violence, which is Gandhi's greatest legacy to us, as a unproved and effective substitute for the other forms of struggle, we must respectfully ask our elders here to show us the way. They should lay down for us a guiding policy in the light of Gandhi's practice and precept for the solution of the great economic problem of today.

So far as the rich were concerned, Gandhi believed in the Trusteeship theory. "When your money by all means. But understand that your wealth is not yours, it belongs to the people. Take what you require for your legitimate needs and use the remainder for society," thus wrote he to the rich under the caption *A Dilemma faced in the Harrow* in about January, 1948. With reference to this advice, Shri Shanmugaswami asked here, "Why first cure crimes and then use them for society? As society today is contaminated, the means of earning crimes are bound to be innumerable." Gandhi, in a reply

formulated the advice which he gave to two sign-
relents but partly conceded Shri Shrivastava
point saying, "I have no hesitation in endorsing
the proposition that generally rich men, and for
that matter most men, are not particular as to
the way they make money." He however never
recommended the spoliation of the property of
private owners. He wanted "to restrict the en-
joyment so as to avoid all pauperism, conse-
quent dissensions and the hideously ugly con-
trast that exist today between the lives and the
surroundings of the rich and the poor." The
Provincial Governments have generally found
no difficulty in enforcing social reforms through
legislation. They have earned credit for being
bold and firm in their policy with regard to pro-
hibition, removal of untouchability and suppres-
sion of concubinage. Those of us who are
working in these fields of constructive work find
it easy to co-operate wholeheartedly with the
Government, but such is not the case with those
who have chosen to work among the laborers
or the *hissars*. For the Governments are rather
reluctant to go ahead with legislation for the
affirmative restriction, in the interests of the poor,
of the enjoyment of private property by the rich.
They have no doubt made legislation, which are
but small and halting. It cannot be said that
the Governments are waiting for the conversion
of the rich who would of their own accord re-
gard themselves as trustees of the wealth they
possess. Gandhi himself has said, "By the
non-violent method, we seek not to destroy the
Capitalist, we seek to destroy Capitalism. We
write the Capitalist to regard himself as a
trustee for those on whom he depends for the
welfare, the retention and the increase of his
capital. We need the order not for its own-
sake. If Capital is power, as it is now." Gan-
dhi did believe in the change of heart. But
did he on that account wait indefinitely for Mr.
Charbaji to relent and make him a gift of India's
independence? Gandhi taught us to hate Bri-
tish Imperialism, not the British. We may not,
therefore, hate the Capitalists—the industrial
lives and the surroundings—but we may legiti-
mately get active to destroy Capitalism.

Had Gandhi survived the peaceful solution
of the communal problem, he would have turned
his attention to the great problem of poverty,
to changing the present separate structure of
society. In fact, he had already begun applying
his mind to the allied economic problems of
inflation, rationing and black-marketing as was
evident from his assistance on destruction of food-
grains. The two articles on Socialism which he
wrote in the *Harvey* in July, 1947 showed his
concern over the growing appeal of Socialism to
the youth of the country. Only he wanted the
Socialists, and incidentally us also, to realize

that "Socialism began with the first con-
vent and that only truthful, non-violent and
pore-hearted Socialists will be able to establish
a Socialist Society in India and the world." He
further added later that "Socialism will not be
reached by any other means. Satyagraha can
rid society of all evils, political, economic and
moral."

All along during his life-time Gandhi took
delight in accepting challenges to his method of
truth and Non-violence thrown by difficult
situations. It is now a historical fact that his
people made the greatest appeal to the masses
when it was presented to them through action.
He met the last challenge in his faith by laying
down his life and triumphed in death.

The greatest of his followers do not profess,
in true humility, to be capable of doing a frac-
tion of what he could do. Even collectively we
might fail to achieve anything substantial. But
should the prospect of a future date the silence
amongst us from exploring the further possibili-
ties of Satyagraha especially in the field of re-
storing economic justice in society."

A. Wadkar

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—Gandhi

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TWO ANNAS

THE BURNING SINK

A sister whose heart bleeds for the Harijans and who has, in her own humble way, been trying to contribute her bit to their uplift, writes from Calcutta:

The cities have not in its Bengal and the hills (in Telengana) and Corbetta Rural District are in a most deplorable condition. The wells at some of the hills are in such a condition that they might come down at any time and bury the women, children and men inside. In Corbetta District there is no water for the rural water with the result that even with a slight shower of rain water collects and stands for days together and everybody has to wade through it several times during the day in order to reach their dwellings. There are many other hardships which these people are facing day in and day out and year in and year out.

"I do not know whom to approach, why would have a sympathetic ear for these people. The old person who used to take have interest in their problems and whom we could approach (however busy he might have been otherwise) is no more. The people of these houses are threatening to go on strike and I have advised them not to do so but how long will I be able to hold them back under such circumstances?"

I have myself seen the condition of these houses and the deplorable conditions under which people live there. They constitute a blot on the Metropolis and its Corporation. The present Administrator of the Corporation is very sympathetic to the Harijan cause and I have his assurance that he would do whatever he can to ameliorate the conditions in Harijan houses at Calcutta. There are Harijan Sewak Sangh people too in Calcutta. I am sure if they make a combined effort and approach the Administration, they will meet with a ready response. But considering that things just now are all at once bad and severe in Calcutta, the reformer would not despair even if the Corporation fails to provide the badly needed relief. They can band themselves together and approach the municipal philanthropists of whom there are as many in Calcutta, with the beggar's bowl for help. They can then induce the affected Harijans to learn to help themselves by providing voluntary labour. They will succeed if they themselves set the example by putting their shoulder to the wheel. In this way very little money can go a very long way in relieving the distress of the most needy and the most deserving. So long as it is possible for one to relieve the distress of

a single Harijan family by personal effort, there need be no dependency—everyone else will see—Even a tiny grain of duty well performed saves one from mighty fear.

Dadar, 8-7-49

PYARELAL

NOTES

Dignity!

Members of the Harijan Municipal Corporation on Thursday objected to the provision of Rs. 15,000 to buy a new car for the Mayor of Bombay but the Mayor sustained the proposed expenditure.

Mr. Nankar Jeeval Chaudhary said, a car costing Rs. 15,000 was not necessary to uphold the Mayor's dignity. A cheaper English car, costing about Rs. 12,000 would serve the Mayor's important position as well as be consistent with his dignity.

Mr. D. V. Patel, leader of the Congress Party, said, in the old days the President of the Harijan Corporation was not provided with a car by the Municipality. He used to have his own. When he left Mr. Joseph Kapadia became the President, he was without a car and the Corporation felt that it was not in keeping with the dignity of the President to walk all his way to the Corporation Hall, so he was provided with a car and subsequently all Mayors had their own cars." (The Times of India, 25-6-49)

The report as it stands does not add to the dignity either of the Senators or the Congress Party. The only difference between the Socialists and the Congressmen appears to be whether the car should cost Rs. 10,000 or Rs. 15,000. Nobody seems to have asked whether the present Mayor needed a car at all.

The City Fathers of the name of Mr. Joseph Kapadia, mostly coming from aristocratic or the upper middle class, might well have "felt that it was not in keeping with the dignity of the President to walk all his way to the Corporation Hall." In the age of adult franchise democracy, it is perfectly dignified to go on foot or in a tram car or bus. But if it was necessary to provide a car to meet the Mayor's time and to enable him to discharge his functions according to scheduled time, he should have one if he has none. But why should he want a car, if he already possesses one? And, even the Mayor holds office for a year, what is done with the car left by the retiring Mayor? Is a ten or fifteen-thousand rupee car made of such stuff that when the retiring Mayor quits office, it becomes a thoroughly useless machine?

Wardha, 2-7-49

Dr. Jyoti Mehta

It appears that we owe Dr. Mehta the credit of first referring to Dr. Jyoti Mehta was not carefully read. I was, however, when I wrote the note that Dr. Jyoti Mehta was "drawing substantial salary from various posts" and had indicated that fact in the title. When the doctor relinquished was additional remuneration for all doctoral duties, where it is usual to receive no salary, to pay through which it is necessary for the officer's maintenance.

It is also usual to have a free service to about upon receiving the word "Honorary" before the official designation. I gave credit to Dr. Jyoti Mehta for relinquishing that vanity also. He of course drew his full salary in his capacity as Chief Adviser to Government on matters pertaining to Baroda State. He himself drew my attention to this fact immediately upon reading my note.

Wardha, 2-7-46

Special Food Commissioner

In the drive for making India self sufficient in respect of Food the Government of India has appointed Shri K. K. Paul erstwhile Food Minister for C. P. and Bihar as Commissioner for Food Production. Shri Paul's administration of C. P. and Bihar is reckoned as particularly successful and it is hoped that similar success will attend his efforts in the all-India sphere. Of course much will depend upon the co-operation which provincial governments, government officers and the people will give him in his work. In the absence of these he cannot be expected to work miracles. He brings with him industry, perseverance and intelligence as his share. Others must contribute their quota to the India's guarantee with wholesome food.

Wardha, 4-7-46

K. C. M.

Harigan Sevak Sangh

The following were two of the resolutions passed at the last Central Board meeting of the Harigan Sevak Sangh held on the 25th and 26th May, 1946 under the Chairmanship of Shri K. K. Ramdaswami Aiyar.

(1) To The Hon'ble Government's order regarding removal of name 'Harigan' from Institute and given to Voluntary Agencies.

"In the interest of complete removal of an undesirable tag from their name, the work of the Sangh should be expanded so as to include all classes of people who need our service especially the Adivasi, untouchable and other backward classes and to that we must separate the workers to give a further impetus to the movement in that direction. It therefore is recommended as follows—

(a) That in all institutions run by the K. K. Sangh either people especially the backward class be attached upon a free basis of the need under the same name and conditions.

(b) To request the Provincial Government State Police and the Central Government to do likewise in their institutions.

(c) To request the Government of all States institutions run by private individuals to adopt at least 25 per cent of Harijans into them."

Dr. Jyoti Mehta was a member of the Central Board of the Harigan Sevak Sangh.

(2) To request the Government of India to consider the removal of the name 'Harigan' from the Central Board of the Harigan Sevak Sangh.

The Central Board of the Harigan Sevak Sangh has decided to continue the name 'Harigan' from the Central Board of the Harigan Sevak Sangh. The Central Board of the Harigan Sevak Sangh has decided to continue the name 'Harigan' from the Central Board of the Harigan Sevak Sangh.

[27 APRIL 1946]

(From the Harigan Sangh, 26th May 1946)

War Experiences

Mr. Gandhi as Chairman, strongly approve of war. He said that he would join in it at least not voluntarily, but passively, and that he would not join in it at all. He said that he would not join in it at all. He said that he would not join in it at all.

In World War I he was the Chairman, and war was declared to him and he was not likely to join in it. The death sentence was pronounced and when he was released in 1915 he, reluctantly, refused the death sentence, offered him. When World War II hit he was 54 and not likely to be drafted, but still refused to register and so was jailed once more. He tells the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

"I would refuse to go to war and I would refuse to pay taxes. Governments would change. People can do without war."

(From a talking with a correspondent)

EDUCATIONAL POSSIBILITIES OF THE CRAFT OF SPINNING

II

[Note: Part I of this article was published in the issue of 1941/42. Unfortunately the notes could not be continued. I hope the reader will forgive me for the delay.]

'Sutra Patra'

1. Physics

PROBLEM	CORRELATION
1. Moments of the "rod"	Stress and Friction — sliding friction and rolling friction
2. Should the surface of the "rod" be horizontally or vertically placed with the fibres of the wool?	Centrifugal Force
3. Why should the properties of the spinning rod beyond the "patra" be equal on the two sides of the "patra"?	Lower principle
4. Should the forces applied on the two ends of the rod be equal?	Lower principle
5. The rod in the hands has a tendency to	Newton's Third Law of Motion

fall down but it seems to perfect peace on the part why?

4 Weight of the 'side' and the 'part'?

7 Measuring the use of the simple machine?

8 What percentage of a man's energy is utilized while working with it?

3 Arithmetic

1 Estimates of the side and the part.

2 Quantity of iron required for the manufacture of the rod

1 Density and Specific Gravity

Mechanical advantage.

Work, Power, Energy—distance and energy at work the hand-powered machine

Definitions of perimeter, right angle, cuboid, circle, circumference, radius and, cross-section, cylinder, etc.

1 Simple—measurements

2 Measuring the circumference of a cylindrical body

3 Measuring the diameter

4 Calculation of the area of a circle and the curved surface of a cylinder

5 Calculation of the volume of a cylinder

6 Finding out the weight of a cylinder. Calculate weight—Density Method

1 Simple measurements

2 Calculation of the area of a rectangle and of the volume of solid and hollow cylinder

3 Calculation—area and—Density Method

4 History and Geography

Side Part and the material they are made of

1 The story of iron

2 The places where it is found on the earth where it is mined and how it is transported to the places of smelting and to the consumer. the countries where it is found in the ore state where it is mined and finished goods and the places where it is used

3 Places where iron ore is found and the means of transporting the ore to the places of use.

4 The history of the 'side part' and its different forms in different places

4 Economics

1 The raw material

The costs of raw materials and India's position with respect to them

The economy of local manufacture and self-sufficiency

2 Local availability of the raw material (iron) and local manufacture of the instrument (part), the disadvantage of using an iron rod from the above process of work

3 Should a hand-powered machine or a 'side part' be used?

Is it more economical to use the power machine or the side part?

5 Biology

How thick should be the rod?

Determination of the length of the cutting fibre and the thickness of the cotton wool

6 Physiology

1 What is the best way are the processes?

1 Position of the spinal column

2 The eye sees, the brain thinks, the hand moves and feels the rod is pushed out, the iron wire comes into, the iron rod is pushed out and placed in order

1 The structure of the eye

2 The structure of the brain and the nervous system

3 The muscles of the hand and the arm

How does the 'brain' work? Which is the brain side, the iron wire or the iron rod?

4 Co-ordination of the various muscles by the brain

5 Concentration necessary for perfect education

3 How are we able to work on without special attention after some practice?

Special stand and reflex action

And so on

DEVELOPING NATURE

(To be continued)

By Mahendra Gandhi
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HARIJAN

July 17

1940

SECOND LINE.

If we leave aside for a moment ideologies relating to private property and income, there are two lines of thinking existing in our country. One is of those who are of opinion that the prosperity of India lies through large-scale mechanized production and the other of believers in the Village and Manual Industries. The bulk of capitalists, socialists and communists is definitely in the former, that of constructive workers in the latter. Congressmen of all ranks, middle classes and also villagers generally are massed at least torn between the two faiths. Industrialism is the order of the day throughout the world and the progress which it has made and is making daily is so rapid and tremendous that they feel that no amount of effort can make Village and Manual Industries stand against its current. Besides, the comforts that it has provided are so attractive that even peasants cannot resist the temptation of taking advantage of them. But industrialism includes systems of rigid transport and communications, control of prices, means of production and international trade, monetary entanglements and the like, and these in turn mean militarization, armaments and frequent wars—open or cold, also ultimately become or consequences, suppression of individual personality and regimentation.

When people consider this picture and the apprehensions of a third world-war, they feel terrified and from the results of successful generals and commanders-in-chief to single criminals, a confidence comes out that ultimately the salvation of man lies through the "Gandhian Way". And so, there is a desire to allow some place to the Village Industries Programme also. But this desire is weak, the predominant one being to seek ways whereby industrialism could be successfully pursued without its terrible consequences.

The policy of Congress Governments is to do this weak faith in either of the ways. To put it in another way, there is an attempt on their part to find a synthesis of the two. To that extent they also faithfully represent the general public opinion of the country "For, we, constructive workers must recognize the fact that it is not only the intelligentsia and the middle classes that our programme does not appeal, but also to those whom we might call "villagers and the masses". Further, it might be said that so far what few workers have been drawn to it, have mostly come from the intelligentsia and the middle classes, and what support has been given to it is also by them. The gross competition created by money prevents the villagers and the

masses from taking hearty interest in the Gandhian economic programme. The few sponsors, weavers and other village artisans, who have taken to these industries, have done so either in the absence of any more money-making occupations or to the extent they have been subsidized by extra payments.

Several of our economic and social problems are results of misadjustment between agricultural occupations and industries coupled with false money. As has now become perfectly evident, the most unwise nations in the world is that which cannot produce its food requirements—cereals and milks—for its people. But the production of cereals and milks requires more labour than commercial crops like cotton, groundnut or tobacco. The industrial and money-price factor, however, turns the balance so that commercial crops are more paying than food crops. Similarly in industries, luxury articles give greater returns to the producer than articles of necessity. Cultivators are impelled to produce more food and milks, but unless conditions are created to make them either remunerative in terms of money, or something better than money is introduced as the measure of value, the appeal falls as flat as that of constructive workers for village industries and self-sufficiency.

This monetary system has led also to antagonism between economic values and moral and social values. Thus, Japan and its revenue are so paying that not only governments but even social workers are tempted to give up total prohibition, in spite of its absolute moral and social value. The world is so thoroughly caught in the bog of the monetary system that the more it strives the more it makes towards the bottom. It would seem that only a miracle could save it. War often seems to perform such miracle. It seems to create a state of prosperity. In a short time it seems to wipe out debts and bring plenty of money. India was in a hopelessly ruinous condition for some centuries. The State was almost a barren country to Great Britain and every agriculturist was in a similar position to his own condition. It was once thought that this industrialism could never go, and there was not much hope of redemption. But the second world war changed the appearance. Within a space of six years, it seemed to do what could not have been done during centuries. The debtor State and the personally debtor agriculturist not only found themselves clear of their debts, but even possessed substantial surplus in their favour. A similar condition had been created during the first world war, though to a lesser extent. But soon after that war, it was realised that the apparent boom was no better than villagers produced by a juggle within five minutes of sowing the seed. Both times a money-trick created a mirage.

Surely, this should be very obvious. If the money-harmony was entirely absent from the picture. The six years of war failed men,

destroyed factories, consumed best stocks of past and present goods, if it produced anything, it was enormous amount of inflammable material and weapons of destruction. Property worth millions of rupees was ruthlessly and carelessly destroyed day after day. During the last war, what India possessed and produced was taken away and what she got in return was bundles of paper notes and transfer-entries in account books. We joyfully counted our notes and inspected the transfer-entries and thought that we had become prosperous. We now know that with the pooling of the rupee, the average has disappeared and an endless wilderness desert is before us.

But under our delusory leaders and capitalists formulated large industrial and other schemes and hoped to raise the general standards of life, without any curtailment in the life of those who were already living in luxury and had even added to it during the decade preceding Independence.

But now it seems almost impossible, even if one were concerned, to make a radical change in the industrial and money structure of the country, let us at least build a second line of reconstruction. During the first world war, when cavalry was still in use, I am told the War Office found it necessary to get horse-shoes made by village smiths. The factories were already busy with other kind of work and since horse-shoes could be easily manufactured by hand process, even if at a higher cost, it was thought they should be so made. Money cost was given a secondary place for winning the war.

Lord Roper Orr has advised us to look at the Food Problem as if we were in the midst of a great war. The analogy of war is no mere rhetoric. We really are in the midst of war. It is war against hunger and bankruptcy. And in war, not only schemes of large-scale production and extensive canals should be carried out but of small farms, wells, tanks, etc. also. And it should also be realised that the food problem is intricately connected with village industries and animal power, both as means of production and transport. We have neglected our pre-railway transport system. It is indispensable in our vast and thickly populated country. All these have to be regarded as the second line of war effort. A second line does not mean a secondary line but an alternative and equally important—even though rugged and longer—route. It has to be kept in proper form at every cost. The comparison between costs of production by machinery and by manual labour is relevant only to a limited extent. When there is need for more production of all useful articles, every method of production has to be maintained.

A policy for development of village industries is important even from the financial point of view. There is ground to believe that large amounts of currency notes have found shelter

in villages and in the absence of any imperishable knowledge of how to make use of them in an industrial manner, they are just hoarded. Cook and postal certificates and the like do not attract them. Cultivators are not unmythical like traders. If available, they would gladly invest their savings in land, they could start small industries at home if they were guided and assured of sales. The policy of the State should be helpful to them in this direction. Their articles cannot be compared with those turned out in factories, either for quality or cost. While improvements must be made, they have to be encouraged even on railways, textile mills, sugar mills and the like have been encouraged from time to time against foreign competition.

The Government must regard the all-round development of the village both agriculturally and industrially on at least an equal level with cities as an inevitable second line of reconstruction. We must not neglect the enormous man and animal power which is readily available to us if we seriously believe that we are in a period of crisis. Only then may we expect to get over our difficulties.

Varanasi 5-7-48

K. S. MANDREKALA

CO-OPERATION AND ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY

The creation of a *second civilisation*, according to a well-known social theorist, is the greatest need of the time not only in India, but all over the world. To what extent will co-operation be helpful in establishing conditions of economic equality among our peasantry, those who till our land and those millions more who till on the land without possessing even the small plots of ground where they dwell? In Pakistan, a new revolution has sprung up in recent years, with the introduction of co-operative farming of an intensive, highly developed type. The powerful impulses that carried this movement forward in that part of the world are shared in our midst, while impediments are presented by diverse factors rooted in our soil and in our traditions. Still, it is impossible to conceive of an equitarian society in our countryside save through the acceptance of the co-operative method voluntarily in so far as it is possible, through compulsion where social progress is unattainable otherwise. It should be the task of earnest co-operators to discuss and formulate, for acceptance by the co-operative movement led by Government, the forms of co-operative effort they would adopt and the limitations, if any, they would impose.

Similarly, there is another sector of productive activity where co-operation can be equally serviceable. Today in India more persons engage themselves in industries carried on in their houses or in small-scale establishments than in factories. But those engaged in such industries are, in the main, so less subject to economic exploitation than the industrial proletariat. While in addition their productive efficiency which

banks at a low level leaves them no scope for competing effectively with organized industries. To raise the scale of technical efficiency, to provide a stimulus for individual effort to prevent economic stagnation, organization of the workers into producers' co-operative societies has been recognized as extremely helpful even in countries which have gone in for the nationalization of their large-scale industries. In India, where conditions of an internal economy demand the encouragement of subsidiary occupations and cottage industries for the twofold purpose of relieving rural unemployment and of making our rural economy a balanced one, the need for reorganizing cottage workers on co-operative lines is even more urgent. In this field, as in the other one, it is necessary to plan ahead, to decide on what industries effort may be concentrated to start with and what form of organization should be adapted for the primary and the federal units.

The planning and the execution of the plan are the concern not of the State alone but of those as well who have or for associated themselves with co-operative work or propose to do so in the future. Individuals and the profit motive are rampant in our social life, thanks to reverse of laws have under which we have lived, for the last century and a half. Having achieved independence from foreign domination we shall soon have a government which conforms to our ideals of a political democracy. It is our task, next, to apply the principle of democracy to the economic sphere. The form of democracy we seek is not one where authority is centralized but one where every producer feels that he is an active participant in creative effort. It is the co-operative method alone that will provide the basis for such a democracy.

YAKHESHI L. MEHTA

(From *Bascoop*, July 1949)

SELECTING FISH SHORTAGE

1

India

As a result of my experience during the last four years, I am convinced that the introduction of controls and rationing is a serious mistake. Recently put the food shortage at 50 per cent while the Sardar put it at 7 per cent and the actual figures given in the Parliament recently work out to 8 per cent. In a vast country like ours, it should go easy to meet the deficiency.

Rice and Wheat

Apart from extra production of pulses, etc. as taken in the processing of food stuffs, this deficiency can easily be made up.

The staple food in the country is rice and wheat. The experiments conducted both in our colonies and at Madras (Mysore) have clearly demonstrated that the use of hand-pounded or chaff rice will save at least 20 per cent of food as compared with the use of highly

polished rice both in quantity and in the nutrition provided therefrom. The use of hand-ground flour (atta) in place of mill flour is also likely to give some saving. Shri Vascha placed the saving at 15 per cent from the information supplied to him by one of the C. P. Ministers. We need not pause to consider whether fifteen or twenty per cent is the correct figure. Anyway, it is more than the six per cent shortage which occurred last year.

Therefore, it is the duty of Central and Provincial Governments to ban the mill processing of rice and wheat, and to insist upon the methods of processing advocated by the A.I.V.L.A. Immediately these two things are done there is no necessity for controls or rationing or importation of food stuffs from abroad, which results in loss of twenty-five to thirty crores of rupees every year from out of the slender resources of our poor country. The abolition of controls and rationing will certainly lead to the debandment of an army of unnecessary officials, whose maintenance (salaries and D.A.s) is itself costing crores of rupees. This abolition will also help the consumers to another way. Some of the poorer folk in the country who have been using ration for generations together, are now under rationing drawn into the habit of eating polished rice which is certainly less nutritious and causes various deficiency diseases. These will then revert to millets.

Millets

The figures supplied by the Government regarding the milial position in this Presidency relate to areas sown here crops sown. These headstuffs were sown in 63,55 lakh acres in the year 1943-48 and in 63,34 lakh acres in the year 1948-49. The shortage is 1,64 lakh acres. There is also a shortage of 1,33 lakh acres under paddy. These three lakhs of acres must have been converted into commercial crops. Both the Government and people are responsible for the reduction in the acreage on which headstuffs could be grown.

Tobacco

The production of tobacco should be seriously curtailed if not altogether prohibited. Shri Pandemon's Ministry was taking the steps in the direction of regulation of tobacco production, but circumstances prevented it from carrying out that policy. I request both the Central and Provincial Governments to prohibit its cultivation. If they are not prepared to do so immediately, to curtail it to the greatest extent possible.

Sugarcane

The Madras Government has introduced total prohibition. The Central Government and other Provincial Governments are wedded to a policy of prohibition though some are for gradual introduction. I plead for the immediate introduction of total prohibition throughout the country. If that is done, crops upon acres of pulses,

palms (1). This source of milk and meat is available for almost totally tropical. The sugar and sugar that can be produced from these various sources will not only be sufficient for our purposes but also leave a surplus for export. At present sugarcane is raised on the most fertile soils and its cultivation every year and requires substantial surplus can all be saved and necessary foodstuffs can be raised on the lands and lands of areas of land which are now set apart for sugarcane growing. The palms above referred to will continue for years together and will not involve any annual expenditure of labour or money. The giving up of sugarcane cultivation may lead to interference with vested interests but food is a top priority for the whole nation and the few milk-owners and sugarcane growers must be prepared to surrender their well-desired gains for the sake of the nation.

Soil and Manure

In the Green Man Food campaign special attention should be paid to the supply of soil and manure and provision of irrigation and drainage facilities. The fact is altogether neglected and the home is deprived of the fruits of his labour by untimely rains and consequential floods and silting-in of lands. Immediate steps must be taken for providing at least temporary drainage facilities.

The supply of manure of the requisite quality and in sufficient quantity must be attended to. My release is situated in delta region. All around there is dry and wet cultivation and I personally know the difficulties which we is common with the crops in the surrounding places experience in getting adequate supplies. The best manure is farmyard manure. It is not available in sufficient quantities. The second best is the oil seed cake. Compound manures are not made here and the worst is the chemical manure. It affects the fertility of the soil as well as the nutrition in the locality. On account of the misapplications of the control and de-control of oil cakes, we are experiencing great hardships. I would suggest that the oil seeds, castor, groundnut, etc. should be kept in the country in sufficient quantity to meet the requirements of the home. And, if necessary, only the surplus should be exported outside. If these oil cakes are supplied in the proper season at reasonable prices, one can guarantee at least 25 per cent extra food production without any trouble whatsoever. But here the vested interests are up against the home. And they resist under the necessary measures for the good of the country as a whole.

II

Three Foods

The Green Man Food campaign should be devoted on three fronts: (i) production of cereals and pulses, (ii) production of vegetables, leaves etc., (iii) production of milk and milk products. Of these three the first takes

three to six months before an appreciable result can be expected. The second will take six weeks to ten months and the third will produce visible results in the course of one or two weeks. Therefore these should be attended to in the first instance. The milk and milk products affect the human system most beneficially. But to produce milk we must give food or special feed to the milk cattle. My experience ranging over twenty-five years has convinced me that a small quantity of kapa soaked in water and ground into a paste, will increase the milk as well as its butter content. The worst feed is the coconut oil cake and then comes oil cake. And the last is groundnut cake. A little quantity of salt dissolved in water will result in more milk. Salt is especially necessary when groundnut cake is used. Ripe palm-fruit itself without the seed or its juice mixed in water and a little salt will give more milk. The following authorities whom I approached in this matter were baffled at the idea of opening some laws for these poor cattle forgetting all the while that there is an immediate release of vitamins food from these grateful animals. I therefore request that special provision should be made for supply of kapa and these cakes through village panchayats or village committees as long as this control is in force. I would rather have decorel of all these stuffs.

For the production of vegetables manures are also necessary. Mother Earth, though kind, insists upon a fair price for it. Sweet potato, yam, legumes (beans, peas, etc.), snake-gourd, ash-gourd, sweet gourd can be converted into several dishes. Sweet potato, snake-gourd, ash-gourd can with rice or wheat flour be easily made into kapa. Chayote can be made out of sweet potato mixed with rice or wheat flour. These are delightful preparations and help to keep the body strong and healthy.

Supplemental Foods

Groundnut with jaggery, coconut with jaggery, oil seeds with jaggery provide strong foods. I know from my own experience that groundnut pounded into flour mixed with about one-fifth of its weight of jaggery and with the juice of two or three sour oranges is one of the best recuperative foods. From January 30, 1945, I began to take one meal in forty-eight hours. And of course I lost weight in the first few months and then I thought of the groundnut preparation above referred to and I have since repeated a large portion of the lost weight. I can easily recommend it to others. Groundnut contains more protein, more carbohydrates, more fat than any other food which we are accustomed to. It not only builds up the body but helps in mental concentration.

Relieving

If the actual shortage is only six per cent, where is the necessity for rationing at all? The authorities have been changing from seven percent to twelve percent. With six per cent shortage,

they can each give fourteen or fifteen carousa rice. Then there won't be any black-marketing or official corruption.

I know as a matter of fact large quantities of food are available in the black-market and the sophisticated citizens of rationed towns are making good the shortage through black-markets. If people had lived on the ration food alone at least seventy-five per cent would have been on the sick list. The death rate should have terribly increased. I am afraid there is something wrong somewhere. We are suffering from man-made and paper-made shortages and hoaxes. Allow free transport and free trade through co-operatives wherever possible, through trustworthy social service organizations, wherever available, and through honest traders as a last resort.

The machinery of producer-consumer co-operative societies organized during the time of ex-Pradhan Prakashin is the best channel for distribution of foodstuffs and other articles of daily use. They may be extended all over the country. Then there will not be any scope for profiteering. Even if there should be any such thing, the profits will return both to the producer and consumer.

Altruism

If people observe one day's fast for every fortnight, then nobody need think of the shortages in foodstuffs. People will prefer it to the daily troubles consequent upon rationing.

There are vast extents of land under cultivation, coffee and tea plantations. Whenever possible these must be turned over to the cultivation of foodgrains.

People with large holdings are unable to produce as much per acre as the possessors of small holdings do. Their cultivation expenses are proportionately higher than those of small holders. Therefore as a temporary measure big estates may be parcelled out for cultivation amongst landless people.

Even the unorganized railways are helping the black-market. Between Bombay and Madras you can see almost in every train small vendors carrying bags of black-market rice. They are ticket-free and freight-free passengers. In Madras City itself black-market rice is freely hawked.

The amounts which can be saved if my proposals are accepted and all sums which can be spared in any other way may be utilized for giving bonuses to those for extra production.

These controls and rationings create an atmosphere which is highly prejudicial to an orderly and moral life.

I have put down my thoughts and expectations. They may be tested and accepted wherever they stand the test.

Venkyacharya.

G. SETHANAMMAIYER

UNILATERAL LOVE*

Many mother think that she loves her child, but it is not conditional upon the child returning the love. It often happens that the love is not reciprocated the son neglects her and even ill-treats her, but she does not cease to love him. She feels sorry for her son and sometimes gets angry too, but her love for him is not diminished. She is always sympathetic in doing whatever is possible for him, shares his joys and sorrows and keeps that one day he might mend himself and be the real master in carrying him by the strength of her love. That if she does not, she is unable to give up her maternal service. It is unilateral. If we have similar faith in this unilateral love, we shall have others irrespective of whether they love us or not. The fact does not worry whether his love penetrates the core of our love, perhaps his day in the sun hope that darkness will not affect him and that whenever his rays reach dark, ours will disappear. An arrow was shot not that that since his opponent has no weapons, he need also have none. On the other hand he considers the other to be silly and does not want to become himself one by showing shining ones. In the same way, a person having faith in love as a great force will love his opponent in the hope of ultimate success, because he is armed with a sure weapon not possessed by the other. Though a desire for success is not good in itself, even without that desire he will succeed because he possesses a great weapon.

But the fact is that we have no faith in love and if we love, it is out of helplessness. We are dependent on those who love us and begin to love them quiescently. The spirit of love is not a startle to us nor have we faith in it. Those who have experienced pure love have come to realize and have taught to give our love in return for hatred and thus win by hatred. Lord Krishna has said that hatred cannot be overcome by hatred but by love. Jesus Christ said that there was not more credit in loving a friend. But if one loved one's enemies, it was profitable. The Jews, who say that if anybody loves truthfully to reach you, you try to love him and one day he will become your greatest enemy. Love has that capacity.

We must have the strength to possess this unilateral love and we must learn how to regulate our relations with others by looking in what they do or do not do. Our capacity to love should not be influenced by others' conduct. If we desire to the love of others, where is our individuality? Therefore, we should continue to love others and if we find that there is want of love in them and their hearts are full of hatred, we must exhibit greater and greater love. If we do this, one day we must succeed. Even if we do not obtain success in the worldly sense, we shall have a satisfaction which we can never lose.

* Adapted from Sri Venkatesh's post-prayer speech in Hyderabad on 14/7/48 at Hyderabad. —D. D.

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TWO ANNAS

THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE AN APPEAL.

The task of framing our national constitution is nearing completion. It is a noble effort that we have made. It would be a wonder democracy is such all the constituent elements of our nation will not take their due and equally honored place and all these elements are expected to be loyal to the spirit and the view of this composite nation and its universal culture. Among some of the important subjects still remaining unsolved is the name and structure of India's national language and its script or 'prastha'. Numerous problems that have been decided with commendable mutual goodwill and broad vision. Let us decide that subject also in the same spirit and with of outlook. We feel that here too we have come to a large measure of agreement in regard to several of our most debated points. We request now that in the same spirit of seeking unanimity and common ground, all schools should agree to the following propositions and act thereon.

(1) A COMMON LANGUAGE

'A Common language for all-India purposes is necessary. It should be evolved on a fairly extensive scale by people all over the country wherever their own language may be. It cannot be English' (Dr. Bhabhadracharya). All laws, etc., must be framed in that language and the text in that language should be regarded as authoritative for purposes of interpretation where there is a doubt about its meaning as used in other languages.

(2) NAME

The designation of the national language should officially be Hindustani at the Centre, whether it is referred to as Hindustani or Hindi in popular language and in any province or state. No objection or controversy or criticism should be made against the use of either of these names non-officially.

(3) STRUCTURE

Regarding the structure of the National Language: (a) no grammar and syntax should be generally that of the language spoken in Delhi and the surrounding parts. (b) postures, grammatical forms and style of Sanskrit, Persian or Arabic language should be avoided. (c) there should be no policy of loaning of words, phrases and ideas of foreign origin, as such-spontaneously such as have become current in popular language—either as general or technical

words. Rather it should "make us free open for entry of words from other languages" (d) new words, whether there are to be coined for technical purposes or accurate rendering of special words and expressions of other languages, "should come in the first place from the various professional languages and local dialects. Even words of purely foreign origin may not be altogether excluded. (e) "With all the additions to the vocabulary that can be made with the help of other languages, there will still remain the need for coining a large number of words. The means from which these additional words have to be derived should be: Sanskrit. . . In this matter priority should be accorded as far as possible" and our efforts should be to coin words as would fit in with the structure and genius of the spoken language and be usable for their simplicity' (Dr. Bhabhadracharya).

The rest should be left to the natural growth of the language. No limitation can be placed on any further writing in what might be called highly Sanskritised or highly Anglo-Sanskritised style or anything in between.

(4) SCRIPT

The Nagari script should be accepted as the principal script of the language and used for all official work at the Centre and for inter-provincial communications. Its knowledge must be compulsory for everyone working in public offices, whether as servants or elected office-bearers. But the Urdu script also should be recognized for purposes of applications and representations made by the public and there should be adequate arrangement for reading and understanding Urdu writings. Other alphabets, phonetic alphabets and documents meant for the general public and used in the national language should be in both the scripts—Nagari and Urdu.

We earnestly urge the acceptance of the above formula by the Constituent Assembly and fully hope that the nation will support our appeal.

E. G. MADHUSWALA
VINDRA

Wardha, 12-7-49

E. G. MADHUSWALA

P. S. After the above was sent to the press a similar appeal by Nationalist Muslims has been seen in the papers. Both are mutually complementary and in the same spirit. It is hoped they will be forwarded.

'THE FATHER OF A PEOPLE'

The following is taken from an article in *the Atlantic Monthly* of April 18, 1939, p. 229 by J. N. Winson. —T. G. D.

My wife and I were walking through the Museum when some one nudged me towards us with the news that she had just heard on the wireless that 'the greatest man on earth had just been assassinated.' Why is it that the name which springs to our minds was Gandhi?

When Gandhi was in England for the Round Table Conference I had a good opportunity of seeing him with all sorts and conditions of men. His was the voice of India and a rare the gentlest voice I have ever heard and yet no person could laugh at himself more heartily.

All people instantly became friends with him. His tolerance was amazing. There was no touch of fanaticism in him, for he himself was the greatest critic of his own thought and deed. He thought of his life as an experiment in truth. A wrong act on his part worried him until he set it right, and he took responsibility for the wrong acts of others as if he had committed them. He never failed to forgive and forget when he himself was the victim. He was a wonderful listener, contentment his spending while commoners pleaded and colleagues conferred, smiling happily into the thought of others often viewing the supposed adversary to express himself.

He never attempted to score a point. Fools who came to scoff remained to pray, at the evening service I was easy for Christian, Jew and Mohammedan to gaze on, for to him all belated to the same thing, the absolute goodness of God. Before him all were equal. Once Ramsey MacDonald arrived for an urgent consultation, but a postman had walked all the way from How to Kingsbridge, because he wanted to pay his respects. 'I'll see the man of letters first,' Gandhi said discreetly. And then he explained to me, 'You are, a statesman can read, for that is his job, he is always waiting till circumstances force him to move.'

After so many years of struggle his vitality was astonishing: a hard day's work, often till past midnight, then the long drive home from Kingsbridge to his little nursing place in the East End of London, up again at four in the morning ready for his devotions and a long walk in the Forest, and back again to the Conference. In a dreary November he remained well throughout, morning coughing Englishmen with a smile and distant advice. When he saw the portrait which my wife was completing, he lifted a brush, dipped it into paint as one accustomed to it and signed his name. 'I am an amateur artist. My canvas is India.'

The most pregnant sentence in the whole book [*Mohandas Gandhi Offshoots*] which gave Gandhi in the front rank of all teachers is 'The endowed Indians with the courage to be free.' What greater tribute could be paid to any man? He awakened his gentle and passive nation from the slumber of centuries, he broke the paralysis, the consciousness of a premeditated inferiority that had oppressed his people from their childhood. They shed their servility and thought themselves as free men. Gandhi's faith was justified.

His influence has spread beyond his own nation, and as President Truman put it 'Gandhi was a leader of international stature.' I wonder what Gandhi would have thought of such a tribute. I can hear him say with that smile of his: 'In the construction of the human body God set a limit to man's ambitions, I am so constructed that I can only serve my immediate neighbours.' The full story of how well he served them has yet to be told, how he identified himself with the unscrutable, shared a room with two of them, how he set to work organising village sanitation personally, how he taught the peasants who lived in ramshackle huts to construct latrines and manure pits, how to make compost and how to use it to enrich the exhausted soil of their fields.

Realising how miserable is the customary diet of the peasant, he attacked the polished rice of the table and wrote articles on the best way of cooking unpolished rice. He was horrified that the Indian village ate no vegetables, so he taught them the importance of whole which he had learned in England; he opened to them the road of the unsaturated, the most despised and rejected of men, to freedom.

The best corrective to undue adulation is Gandhi's autobiography, where he tells how he came to his way of life. ... In a style all his own, simple, direct, revealing, he builds up a character in which truth is the sovereign principle, not only truthfulness in word but truthfulness in thought also. There has never been a book like this before.

And Vaccination

I have been reviewing articles and lectures pertaining to Anti-Vaccination. It is not possible for me to find contrast space for them in the *Messenger* but I am relieved that those who are concerned and wish to study the question can obtain five pamphlets on the subject of vaccination and vaccination against diseases like small-pox, plague, typhoid, cholera, diphtheria, diphteria, etc., from the Secretary of the National Anti-Vaccination League, 29 Denison House 26, Whitehall Bridge Road Westminster, London, S.W.1, or the British Union for the Abolition of Vaccination, 47 Whitehall, London, S.W.1 (England).

Windsor, 2-3-49

R. G. M.

VACCINATION AND THE MAN IN THE STREET

In these days, when the public in general have come to accept vaccination as a matter of course, it is necessary to examine facts concerning the matter.

In the first place, there are divergences of opinion among the members of the medical profession upon the use of vaccine. Within the ranks of the profession, and particularly in the ranks of surgery, various viewpoints upon this matter are manifest. This cannot be said to be in any way surprising in view of the many diseases which have followed in the wake of chemotherapy and the conflict of opinion amongst those who pose an autoimmune reaction.

I just think how many millions of vaccine operations have been made in the course of the last few years, and in how very few cases we can definitely recognise an immediate and marked improvement, as we ought to do if the treatment is to be justified. Think, also, how often we are in doubt whether such improvement as occurs in the course of the treatment is due to the vaccine or to a natural result of the nature of the body.

Think again in how many cases (the vast majority indeed) there is no apparent action at all.

I have used vaccines extensively employing the services of bacteriologists for the purpose, so that I should not feel that I had not been everything out the treatment properly; and I have in only two or three cases seen any result which I should not have expected without them.

I have seen lesions getting well in one part of the body and yet, while still under vaccine treatment, fresh lesions breaking out in other parts of the body, and I have also seen bad and even fatal results follow the use of vaccine.—Sir Watson Chesser (President of the Royal College of Surgeons), in the *Lancet*, February 27, 1935.

This conclusion is certainly most startling, and in itself a good warning that vaccination can, in no way, be accepted on its face value.

In a Government Report by Sir Richard Thorne and Dr. S. Woodhouse Capeman, facts are revealed concerning the manufacture of Calf-Lymph, the medium of so many vaccinations.

Cow calves averaging eighteen weeks old are selected and it will contain specimens of veal and ham parts that they are re-sold to butchers.

The operating table can be tilted on its side and the calf is fastened so in its suspension to a horizontal position (hangs the calf "like a cat on a wall"). Its head is secured in a leather muzzle and its legs are firmly secured. The abdomen (and in some laboratories inside the flanks) is thoroughly scrubbed with soap and hot water continuously to shaving, after which the surface is again washed. Then a number of incisions—varying from 100 to 120, each about an inch long and two inches apart—are made by

means of a lancet with a spoon-headed blade. The head is quickly and mechanically moved about in large circles, but the object of these operations is to cause the skin to fester and thus produce a maximum amount of matter. So over each incision a drop of lymph is allowed to fall, and this is well rubbed in. The process is a somewhat lengthy one, and when the lymph has dried the calf is removed from the table and taken back to its stable. While the calves are in their stalls, their heads and legs are tied up to prevent them licking or scratching themselves. If it is only intended to collect the lymph from a portion of the vesicles, the animal is allowed to stand, but otherwise it is again placed on the operating table.

The report describes the process thus:

"The vaccine material is always collected on the sixth day. The calf is once more placed on the table or, if material is required for immediate use only, it is usually allowed to stand. The vaccinated area is washed with warm water, and dried with clean soft cloths. Each animal is now draped separately, and the exact time removed with a lancet, which is then wiped on a cloth passed to the front of the stable, within whose reach the operator has previously doored.

"The vaccine is then thoroughly scraped with the edge of a spoon-headed blunt lancet, and the resulting mixture of lymph cells, and blood is transferred to a small metal container set in a wide wooden stand on a table close to the operator. To the greatly mass contained in the vaccine there is added an equal quantity of glycerine. The mixture of pulp and glycerine is then mixed in a machine driven by a small electric motor. The mixture having thus been rendered thin and homogeneous, is removed to a clean sterilised metal container placed beneath the machine but with a tube to fill further improving its appearance and of removing any extraneous matter, such as hair, it is afterwards passed through a small brass wire mesh, consisting of extremely fine pores, into an eyerle container. This is done by means of a horse spoon, and there is left on the surface nothing but a very small portion of skin tissue together with a few hairs. The composed is further mixed in the mortar with a few more pores, and is then ready for filling into the vials in which it is distributed.

The poor animal which must have suffered would agony is consequently forgotten by the operators. As an animal lover, I bring the above facts to your notice. It is my duty to spread the message of shame to all people. They shall know the Truth and be freed from all evils.

Buryton (England)

MATTHEW MORAN

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July 24

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FOR PRODUCING FOOD

The production of food has become the main programme of the country. The Government has been obliged to deal with the Food Problem as it would if the country had been engaged in a war. While no strategy can succeed without the co-operation of the people, it is obvious that the Government should also produce responsible co-operation in the people engaged in the arduous work of producing, storing, transporting and distributing food.

Some of the necessary conditions appear to me to be the following:

1. The collection of land revenue in money should be replaced by an equitable system of collecting it in form of grain. This was done in the pre-British regime and is still in vogue between the landlord and the tenant. It is not popular with the cultivator. But the reason for the unpopularity is that in the existing system the cultivator is required to pay a percentage share of the gross produce of every crop collected by him. This leads to corrupt practices and harassment of the cultivator. The recommended should be a particular third party of a well-to-do class capable of being given in the field the weight being paid for a number of years in the money way at such revenue. Alternatively and for immediate execution the price of the cereal should be fixed and the cultivator be asked to deliver as much grain as could be purchased for the amount of his revenue.

It would be desirable too, fix a higher rate than the one fixed for the market, at purchasing it.

Of course, the grain to be delivered as revenue would have to be duly raised from seeds supplied by Government and would have to be free from pest, dirt, etc.

2. Where the cultivator is a tenant of a landlord, or between landlord and tenant, the share of the latter should hold priority over that of the former. The tenant should also be assured of a minimum quantity of grain so that in case of failure of crops the landlord should not be entitled to sue them and the cultivator gets his minimum.

3. The raising of money-crops on lands where food can be grown should be discouraged in various ways. For instance, (a) by levying a surcharge on revenue on land on which money-crops are grown. (b) by preferring food producers in the matter of grant of loans, irrigation and various facilities, provision of labour, provision of guarantees, supply of insecticides, allowing storage of their own stock in government godowns (if any) on easier terms, etc.

4. Large-scale commercial agriculture should be in a manner which should have small-scale farming superimposed. It should be possible to give education and technical training to the workers in the fields of co-operation and government in the matter of production. But large-scale production in which industries makes a show of the output in terms of money and through small-scale production. If therefore large-scale farming is to be removed, it should be confined to commercial crops. It must not compete with food crops. It had better be based for the large-scale method should be done only directly for the Government without creating a body of workers in connection, and without purchasing alienable lands. The Government would then know how much it really costs to grow food. It could then in that case be able to issue advance agricultural loans and do scientific farming. It would also be possible for it to employ its own men in the work of lifting up the Food front. Also, more government management is always more costly than the private one, it is not likely to beat small-scale farmers in competition and both would be able to thrive.

5. Multipurpose co-operative schemes for the production, storage, sale and distribution of food products of various life encouraged. But once it will arise time to spread the money order deals should also be encouraged to convert them into co-operatives or to use small partnerships to start village industries creating rural food. The aim should be to give farmers employment in co-operatives and their lands and crops for movement of their savings under their own control. Thus bullocks, draft animals, transport etc. could be converted as the manufacture of such-made food products such etc. There should be adequately protected against large-scale farmers' products of the same type.

Since production of food is to be regarded as a 'war-effort' and since small farmers are weak, everything must be done to encourage small farmers, and the village industries are a part of that 'war-effort'.

6. Village, co-operatives, municipalities etc. who co-operate with the Government in the production of more food might be given special facilities in obtaining seeds, manure, sugar, water facilities, etc.

7. The most necessary facility to be given to the money-crops producers. More than spending mechanical expenses on tractors and means of transport, it is necessary to put in more work in the Government departments. It is boring to deal with Government departments. Often a matter is simple and would take a few minutes of daily work immediately. But a other months before it comes to a head involving frequent attendance, even to subordinate officials or members through repeated non-attendance of papers, loss of time and so on. And with all that ultimately the application might be rejected!

Instead of asking villagers to come to Taluk and District offices, it would be better if officers of all departments concerned with village affairs went to the village in a body from time to time and disposed of and answered all applications pending or presented on the spot. If several departments were concerned, the head of everyone would be available on the spot, and they could all immediately refer to one another and decide. They would also be able to dispose of such matters as construction of roads, bridges over nullahs, grant of loans, marketing, registering of co-operative societies, etc., where several departments have to be consulted. If work is not supplied in time, and in adequate quantity, how can the collector carry on his work?

If Government expect honesty and co-operation from the people, they should also establish a reputation for honesty and co-operative attitude. The seed, manure, cement, steel or whatever else sold by Government should be of the right quality, free from adulteration, of correct weight, and delivered promptly. It should not be that the whole of a loan or grant unaccounted reaches the pocket of the applicant. Law provides a number of penalties for lapses of the collector but there is none available to the public for the lapses of Government. For instance, if it promises to sell basmati rice at a cheap rate and delivers ordinary super-basmati at a higher rate, it is dishonest. It is also dishonest to sell and advertise manure, which in open experimental farms has condemned as unfit for use.

Thus, if honesty is sought by collectors, it should be readily available.

Government have a superstitious belief in punishment and rewards. They merely seek co-operation, they order it. They must know that punishment is a weapon of oppression and corruption and not of enforcing execution to a considerable degree. And it oppresses only the poor and deprives its own officers. The rich and the influential, at least a majority of them, are always able to escape the punishment.

The imposition of rewards is also not good. But if a chance was to be made between the two, it is better to give rewards for good work done, than to punish for failure to do it. But while punishment should only be meted out to actual offenders and not exacted like dues from a community, rewards should generally be not so individual or particular occasions, but to a whole village. Thus if collectors in a village refuse to comply with particular directions, each might be punished individually but not the whole village, but if there is a general compliance with the orders, the whole village should be rewarded by being provided with something of use to the whole community. This will create team spirit and co-operation.

There are a few suggestions, by no means exhaustive. I hope they will be found useful.

Wardha, 14.7.49

K. G. MASHRUWALA

MISREPRESENTATION

A news item in *The Times of India* of 16th July, 1960 reports that Sri Chandraji Dasu, India's representative in Switzerland in an interview with the *Haitian* (the *Peuple*) referred to Gandhi in the following words:

"From him we learned about the essence of God and the greatness of religious. Like him, we have come to believe, 'what does it matter if all the temples of the Bhagavadgita are destroyed so long as one temple in the hearts of the Hindus?'"

To say that India learned about the 'essence of God and the greatness of religious' from Gandhi, though meant as a tribute to Gandhi, is a very inaccurate representation of Indian philosophy and people abroad. What Gandhi emphasised was equal regard for all religions. The essence of God was proclaimed, wherever God's essence was accepted, wherever aid is India.

What referred to the hierarchy in the domination of the God, Sri Dasu must have had in mind the following or a similar statement of Gandhi:

"... the whole of Hindustan could be summed up in the first verse of the *Ishopanishad*—

"If all other Hindu scriptures happened to be reduced to ashes and to go out of the memory of men, and if only that one verse were to abide with us, the destruction would be no loss. Hindustan would even then remain with us" (*Narayan*, January 30, 1937).

It will be seen that Gandhi carefully avoided making any disparaging or derogatory comparison with scriptures of other religions. And, highly as he respected the *Varanas* on the *Mount*, and subjugated it unreservedly, to the best of my memory he never expressed the opinion about it in the way mentioned by Sri Dasu.

I hope our representatives abroad, in their endeavours either to obtain grant out of foreign lands or to pay their homage to our own Mahatma, will take care to see that they do not either compare or undermine the good or bad in others or ourselves. The statement alleged, if correctly reported, would create a wrong impression about Gandhi both abroad and in India.

Wardha, 11-7-60 K. G. MASHRUWALA

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THE SANTINIKETAN PILGRIMAGE

I

Gandhi's recent pilgrimages to Santiniketan in relation with death and sad memento. As he remained in the hands of the various departments of Santiniketan he was by no means a stranger in Santiniketan. Even before he returned to India from South Africa he had been closely working going on in India and the careers of the students of Indian nationalism of that era. Among them was Chander Lajpat, Banabhadra Chandra Acharya became a link between the two, and of Gandhi's return from South Africa in 1915, the Phoenix Ashram party which had preceded him found asylum in Santiniketan. Gandhi called them a little later. It was then that the personal bond between him and Chander was forged. The latter had told him on that occasion: "I am a worker. I do not want to meddle in the administrative side in Santiniketan. You have a free hand to do what you like." And for the time that Gandhi was there he sponsored in Santiniketan some basic reforms beginning, according to his word, with a few elementary things like sanitation, brooms, care of the sick and so on. Then he went and worked down in Gujarat. The bond with Chander however continued to grow stronger as the years rolled on and during Gandhi's last visit to Santiniketan five years after the war came very close indeed. With a permission perhaps of his personal friend Chander had on that occasion laid on Gandhi's shoulders two burdens, firstly to do something for the peasants and secondly to take a closer interest in the administrative affairs of the institution. Gandhi made no definite promise as he could not report on the spot. In regard to the second he had told him that no matter where he was he would try to interest himself in the affairs of Santiniketan.

The present was in the hands of that obligation. It was going to be his last visit to the institution after the passing away of Chander. At the second visit which the Bengal Government had thoughtfully placed on his doorstep for the afternoon drew up at the Balgar station at evening it was his last prayer time. The passengers on board of Gandhi's carriage door had been decorated with streamers, flags, drawn in white and green was performed for a moment from Balgar after the orthodox Indian style. Everything bore the mark of an event in modernity. A quiet dignity characterized the demeanour of men and women volunteers who stood in a double row on either side of Gandhi as he passed through. There was no shouting, no puffing or blowing. The whole atmosphere was suffused with a deep but subdued emotion.

From the station he was drawn straight to the prayer ground in Santiniketan where all the members of the Ashram had assembled for the evening prayer. Dark was falling. The air was tense with expectancy. A high platform had been erected for Gandhi in the middle of the prayer ground, which consisted of a clearing surrounded by thick groves.

In front behind the speaker. Gandhi the everlasting presence of green leaves and blossoms scarcely diminished in the breathless calmness of the evening. The soft music of Gandhi's song that was sung added to the solemnity of the hour. After the prayer Gandhi gave a short discourse in the course of which he likened Chander to a person bird with composed wings brooding over us men. "Under the wings of his wings Santiniketan has been nurtured to its present size. Bengal is full of his wings. He has glorified the name of India throughout the world not by the songs only but also by his pen and hands. We all owe the warmth of his parting wings. But my work now grows. The remedy lies in our own hands."

"True, momentous to the great," he continued, "are not words of mouth, become in gold. The last moment is to adorn and enlarge that legacy. A son who has understood his father's legacy as words it will be judged worthy of his inheritance."

While an audience and his colleagues were primarily over the sacred duty of making Santiniketan truly worthy of Gandhi's great tradition, that duty was no less upon all those who, though they may not be directly connected with Santiniketan, received the warmth of Gandhi's wings.

All moments were open the world can say Chander has now having achieved all that a human being can expect in life. His soul now rests in peace. It is for you, the workers and makers of Santiniketan—as indeed all those who are united with Gandhi's spirit—now collectively to represent his ideal.

Afterward he was taken to Gandhi's mud hut. Shyama, named because of its dark colour. Chander was member of a spiritual council. He could sit any in one place for any length of time. Thus he was by turns, in moments only a few, in Udaypur, Udaypur and Panchajanya or 'post-prayer', coming as it did on an after thought—all clustering in the hut known as Uttamashan.

Gandhi had asked Santiniketan people not to put themselves out in looking after his party but to meet them as one of themselves. That the boys and girls of Santiniketan hardly did, meeting as they probably at home in their studies. By a happy coincidence Shri Manil Gandhi, who formed one of the Phoenix Ashram group that had been adopted into Gandhi's family three decades ago was in Gandhi's message and provided a living link between the present and the past. The message was glorious, the air bracing and the memory of the household as the morning and the night wings passed, going the round of the Ashram under the full moon upon Chander's face. The message was and ending with a final chorus and silence under the window of the room in Udaypur, where he used to sit and work in his own study in the morning.

The next day was Wednesday. The inmates of Santiniketan congregated for common prayer in the Mandir on every Wednesday. During Gandhi's

believe he used to deliver his weekly sermon on that occasion. At the reunion in Gaithebo, Gaudoy addressed them about on the 24th of December when he further amplified his previous day's message.

He had noticed that during the prayer some of the boys did not say amen. Some were halting, others halloo. He pulled them up for this as he had done before on the previous evening. "The boys and girls of this generation should carry the message of Christianity to the corners of this little age," he told them. "The war has ended, but peace has not come upon earth. It has only meant the triumph of the Allied arms over the Axis powers. The world is in a configuration of unmet needs. In Europe today we find with the great presence of death due to starvation and cold during the winter. Hunger at home, in Bengal things have been no better. It was Gaudoy's mission to deliver the message of peace to an aching world. The boys and girls of Gaithebo should go forth into the world as the warriors of peace bearing for us the Christian message. It is in this manner that peace should have a living flesh in God. As a piece of marble becomes the vehicle of the sculptor's genius so may the spirit of Gaudoy live and propagate through you."

BYABALLAL

QUESTION BOX UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Q. It is said that the Transport Services of West Bengal advertised for about 300 students to work for drivers and conductors. About 50,000 candidates applied. There were several graduates among the applicants. Invariably about 48,750 applicants will be disappointed and among them there will be hundreds of degree-holders. Is this not a tragedy of university education? Is there any use for such university training? I am a college student. Should I pursue my studies?

A. The type of present university education is certainly not suited for a great number of students throughout the colleges. Whether this particular student is fitted for it or not I cannot say. But I wish to mention a wrong conception about the implications of university education. I do not see why degree-holders should be ashamed of applying for the posts of drivers and conductors or even sweepers on the street. There need be no linking of these in pursuing any honest vocation, whatever may be one's educational attainment. Education was never intended to be a means, but a manner, although they were exceptionally highly qualified. Gaudoy lived to study their message in these degrees of Mexico and Occorum. It is only because we have unconsciously related university degrees with a particular scale of moral and style of living that we think that it is below the dignity of a graduate to drive a rickshaw or a motorcar. If there is no shame in driving your own car, there need be none in driving one for earning your maintenance.

Wadhwa, 2-7-49

E. G. MARHUPALLA

POST-INDEPENDENCE WORK *

Continuing the speech of the previous day, Shri Vinoba, in his post-prayer speech on July 27 in Hyderabad, said:

"Not only should our objects but also our means be pure, and we should never give room to dishonesty and violence. Therefore we must realise that wherever service we want to render should be on the right line and should be done with love and love. We should resist oppression up to oppression by others, neither tyrannise over others nor succumb to tyranny by others. If we make this resolution, we have taken a wide field for service."

Some workers complained that they had great enthusiasm in the fight for Independence but now that Independence had been achieved, they did not find any incentive to work and asked how that enthusiasm could be regenerated. Then, Shri Vinoba said, was a serious criticism, since it was not that real service could be rendered. "After a field has been cleared of thorns and stones if the farmer says that he had enthusiasm for clearing the field and he has come back now to reap the fruits of his labour, what shall we say of him? Surely, we shall say that he has turned back because that real work is not so congenial. The time spent so far was not spent usefully, because without clearing the field, one could not sow. But there is no reason for loss of incentive which should rather increase."

All workers are being converted one by one. We had here a number of Hindus and Muslims, who discussed in detail the country has many places but that problem also is pending solution. There remains the question of finding legitimate problems. This is quite necessary, so that the administration could be put in the forefront of the issue. It will enter in a two-way-way in which attention will be first given to issues because they are the foundation of the society. There is no reason for jealousy and conflict on this question or among the various languages. The object of Nationalism is to be the basis of the villages. It can be achieved by spreading hatred as well as by love for the poor. If we object is achieved through wrong means, the result is not instead of being good. Therefore, let us adopt the right means. If we do so, many of our obstacles will be removed.

"We must understand that the basic problem of the country is poverty and unless our production increases it will not be solved. But I shall go a step further and say that industrial production alone will not solve it. Much depends upon the way in which we increase our production. Today the society is divided into producers and non-producers. The former have to work hard and still their needs are not fully satisfied. The latter, though they render some service, do not take part in production, they even make that work. Physical labour is considered as beneath the dignity of a gentleman and craftsman, house and business, who render indispensable service to the society are considered as of lower rank. This attitude has resulted in the fall of our country. The division into labouring and non-labouring class is not in the interests of the country. The labourer is hungry but do not get satisfaction in eat, while the non-labouring class have wealth but no appetite and that both are ruined. This division does not appear to be in accord with God's object, who has created a free man with only hands and the man with only feet, but has given both to every man. Physical and mental labour is so much the duty of a human being as to be work is of the physical labourer."

"I appeal to the youth to take in physical labour, if they want a revolution. Work is prayer and real service to the country. To not render production is a sin. The God says that one who sits without doing physical work

* Adapted from Shri Vinoba's Hyderabad speech, D.D.

in which the Government of all groups transportation and communications, that is, are suffering today. The industrial means, the labouring and manufacturing class (which includes the professions, sciences, judges, etc., etc.) must be given a more substantial and not false or deceptive picture of labour.

If these things should be more properly done, it will be, step after step, in thought, in my idea from personal experience. I have these pictures before me and the result was that they could not change form and I could think well. I could not have been a clear thinker if I had been only a mental worker. In the judge that every day some physical work like spinning, digging, etc., etc. must be done and his judgment better. The mind goes the regular way to work physical work.

I expect you to feel that in this country to produce something useful is a form of discipline to each day, an act of worship. This will surely not only in increased production but also create a proper respect for physical labour and the labourer. In the days of Mahatma the way to India the whole of India, the total and total Krishna the new way and means, all these professions were respected but today they are considered new. Hindu and revolutionary men have done physical labour. Mahatma the Prophet, and when great, words have done so. Mahatma Gandhi says every day. On the day of the leader, the last year and was going for power just before he was shot.

It is therefore a revolutionary idea that I have placed before you and if you remember it and put it into practice, all the problems of labour and capital would be solved and the road to prosperity will be clear.

NOTES

New Postage Stamps

I am unable to pay any compliments to the Government of India for the designs selected for the new postage stamps. When there is a constant demand for economy in every department, why this extravagance of having various pictures on every stamp and these ones in different sizes, and multi-colours! The simple stamps which we have been using since the war with a single picture, a simple distinguishing colour for each denomination and a uniform size are do so much work and bring to the Government so much profit as these photographic representations of old paintings. They are no longer unknown to citizens of India or

Are these stamps meant for foreigners? Why is there no Indian stamp in it, except the showing the gods of the stamp? Stamps ranging from 3 paise to 2 rupees would go to every part and corner of India. How are business and commerce to understand what the stamp-god on the two-rupee stamp means: what a Bodhisattva is and why does he sit in that strange posture, which is neither royal nor royal? Scholars must know, if they have forgotten it, that Indian stamps have no idea of Buddha, Bodhisattva, or Jesus. And imagine how ridiculous our young men and women would look if they went to walk in the streets in the style of the stamp-god, or to sit

in the manner of the Bodhisattva? I have witnessed performances of these artificial gestures in schools and colleges and have been amazed by their ridiculousness. I wonder how the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs would like his papers or his pocket clearly and cleanly approaching him in the right Western style on hand over to him an important paper! On the one hand you want to introduce military habits of marching, standing, walking, etc., on the other hand, you provide pictures in which he sits in his best in all sorts of artificial and artificial shapes! Also, the representation of the Tricolor on one of the stamps might be assisted by various photographs, so they will be necessarily deleted and chosen was the design.

These pictures are all old things. India is sufficiently ancient, modern, and unique-minded to need no further encouragement in that direction. No modern man has been encouraged thereby, if encouragement of art was the motive for this selection. It only causes the impression that India has no new imagination left now. She must only look at and absorb her old things and still draw inspiration even though some of them might be ugly and crude. If we want several kinds of designs at all, let there be of India my wish to make and not of what she was at some time in the past.

Wardha, 12-7-49

Comments on Advertising Agents

A correspondent draws my attention to the use being made of Cinema films for advertising instead of particular manufacturers. He saw recently a cinema show under the auspices of the Rajawade Cinema. It seemed not to be a moving picture of organisms of a particular make!

If we are really serious about the organisation of our country, the promotion of art and education will have to go. Representation is impossible with vice and luxury.

Wardha, 12-7-49

E. C. M.

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Use of Green Water

In village Chidambaram, the problem of drinking water is solved by means of a great difficulty. There is no drainage system in the village and no water coming from houses or wells flows in the lanes causing massive dirt, foul smell and insects of various kinds. The civil supply department has introduced a temporary arrangement in the form of soak pits two feet deep and three feet broad. But a sufficient supply of a nearby well.

In these days when there is shortage of food and fruits in the country, it is our duty to make use of all that would help their production. For growing vegetables and citrus trees, next to land, it is difficult to get adequate water for their extensive growth. The village water, though it contains nitrogen, an essential element for the growth of vegetables and fruit trees, produces only undesirable if this water is utilized. It will remove undesirable and provide water for fruits and vegetables. Some village people of land is available in almost every country house. A potted tree or two and vegetables could be profitably grown on it with the help of the house water. A couple of trees would suffice for a small family. In a larger family where much water is used, more trees could be grown. They could also be planted near the village well where people take bath or fill water. They require little space and add to the beauty of the surroundings. In a year the tree is ready to give fruit. If we use it carefully such one will easily give at least ten seeds of sweet banana. After the banana is taken from the tree, the juice extracted from its trunk could be used in preparing papad etc.

By utilizing filthy water in this way, we can improve our health, clean the village and eat more fruits and vegetables.

(Translated by Harijan)

(Adapted from Harijan)

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MISUNDERSTANDING

I regret that my article "Despatch" (Hijran) has not been understood completely. It has been taken as a denunciation of the Congress.

Some of the correspondents have distorted the two incidents referred to by me. One writer says "the National Flag had been already hoisted before and mentioned two previous incidents in other countries, where a similar hoisting was considered. It was, therefore, inconsequential if it was repeated once again." Another writer says that the hoisting of the Union Jack along with the country's flag on Government offices on the King's Birthday was an act of insult perpetrated by the Government itself. This shows how passion blurs our power of thinking. If the reference to the two previous incidents is correct, it only shows that we ought not to carry a flag at all until the people are well disciplined. It does not justify the third incident. In any case the National Flag should not be used by any party in elections.

The hoisting of the Union Jack in India is keeping with our present constitutional position. India is still a Dominion under the Union Jack. It owes allegiance to George VI and the head of the Indian Government is her Governor General. After the country has passed its Constitution and declared itself a Republic, it will have no King and no Governor General on its behalf and the position will change.

The assault on Shri Ram Sachdeva Kapadia has been severely justified. Some of the writers who declare it always a rough business and those who take part in it must be prepared to face rough handling in the heat provoked by the situation. If ladies want to be treated civilly, they must not enter the arena of election campaigns, just as they may not expect not to be shot if they crossed a battlefield as fighting soldiers. This means that we would make election campaigns civil wars on a small scale if we were left to ourselves. It is this wrong training to our citizens that I have condemned as I must. There can be no democracy with this sort of citizenship.

Another writer has said that Shri Ram Sachdeva had been severely assaulted by persons at the Congress in a U.P. election and I had made no comment upon it. I had no knowledge of the incident. If it is true, it was as disgraceful a behaviour as that against Sachdeva. Whether it is Sachdeva, Arundhan or a lady of Sachdeva's party, no woman can be so handled by decent people.

Particular exception has been taken to my remark "May I know what culture is this?" Is it Indian, Bengali, Indian, German, Russian, ancient or modern?" A flag against Bengali culture has been suspected here. The very manner of the remark ought to have dispelled such doubts. "Is it Indian?" I ask first, and knowing that it can't be so, I ask next whether

H. J. Bhattacharya, Professor of Public Administration and Social Management, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, and as this Post Office has been his residence and workplace overnight and day long, whether it is correct or not?" I am unwilling to answer any one, definitely and so I retreat with the question—Whether it is I wish to ask whether this criticism is not immoral and unbecomely? Can it lead to any good government and happiness of the people? Both are framed as leading questions which means I know what reply I have in mind, and so proceed further with condemning those who were responsible for the incident. Every discerning reader should have taken this as my friend's warning to his politically minded constituents of every party.

Wardha, 20-3-49. S. G. MATHUR, B.A.

HARIJAN

July 31

1949

FOOD ECONOMY

Last week I discussed some far looking ideas about greater production of food crops and the procurement and maintenance of food stocks. This week I propose to dwell on some of the points relating to its economical preservation, consumption and distribution.

I believe no statisticians has plotted the country's food shortage at more than 10 per cent of her needs. In a vast country like India this shortage is too small to cause any serious anxiety or panic. Mathematically it works out at 2 oz. of grain per head for a person requiring 28 oz. as the full ration. Proper preservation, economic consumption, occasional well-timed releases and fair distribution of food should be able to feed every inhabitant of the land with a little help of bananas, sweet potatoes, potatoes and other subsidiary foods, which no one else will gather difficulties, and would need no vigorous propaganda, provided they are available in sufficient quantities and are cheap. But in this poor country of ours, let alone bananas and potatoes even vegetables are not available throughout the year. It is just like the argument that the deficit in agriculture should be met by keeping a few milk cattle and the deficit in the latter by the increase in agriculture!

A consideration of statistical figures alone fails to make any case for controls, rationing, etc. It would appear that there is no scarcity worth the name and several writers have criticised government restraints on the farm and doubted the law (sic) of officers and others who have resisted the policy of decentralisation.

There is no doubt that in actual experience shortage of food is greater than that warranted by the figures. Statistics are belied by experience in the same way as the law of gravity

that a heavy stone and a feather if dropped simultaneously from the top of a tower, should fall to the ground at the same moment as belied by actual experiment. It means that besides theoretical calculations there are other factors which have to be taken into consideration and controlled.

The case of food and cloth is similar to that of income. Economists put down the average income of an Indian at about Rs. 180 per annum, if not more. Mathematically it means Rs. 15 per month per head, so that the average income of a family of five persons would be Rs. 75 per month. If this were really available to every one, there need be no serious cause for poverty worry. But we know that the average is a fictitious one. It is made by adding together incomes of the following type and striking the average:

No. of persons	Income	Total income
	Riches	Riches
1	50 lakhs	50 lakhs
1	5 lakhs	5 lakhs
10	0.50 lakh each	5 lakhs
90	Rs. 50 only each	4.50 lakhs

50.5 lakhs

Average income per head Rs. 15,000!

It is clear that this average is misleading and presents a false picture of prosperity. Socially formulas are averages regarding cloth and food. The calculations take no account of the mode of distribution, which is a very important factor. Even if we succeed in producing 10 per cent more food, and thus make up the theoretical shortage it will by no means mean that everyone will get sufficient cereals to eat. If the ways of preservation, distribution and consumption continue what they are, there will still be millions of people who will not get sufficient food to eat.

It is not the too much shortage of grains that is the cause of our hungry millions. Even when a million people died of starvation in Bengal, there was so much rice and flour in Calcutta that thousands of bags were destroyed because they had become rotten. Even now tons of imported grains become damaged before it reaches the dock or railway yards for shortage of labour, waggon, etc. In 1943, when the people of Nagpur were hard hit for food, we saw in the Central Jail masses of prisoners *die* the living duly thrown out into drains, so much so that all the crows of surrounding suburbs used a feeding place inside the jail and there was a marked increase of their population there. Careless storing, delayed transport, deliberate waste in eating, and unequal distribution are, with which make the food problem graver than it should really be. In servant-managed kitchens, so much food is destroyed by careless storing and deliberate waste in cooking, serving and eating as actually goes into the stomach.

Pyramidal, of great height, suitable for use as a flag for fire, possibly possible. Forty years ago all middle class houses behind gates have been to do it, and in the case where there are still, making it difficult. Cultivators are now from those years from rice and wheat through various other crops and recent and great additions with rice. Now even wholeheartedly, it is to be ignored, the methods. Government stores and railway godowns in spite of their excessive holdings are houses of waste. The Government stores is too inflexible to regard themselves as a government store. Cultivators, long cultivators, have no longer a sense of grain and commodity. A grain of food was regarded almost as holy as an image of God. It was not consciously avoided under foot. An earth with food in hand was regarded as sacred. The water was regarded as a sacred object. It was carefully got out of the water and left something in the dish for being thrown away. A habit of leaving something in the dish was regarded as training. The present day Indian appears to be the opposite. One's sense seems to regard making a clean dish as sagacity and make it a habit of leaving some thing in waste even if moderately served. The Indians is not only food, but also the regarded as a result to the food and a very great food. A nation which makes a habit of leaving its food, cannot, complain against shortage and famine, and blame Providence for not sending much rain or raising good crops. And Indians who encourage such behavior, must not be surprised if their appeals to cultivators to grow more food and sell away their surplus are lost like water poured on an inverted cup.

Even after practicing them on these two heads, the question of food distribution remains. Whether the market is free or controlled and food is rationed or open a handful of people have food accordingly more than they need and others have not enough. At one end of a large mansion you would see guests being fed at a cost of 5 to 8 rupees per head, at the other end peasants and sweepers struggling among themselves to collect residues from a feast of those discarded after the guests were fed. This is a crime against humanity and it cannot go unpunished under just but righteous laws of the world. Such crimes are an offense against society and must be voluntarily abandoned as well as legally banned.

The collection of revenue in kind, the making of a large part of the grain so collected in the village stock, the opening of co-operatives all large grain-banks, employment of all modes of transport, and encouragement of the system of paying wages and salaries partly in the form of grain, if all employees would go a great way in bringing about fair distribution. Saving and economizing in the expenditure of food is as important as increasing its production.

Wardha, 26/7/60

K. D. KARNATAK, M. A.

THE SANTIKIRKISTAN PILGRIMAGE

II

From their Meander Gaudy proceeded to visit that "Mickal Day's studio and art gallery" where Mrs. Day has collected over five thousand pieces of pre-Indian art, including nearly 1,000 pieces of Gandharvian art. A lot of these rescued from private houses, second-hand dealers and the ruins of white casts. He showed some of his own pieces on which he had copied material portions of the Ajanta caves that were in danger of being lost, owing to the ravages of time and weather no less than neglect and ignorant antiquity. He had brought them over from China where there was danger of air raids and there they lay in happy protection, converted into a very fine and valuable collection of art treasures. It was his intention that these should be acquired on behalf of the nation and form the nucleus of an Indian national gallery of art.

On his lack of time Gaudy could not visit China, Shantung where after 20,000 Chinese tents are housed the major part of them being a gift from the Chinese National Government. Some of them we were told, were no longer available in China, being burnt or destroyed during the war. Reminded Prof. T. T. Yen, the head of Chinese Shantung to Gaudy. There was a time when some of the Indian Buddhist texts were available only in the Chinese, the originals in India being lost. Now the texts were recovered.

Gaudy could not give more than half an hour to Mandabala's Kishorekuma, where the wishes of some of Mandabala's masterpieces instructed him. He was in fact, not only the wonderful work, made by Mandabala almost out of nothing. For instance, a dried piece of twig was converted into the likeness of a mud pot, gloriously drunk riding a wild horse, a piece of cotton wool was turned into a hard setting in its most perfect of straw were turned into a little grasshopper. It seemed as if the delivery of his art could transmute almost anything into art, and a "thing of beauty and joy for ever." It proved Gaudy to have that the day he himself was living his life in the art.

On his return to Calcutta he vigorously went on to his own personal note to enquire about his health and to tell him that he must live long to give more of his beautiful art to India. Mandabala had a place all his own in the consciousness of Indian art, making as he does a link with the wishes of the Western school of painting and a return to the Indian style with its emphasis on the soul which it seeks to interpret instead of mere material form.

Mandabala was in a very weak condition of health. Even the exertion of walking down the veranda to the river's bank had brought on an attack of breathlessness. There was a growth of several days, perhaps, weeks on the chin. But

more beautiful than ever before. The way they looked on Gandhiji's affliction and sorrow for him. "I did his dinner at 1922 when he wanted Gurukul at the latter's house. Gurukul had been also there," he reminded me, a little smile on his face. "But I had to let the Mahatma face to face. How did it even like the face that good look? It was a lot of people." After a pause he proceeded: "I've few fully realize what Mahatma's meaning was about to bring—the difference between India that was before him and India of now. And to illustrate his observation he set out a string of paintings which he had done in 1941 depicting three stages in the moral and spiritual evolution of a servant who had actually been in his service. In the first he is shown just as he was when he first came from his village home in search of service—all clad in rags, fever-racked, with a strap hanging from his face. Then comes the semi-co-opted stage, and finally he begins to read newspapers. The light of intelligence began to dawn on his face. In the third he has become a full-fledged Gandhi. He has donned the white cap. There was a volunteer's trouser badge on his shoulder and a look of proud self-respect on his face. He took several notes after carefully "He is one of the millions like him," he concluded. "His history epitomizes the history of India's moral campaign under Mahatma's gospel of *Charkha* and Non-violence. That is why I worship the Mahatma."

On the 17th Gandhiji performed the foundation laying ceremony of Derasbandha Memorial Hospital. The auspicious mark on his forehead as the ceremony was put by two Kuntals, one of them being a woman. Equally happy was the choice of the song from the Ganga that was sung.

Here is my friend and here rest thy feet,
Where live the poorest, and weakest, and best.

A note of great sadness rang through Gandhiji's reply. Charles Andrews whom the people of India had affectionately given the title of Derasbandha in grateful recognition of his unswerving championship of the cause of the poor and the downtrodden had been like a blood brother to him. There was not a thought which Derasbandha did not share with him and yet he could not grieve over his death.

"Birth and death are the obvious and reverse of the same coin," he observed. "They are not distinct. They are different aspects on the same thing. But out of our ignorance we welcome the one and shrink from the other. That is wrong. Mourning over the death of dear ones, especially those like Charles Andrews and Gurukul who have done their part so nobly and well has its roots in our selfishness. Derasbandha is blessed in death as he was in life. Death of people like him cannot be an occasion for sorrow. Speaking for myself, I may say that I have almost forgotten to mourn the death of friends

and dear ones and I want you to learn to do likewise."

PTARMIGAN

A TOLERATED EVIL.

I have not been a cinema goer for some years. I have no idea of it only through the advertisements in papers, and on walls, occasional press notices, the sales of its songs, etc., and complaints of inopportunities. The following is written by one who has not denied himself that luxury completely. His views are sound and deserve serious attention. Personally I regard the cinema as it is a greater evil than drink with only this difference that while drink has no potentially the doing good, cinema has. Not simply because of its popularity, it cannot be regarded as an evil which should be tolerated.

MEERUT, 1949-50

—K. D. S. J.

I am not unmindful of the contention that I ought leave to fate if I want to call the cinema an evil. Late Indian cigarettes too called the cinema has come to be considered fashionable these days. But, like the former, the latter has remained an evil only. While it is conceded that the potentiality of cinema for doing good is as great as if not greater than, those for creating evil in this industry, its selfish craving for money, has miserably abused the good of the screen and made the invention an instrument of spreading low tastes, crime, vice and filth. Supporters of the cinema will argue that it is a good recreation for the weary people and has educational value also. This is true only in theory. Actually it has become the resort of worried persons, who find their place in the same way as they do before sleep, that is in order to forget the outside world and their worries. Both I was lulled himself for a while when in the picture-house, but when he comes out of it the same world from him is all its dark realities. Very few people who see pictures, learn good morals and manners or gain knowledge. Any evil, however, which they are able to turn as dirt sticks to white clothes.

The persons who take part in the production of films have, to a very large extent become victims of vices of every type. The industry not only caters for people with very low tastes, but also exploits young men and girls for immoral purposes. The cinema houses and the places where cinemas are produced are no better than houses of shame. And yet, simply because there is a theoretical possibility of making cinema an instrument of useful knowledge and high culture, the industry is regarded as a useful one. It is a tolerated evil.

The practical evils are three-fold: (a) good films are not produced by the industry; (b) the brighter features of the persons are not taken seriously by the public, and (c) the people do not acquire healthy knowledge and habits.

As cinema-going has come to be regarded as fashionable and the industry is patronised by every one from the Governor General to the factory labourer, a suggestion to

heavily censor the film, it is bound to be a cry in the wilderness. We have to accept that it has come to stay. Hence we must think only of improving it and developing its potentiality for doing good to the country. In the days of foreign rule, the industry under compulsion served as a propaganda vehicle and did its job well, and attempts to express national self-respect and patriotism were effectively suppressed. But in a free country, this industry has also become free to render real service to the people.

There are many ways in which film service can be rendered. Today the greatest need is the education of the adult population. In less than two years we are going to have elections under adult franchise and this brings a great responsibility on all adults—a responsibility which will be laid on their shoulders for the first time and which they do not understand. We must prepare the adult population to realise the responsibilities of citizenship. The task is tremendous and while none has taught even the dregs, it cannot be expected that the Government will be able to achieve much in the next two years. One of the non-official agencies which can take up this task is the cinema. A show generally lasts from 2½ to 3½ hours. The period is greater than that devoted in night schools, host day-schools do not run for more than two hours on Saturdays. Just imagine what an amount of useful instruction could be given during this long time. If writers had imagination of the right type, educational films could be made as interesting as loved ones are supposed to be. They can create a sense of discipline and sanitation, and show how to keep cleanliness and to observe rules of health, also teach the proper use of public places like parks, roads, train houses, railway trains etc., courteous behaviour towards others, proper respect for women and children, the use of public property, etc. They can create a sense of national self-respect, patriotism and citizenship and inculcate the people into the art of administration. They can carry people into every corner of the world without travelling, giving them a vivid idea of geography, astronomy, science, etc. Such ventures can be multiplied in any number, but this is only to give an idea of the tremendous scope for doing service to the people.

This can be done only if the film industry is controlled by sober educationists and films produced by men and women brought up and living under good moral surroundings. Its commercial character must go even though it has to be self-supporting. The Government has a responsibility in this direction and it should strictly limit the scope of films to the object of health, education of the public.

Cinema must not be looked upon as resorts, for beguiling the world but as institutions which teach how to make the world a better living place than what it is.

T. R. N.

LETTERS FROM TERRACE MANDIR

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

XXX

If learned Brahmins are also good men, it would be a desirable thing for them to spread the knowledge of the Upanishads among the people. But nowadays learning and goodness hardly ever go together. Therefore I am saddened as regards the progress of the Gita in the Ramayal in public. A person undertaken by one who does not understand the meaning or understanding the meaning reads completely blind for show or for fame as if there were anything meritorious in merely reading them blind as nothing worth. I would go even further and say that it does harm. (Translated from Gujarati)

XXI

We must believe in the existence of God. Inasmuch as we believe in our own. Loving beings exist and so does God. Who is the man-made of all this?

By a disbelief in God we injure ourselves in the same way as if we disbelieve in ourselves. That is to say, not to believe in God is something like suicide. But it is one thing to believe in God, and quite another thing to neglect ourselves as if we had such a living faith. As a matter of fact there is no other in the world, either in a more positive.

A man makes the Supreme by becoming absolutely free from likes and dislikes and every otherness. I hold that he who says that he has attained realisation is far, far away from his destination. Realisation is a matter of experience but does not lend itself to description in language.

I can live only in virtue of my faith in God. In my view there is no God different from Truth. Truth is God. (Translated from Marathi)

XXII

It is my experience as a famous expert that the breaking of fasts on solid food often results in great harm to the body.

* Realisation begins by giving up food.

CULTIVATE LOVE*

Love is a thing to be cultivated. It is said that anger and other feelings are a part of the nature of a being, but it is not so. These feelings are of the mind but are being controlled from the mind. If we realize this we can control our mind in the same way as we regulate our words. If our mind becomes detached we then realize and engage ourselves in some other work, because we know that if we continue to think there, they will become weaker still. But as we know that our eyes are different from ourselves and accordingly deal with them separately so also if we realize that our mind is different from us, we can handle it as such. If we appreciate beauty that the thoughts which arise in our mind have no connection with our being, we can take a detached view of the mind's action. Then we will be able to analyse the good and the evil in our mind and reality.

One who constantly gives vent to anger cultivates anger. Similarly one who too long can be punished. If we instead meditate with love, it will take a deep root in our hearts and will also spread its roots. This is the beauty of virtue. If they take a deep root in our hearts, they easily spread its society.

We should understand another thing also. However good a thing may be it will have its defects also.

* Adapted from Shri Vivekananda's post-prayer speech at Varanasi, on 18th Feb.

—D. D.

HARIJAN

OPERATED BY HAREKRISHNA SAMBATH
EDITOR: H. G. MANDREKHA



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TWO ANNAS

VILLAGE SERVICE*

A 'village' in the popular mind is associated with small habitations in the rural areas. In India we have lakhs of villages. The population of these villages live generally in huts and they are mostly dependent upon agriculture both as a means of livelihood and as a way of life. There may be in the villages some small cottage industries generally allied to agriculture, but agriculture is the main occupation. These villages, generally speaking, lack all amenities. There are no medical facilities nor good communications and very few villages contain schools either. It is these villages which Gandhiji had chiefly in mind and it was their welfare which he had at heart. The great Kasturba National Trust founded by him for the welfare of the women and children of India began its work in villages in earnest only in villages whose population does not exceed 2,000. It is in these villages that old and harmful social customs and superstitions prevail and where people are still so steeped in ignorance that the need for beneficent work is the greatest.

Townships or small towns with a population of 5,000 to 10,000 or even 15,000 should not definitely be regarded as villages. They have large numbers, if not hundreds, of gurdwaras. They possess hospitals and dispensaries and high schools, if not intermediate colleges. There are plenty of shops and the residents carry on different occupations and do not depend wholly or even partially on agriculture. As compared to Calcutta and even because of proximity to Calcutta they may be stagnant ponds but they are not villages. Most of them are centres of villages and some of them are small municipalities. Many residents of these places which are near to Calcutta or Howrah come over to the city daily as office workers or otherwise. To call these places villages will be a misnomer and to make such villages centres of village uplift activities will again, in my opinion, be a wrong procedure.

I suggest that my fellow Harijans, if they are interested in the rural welfare movement, should definitely select one or more real, genuine villages for their good activities.

Then there is another experience which I should like to share with my fellow Harijans. I have found that in this social welfare work it is not money that counts. It is the personal endeavour and personal identification with those whom you want to benefit that count. You may succeed in improving the villages permanently, if you go and live among them, by your personal example and by your presence. But if you merely spend your money on them by establishing, let us say, a primary school or a social welfare centre, then it is really working, so to say, on sand. While the intention is there, villages will take advantage of it, but as soon as it ceases to function, they will relapse into their ignorance and there will be no signs of improvement visible. This aspect of the problem influenced Gandhiji and he stressed the establishment of ashrams where wholesome workers might go and live among the villagers and share their daily life and inculcate in them habits of self-help.

Then again it is not sufficient that the residents of an ashram, or a social welfare centre should themselves do some work for the benefit of the villagers, such as improving village sanitation, etc. What is necessary is that the villagers should themselves be made improvement-minded. Young men and women should be organised and should be taught and helped to work for themselves. The workers should go and with the help and active co-operation of the villagers themselves see the seed of improvement so that in a few years the seed might grow into a good, healthy tree and continue to flourish on its own without extraneous help. I quite recognise that to ask a city man to go and live in a village may be a counsel of perfection. Very few people would be able to do so and such demand might be an idle one. But what cannot be done individually is perfectly feasible for a group of persons acting collectively. I would, therefore, suggest that a number of Harijans interested in village welfare work should join together and establish a home of their own in one or more selected villages. That home should be permanently occupied and it should be made to appear as if another family had come to reside in the village. As many Harijans or members of any particular group may go and live there day and night as they conveniently can, but

*From a note addressed to the Rotary Club of Calcutta and Howrah.

there must be in residence throughout the year at least one member in residence. Supposing a group consists of 14 people, then they might among themselves settle the rule and one of them should go and pass at least one day and night every fortnight in this community centre in the village. It should be just like another home in the village and in no way very grand or out of keeping with the normal village home. It should be a model of cleanliness and good sanitation and hygiene. It should have a small pond with a well for drinking water and some flowers so that the villagers might come and enjoy the company of the Rotarian family. The inmates should treat themselves just as one family in the village and take part in all the village festivals and all village activities and share the villagers' joys and sorrows. A medicine chest might be kept and household necessities distributed. The villagers should be organized for their own improvement.

While advice should be available, the initiative in the field work should be theirs. There are immense possibilities in this procedure. There may be a regular village clearing drive from time to time. A vocational course might be established, a good primary school opened and cottage industries encouraged and developed.

Care, however, must be taken that the life that the inmates live should be just like the plain life of an ordinary village. Food should be simple and by no means luxurious, nor should be as the apartments and the furniture in the house. There should be no air of patronage. Villagers should be made to feel that people who have come to live amongst them have come not in a patronizing mood to do good to them but really to smooth themselves and enrich their own life by living among simple, truthful village folk. This is not merely conventional language. My experience has been that I learn and grow much more from visiting a village than any benefit that I may confer on the villagers themselves by my going there.

Work undertaken on these lines is bound to have far-reaching results. The home established will become a model for all other homes in the village and the villagers will learn how to improve themselves. Money will definitely be required, but . . . this money should not be wanted, and it should be coupled with personal effort and personal example so that it may yield maximum results.

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THE SANTIKHETAN PILGRIMAGE

III

With a great and towering personality like Gandhi passes away leaving an orphaned institution behind, the question always arises as to what can or should take his place. A successor of an equal calibre is rarely, if ever, available. Moreover, Santikheta was the child of Gandhi's personal aspiration. It had not been built according to a set and dried plan. It had gradually grown. While Gandhi was there he served as the living nexus between the various departments and activities of Santikheta. They got naturally linked up through his all-enveloping and co-ordinating personality. What could be done to restore that aspiration? Gandhi's reply was that Gandhi could not be made to order. No single individual could take Gandhi's place but they could all collectively represent his ideal if each one put the institution first in all things and himself last.

On the evening of the 13th December, the heads of the various departments met Gandhi in an informal conference to place their difficulties before him and seek his guidance. Gandhi asked them not to hesitate to tell him if the institution had fallen from the ideals which Gandhi had put before them. "Regard me as a blank slate. Be for I have had only heavy and heavy has very little place in my life. Solid facts are what I want. Without a full knowledge of facts I shall be able to do little to help you."

Having come hesitating on their part he resumed: "It is not that you have nothing to say. That would mean that the institution is perfect. But nothing in this world is perfect. Speak to me freely about the shortcomings. Good things speak for themselves not the bad things, at any rate, not to me."

Ratikanta looks the last. The number of students in his department had been steadily increasing. Ratikanta had begun as a student but it had now become a teaching institute. Teaching and administrative work made heavy inroads upon his time and the art suffered. The chief difficulty was to find a suitable successor who would command the willing allegiance of his colleagues and at the same time worthily represent the spirit of the institution.

Several other difficulties were mentioned. Ratikanta spoke about the finances. Ratikanta complained that young men of promise who came there for training were lured away by the prospect of distinction and remuneration when their training was complete. "Santikhetan has become like the proverbial crow's nest handing cuckoo's eggs." Ratikanta complained that the university department of the Vaidyashala had quipped the pitch. Shri Subhashchandra Gupta mentioned the complication arising from the admission of day scholars. Shri Krishna Kripalani voiced the dilemma of the whole group when he complained that they felt like the crow

of a vessel without the helmsman. "We have no clear conception as to whether we are drifting, what we want to be."

After they had all finished Gandhi began:

"I have followed every word of what you have said with the keenest interest and I have learned a lot from it. I do not propose to make detailed observations on what has been said or to give expression to all that is welling up in me just now but shall confine myself to one or two remarks of a general character.

"As I listened while Rukhshaba and Mahatambabha were speaking, I said to myself: 'Here is a real difficulty but it is a difficulty of our own making.' If a person conducts a big department he is expected to transcend what he stands for to someone who can be termed as his successor. Yet it is the dominant cry of these two students that they are unable to find a suitable successor for their respective departments. True, these are departments of a special character. I know these departments and I know too Gurudev's views about them. Speaking generally, may I venture to suggest that there is no difficulty but can be overcome by *tapacharya*. It is almost an untranslatable word, the nearest approach to its true meaning being perhaps 'single-minded devotion'. But it means much more than that. Whenever, in the course of my multifarious activities, I have been confronted with a difficulty of this character, this single-minded devotion has solved my difficulty in a manner which I had never expected. During my twenty long years in God-forsaken South Africa, where under circumstances of the worst kind conceivably I found my God, it was my invariable experience that the right helper appeared at the right moment.

"It is my conviction which I arrived at after a long and laborious struggle that Gurudev as a person was much superior to his work or even this institution when he soared and sang. He poured his whole soul into it and nurtured it with his life's blood and yet I dare say that his greatness was not fully expressed by it or through it. That is perhaps true of all great and good men—they are better and greater than their works. If, then, you are to represent the goodness or greatness for which Gurudev stood but which he could not express fully—even through this institution, you can do it only through *tapacharya*.

"There is a remarkable string of verses in the *Tula Samayana* to the effect that what is not possible through other means becomes possible through *tapacharya*. This is said with reference to Parvati. Nanda had prophesied that she would have for her companion-in-life one who answered to the description of Shiva. If instead of Shiva these characteristics were met in the person of a rogue her life would be ruined. How to avert such a calamity was the pro-

blem and it is in that context that the verse to which I have referred came. I commend these verses to you for your careful perusal. Only you will have to strip them of their orthodoxy.

"Financees were mentioned by you in the course of discussion. I will plead with you to dissolve from your thoughts the word 'financees' altogether. I am convinced that lack of financees never represented a real difficulty to a sincere worker. Financees follow—they dog your footsteps if you represent a real cause. More, let me utter a warning: A Worker may be real and yet the cause he represents may not be real. His handicap in that case will continue. There are, of course, seeming exceptions. The world is full of fools and successful rogues. But speaking of sincere men and women, it is my faith that if their cause is as worthy as their means, the handicap of financees need never deter them or damp their ardour. It is a big thing you have undertaken and in future you may have to undertake still bigger things and the question will be raised, "What about the financees?" I would plead with you in that event not to waste a thought on financees and you will find that the difficulty lies somewhere else rather than in the lack of financees. Set it right and the financees will take care of themselves."

To Shri Bhikashilashan Gupta, Gandhi said: "There is a common difficulty. You cannot ride two horses at the same time. If you mix day scholars with full time students, the former will overshadow and spoil the training of the latter. Your institution was not designed for the mixture."

"Then it was said by Krishna Kripalani," continued Gandhi, "that they did not know what they were aiming at or stood for, what the sum total of the aspirations of Santiniketan and Shantiniketan signified. My answer is that the ideal before you is not to represent Bengal or even India; you have to represent the whole world. Gurudev's vision was not smaller than that. He stood for humanity as a whole. He could not do that unless he represented India with its destitute, dumb millions. That should be your aspiration as well. Unless you represent the mass mind of India, you will not represent Gurudev as a man. You may represent him as a singer, as a painter, or as a great poet, but you won't represent him, and history will say of Gurudev that his institution was a failure. I do not want history to give that verdict."

Rukhshaba had asked that Gandhi should elicit to Santiniketan a longer period of stay every year. "I agree," replied Gandhi, "that if my claim that I am one of you is to be fully vindicated I ought to be here in your midst for a longer time. I would love to do so. But my future dispositions are in the hands of God."

PFARLAL

HARIJAN

August 7

1949

ANIMAL TRANSPORT

A correspondent from Katol (C P) writes—

'You have suggested in the columns of the *Shreej* that along with railway and motor transport, other means of transport should also be considered. But, it seems that Government have upon consideration almost entirely do the opposite of considering them. If you wish, you can get a lot of information about this in the administration of the municipalities of all towns. Animal transport has to have a number of hardships including rough treatment at most, pain by muscular fatigue, also have to be captured and confined in various ways by poor villagers. Railway and motor transport is generally free from these.

Take this very place. The bullockcart is the usual means of transport between Nagpur and Katol for carrying such market articles as railway, gram, grain, etc. as Nagpur and various villages, etc. as Katol. A series of one mile of the Nagpur-Katol road passes through the mountainous hills of this country. This municipality levies Rs 5400 in road duty per mile each way in Rs 1 for a single journey while motor transport is free from this duty.'

The well-known Harijan-sevak, Shri V N Narve, from Dinda, supplements the above with the following:

'You have done well in revealing the importance of maintaining other means of transport also with railway and motor transport. Perhaps you might have heard that a few days ago Government was disturbed rather indifferently in Bombay, so that people used to travel even instead of road, etc. for working and other purposes. The reason for this was, I found that due to unavailability of wagons to export harvest from Bombay, too much business had accumulated in the city and had to be stopped as it was all distributed locally. And there was other means of transport also functioning, such as a situation as 'glutted in Bombay and empty outside' would not have arisen. That railway and motor transport is cheaper than animal transport does make a problem requiring a solution.'

The first letter shows how the policy of local self-government bodies far from encouraging animal transport is actually destructive to it and harmful to village uplift. It must be stopped in the first place. If we cannot stop, we must not at least obstruct another.

The question of cheapness of railway and motor transport has to be considered from two sides. First, let us inquire why it is cheaper than animal transport. It will be seen that one great cause is that both railways and motors involved and continuously receive help in various ways from government and local self-government bodies. For years together, financial aid and assurances were given to railways. Government acquires lands for them whenever necessary and constructs and maintains good roads at public cost in the interest of motor and railway traffic. At some places carts driven by bullocks are even prohibited the use of metal

and roads. Nobody thinks what strain it is to bullocks pulling a loaded heavily built village cart on a dusty road. There are extensive factories for building comfortable coaches, trucks, wagons, etc. Governments and ministers perform their spending activities at a cost of not a few hundred rupees for such factories. No attempts have been made to improve the cart, which retards the same provincial as other pattern, which the horsefathers of the villages devised centuries ago. No attempts are also made to raise a breed of stronger bullocks. Shunt was claimed to have a breed of ram-bullocks as distinguished from plough and load bullocks as they have these two kinds of horses in Europe. I do not know if any such distinction was thought of elsewhere. If it is realised that the bullock has a better claim to our attention than the immense railways and motors to use the road, that mode of transport will not remain as cheap as at present. Imagine a railway train or a motor truck being made to go through village roads, and calculate what it would cost to make it move a mile.

Secondly, as I have pointed out in my article *Second Line*, this problem is not to be considered from the point of view of apparent money cost. If it is realised that railway and motor transport system alone is not adequate for the country's requirements, it is necessary that the nation's economy should be so adjusted that all the man and animal power is fully and productively employed irrespective of money cost as we might do in war. All methods of production are thus utilised—even hand-knitting of socks and sweaters for the army. We bear the military expenditure, whatever it comes to, because both the people and the government rightly or wrongly think that if it is not so done, the country might be attacked, defeated and lost. The problem of village industries and animal transport should also be viewed in the same light. When a dear one is on death bed, even the poor man engages the services of a doctor, incurring expenses beyond his means. In war no sacrifice either in men or money is considered too great. The same analogy should apply in the conservation of this problem.

Methods of policy are not hastily adjusted to budgets; budgets are adjusted to policies. If the nation decides to go to war or to start huge armament factories, it finds money for it somehow. If it decides that it must have prosperous village life, rich cultivation, milked cows, hand-sown and strong bullocks, musk, ramada, horses, better ploughs, efficient chakras, home cars and other instruments and vehicles as an inevitable condition for growing more food the budget, and not only the budget but education, research, social stigmas and customs, laws of marriage and inheritance, have all to be adjusted to make these possible. Cheapness is an elusive term. That which kills life cannot be cheap. We know at our better cost and experience how

apoptosis our killings and incendiarisms have been during the last three years. Life appeared in the world when the earth had sufficiently cooled and settled down, so that it might express itself and evolve and blossom as trees do in spring and crops in the monsoons. It could not do so and cannot subsist in a world which is dying with storms like the mad place which existed a few days ago in Bombay. Human life cannot evolve and prosper if it is continuously trying to create, as it is were, tornado cyclones, hurricanes, dust storms and the like through its speedy machines and large scale productions and transport.

Wardha, 24-7-49

R. C. MANDREKHA

NOTES

Hunger for Income!

"Protesta for drinks will be taxed liberally for all foreigners intending to tour India as part of the campaign to stimulate tourist traffic in this country." (The Press of India, 24-7-49).

What may not a hungry person do? says a Sanskrit proverb. No less a person than the sage Valmiki has been described in Sanskrit religious literature as having stolen the flesh of the hind leg of a dog's carcass from the hot of a dipper! So in order to attract foreign tourists to our country, we might cater to their needs, whether virtuous or vicious! Even when the whole country goes totally sober, the foreigner will be enabled to become mad with drink, wherever he moves about. One does not know what else might not be sought by him and provided by us. The reason is that we want his money. The more drink and pleasure-seeking come to our country, the more shall we gain both in dollars and vice!

And since the tourist will also need some company to drink with him and some servants to serve him, they, too, I suppose, will be permitted to drink!

To what depths hunger for money and for "higher standard of life" will make us sink!

Wardha, 23-7-49

Another Shock

To add to the shock, another news item in today's papers reports:

"The Prime Minister is also believed to have told the President that they would be well advised to proceed cautiously in certain spheres of reform such as prohibition and the banning of racing. Pandit Nehru is understood to have asked the President to consider whether it was necessary at the present juncture to close down such clubs. According to him, the solution of the existing economic problems and the food question should have the highest priority before reform like complete prohibition and closing down of racing could be undertaken. He urged them to go slow in certain spheres of reform which could as well be delayed without serious detriment to the nation. He is understood to have hoped that closure of such clubs might have deleterious effects on law-abiding which was essential both to defence and the civil needs of the country."

If there is any basis for this report, it makes very sad reading. This frantic effort for making

money anyhow will not carry us to the goal of prosperity. What we need is production of more food, more goods, not more vice and luxury. Vice and prosperity cannot go together.

Does the race horse supply any one need of our country? And has it not practically become obsolete even in the army? The most useful animal for the needs of the army and the people in India is the cow and the bullock. But it is woefully neglected and destroyed, and here we are told that our clubs should not be closed in the interest of defence and civil needs of the country? How is it possible to defend this policy? Is it necessary to say that people cannot have sufficient money for gambling except by getting rich corruptly? On the one hand we are asked to believe that the rich have not sufficient cash in hand to invest in industrial pursuits. And yet they have lakhs to squander on races and horses! The drink evil, I hear from every side, is on the increase among officers of all ranks, merchants, college students as well as the rank and file. Even the names of some ministers, legislators and Congress leaders are freely mentioned. This change in policy seems to prove it. I wonder if I should conclude that the government goal is now shifted from raising the standard of life to making the standard of vice!

Wardha, 25-7-49

Food v. Controls

Judging from the type of correspondence that I have been receiving from abjectly written down to the common citizen ever since the Governor-General and the Prime Minister and other government spokesmen issued appeals for producing more and consuming less cereals, it appears that there is a contest between Food and Controls. The same thing has happened before. The popular protest against controls varies in intensity directly with the government appeal for food.

Government cannot do better than concede to the popular demand. The evils of controls are self-evident, the good, if any, they do is not discernible. They prompt the people to use the same kind of adjectives against the present administration as were once employed by Pandit Nehru to condemn the one which he has replaced.

Wardha, 25-7-49

The Language of Delhi

I have seen criticisms of the words "the language spoken in Delhi and the surrounding parts" used in our appeal on the National Language. Let me explain. I am responsible for this particular expression, and it was accepted by Sri Kankabhai Kalekar and Sri Vinoba without any discussion. This means that it did not strike any one of us that we were raising a new controversy. Indeed there was no desire to raise it.

The formal expression generally used by Gandhi and adopted in various resolutions is "the language spoken by Hindus and Muslims

of the North of India." The word "North of India", I had a recollection, were often explained in the columns of the *Harjan* in the language spoken round about Delhi and Meerut. The words which we have used are not to be understood as having a different meaning from the above. I was not aware that on not specifically mentioning Meerut, we were travelling upon delicate ground. In my mind, Delhi and Meerut are associated together as a common linguistic area.

It might be worthwhile to relate a small story. I have noted Hindi writers using both the following grammatical forms:

है वह राम है — वह है :

राम राम है — वह है :

राम राम है वह है — वह है :

More than once a difference of opinion arose between me and my assistant as to which of these usages was correct. He belonged to the "Hindi province" and ordinarily I must accept his opinion as conclusive. But I had my doubts. Pandit Dwarkaprasad Mishra, former Minister, Nagpur, happened to pay me a visit and I consulted him. Besides removing the particular doubts referred to him, he advised me that generally the standard to be followed in the language spoken even by the villagers round about Delhi, etc. He explained to me that it was *Khar Boli* which was the basis of the present prose. "When you speak tabiri and he begins to write in poor language you might conclude that you have not used the *Khar Boli* usage."

Personally I would have liked to use the exact expression *Khar Boli*. But that would have been an invasion, and one does not know if that too had not been held controversial. So the expression which was always used by Gandhiji and where was retained. If the addition of the word "Meerut" is regarded more satisfactory, I can say on behalf of us all that we have no objection to its inclusion.

Wardha, 22-3-45

"Incidents of Gandhiji's Life"

This is the title of a book edited by Shri Chandrasekhara Shukla and published by Vora & Co., Bombay. It is a collection of incidents related by fifty-four eye-witnesses of various countries from their personal recollections. The book was planned while Gandhiji was still alive and with his consent.

As Shri C. Rajagopalachari in an appreciative letter to the editor says,

"Everything has two phases, what it is in reality and what impressions others take of it. And these phases which is more real or which is more important, Gandhiji he as really was and Gandhiji as others saw him from time to time. Your book will be an interesting collection of the latter."

There is also another side to the publication of this type of Gandhian literature. It is referred to in a letter to me by Miss S. Schlein:

"When I wrote that I did not invariably agree with what appeared in the *Harjan* I was stating

more especially of the selection of matter reporting Bapu. Perhaps I may quote from a letter written by me last year to Mr. C. Shukla declaring as I have consistently declared in such cases to contribute to a bank of reminiscences. My feeling is that Bapu has himself, in his writings and speeches, given us his message fully clearly; he has also given us the facts in regard to his life. Nothing else is necessary. Nothing that any one can attempt to write about Bapu can do him justice. Indeed, this endless making of books about him can tend only to obscure the picture." After reading some of the articles appearing in the *Harjan*, I would now add that the greatest care must be exercised as regards the publication of words uttered by Bapu in the latter stage. The latter stage would encompass just what Bapu meant, whatever he expressed himself — the reader would not not be mislead.

"Now as regards reminiscences. I think of two articles in the *Harjan* & I stand shivering at the Author has told his wife. Bapu calms his grief and tells him to write like a little message every day. He also has been examined by a specialist in regard to some affliction from which he suffers. Calcutta after whom was given to this under the heading of Bapu, my brother. Another reminiscence is that of a friend I met in the Civil Service I think of many years experience, who has offered to make Bapu as regards material work. The friend has noted a notebook at a moment when Bapu explains a reference to the Bapu (which is important record), the friend is told and another in one of the Author's members, who reports the matter to Bapu. Bapu wrote for the friend and makes it right again. This has happened several times before. There is nothing in other books which is not of common daily occurrence everywhere, nothing which makes Bapu as from quite ordinary persons in this. One must give the impression that acts of kindness and courtesy are also in India. Surely that cannot be so."

I quite appreciate Miss Schlein's criticism and would much like her view to be adopted by writers of reminiscences. In addition to disadvantages always associated with memory, there is also a desire to give an artistic dress to incidents, and this often gives an untruthful picture of the event. I have seen this in some of the reminiscences about Gandhiji already published by various people. Nevertheless this kind of literature about Gandhiji will unavoidably appear, and what has happened to previous great teachers might happen in connection with Gandhiji also, namely, such an amount of apocryphal literature might gather round Gandhiji's name that it might become difficult to ascertain the "Truth about Gandhiji". As it said to the credit of Shri Chandrasekhara Shukla that wherever possible he got the accounts as presented to him checked by others, when he could see that there were others also who were present at the time of the incident narrated. In fact, as he says in his Preface, he got two of the articles examined by Gandhiji himself.

But Miss S. Schlein's advice must be borne in mind by all writers.

Wardha, 22-3-45

"C. F. Andrews"

Some years ago a friend interested in the New Oxford movement sent me some Christmas Scriptures. One of the enclosed books was *What I Owe to Christ* by C. F. Andrews. I had known the Desbandtas for some years, and naturally desired to know his life. I read it all over bit by bit, and as I read I thought that I should some day translate it in Gujarati. I have not been able to do it, and do not know whether I shall ever be. But it is a book which every traveller on God's path might read with profit.

It is a pleasure therefore to see that Shri Bananadas Chaturvedi and Shri Harjibhai Sykes have published a full biography of that friend of the forlorn, and the worker of the Spirit. It carries a Foreword by Gandhiji, and I cannot do better than reproduce it below:

"Charlie Andrews was simple like a child, upright as a die and shy to a degree. For the biographers the work has been a labour of love. A life such as Andrews' needs no introduction. It is its own introduction.

New Delhi, 9-12-47 H. K. Gandhiji"

Before Charlie Andrews began to remember me definitely (as I think, I had had the privilege of meeting and talking to him three or four times. But a loving and friendly man though he was he could perhaps remember definitely only those whom he thought he would have to render some definite service. So generally he always seemed to meet me for the first time for some years. By and by, he began to locate me definitely in his memory. As this is a failing which also troubles me to a great degree, I get my consolation from him. Shri Vinoba would rather not call forgetfulness a failing but a capacity. "By forgetfulness you cross your hatred and worries and by memory you get your love and joy," Shri Vinoba would like to say. The Desbandtas was loving and smiling, because he possessed the great capacity to forget every unnecessary detail.

The biography has been published by George Allen & Unwin, London.

Wardha, 25-4-49

E. S. M.

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FRIENDLY WARNING

There is no use shutting one's eyes to the dangerous fact that the Congress is alienating itself from the masses. It is tending to become an adjunct of the "Big Business" concerns, confining its activities to the distribution of permits and licences. Panditji has said that people should not look upon the Government merely for solving their difficulties. He has asked for the co-operation of the people with Government. India is no longer a foreign-owned police State, it is a social service State. The Government have taken upon themselves the task of finding food and cloth for the people and in their attempt to fulfil that task they have been spending people's money lavishly. People who have given the Government Rs. 120 crores with a question for bridging the 4 per cent gap in food supplies and some 70 crores more for the water-works of the costly systems of rationing, government control, Green-Max-Pool campaign, etc., certainly have the moral and legal right to demand at least a tangible scheme for the solution of their food and cloth difficulties. In a democratic country, the moral right to withhold their co-operation from a government which fails to fulfil even a fraction of their promises is inherent in the people.

The harassment of peasants in the enforcement of the orders, the resultant rampant corruption, the low procurement prices in comparison to open market prices and the widespread connivance and participation by a large section of Congress workers in black-market operations and corrupt practices have all contributed to the creation of a situation which has proved to be an ideal breeding ground for Communism.

Now, what is the remedy? The remedy is no doubt difficult but not impossible. We think the following measures would change the situation in favour of the Congress: (1) The quantity and quality of rationed food must improve at any cost with the assistance of the Centre, (2) black-marketing and smuggling by Congressmen and their trustees must stop, (3) discrimination between Congressmen and ordinary people in the grant of trade licences and contracts must end, (4) a psychological atmosphere against corruption should be created by keeping the black-marketeers the advantage of exposing profiteers through legal loopholes where the evidence of the case has been proved and (5) restoring administrative morals by a thorough overhaul of the administrative machinery and removal of corrupt and inefficient high officials from State Trading, Provincial Treasuries and Police Departments. A careful enquiry into the past records of the present top officers in the administration will reveal how, through jobbery, nepotism and corruption, the present disaster has been invited. And finally (6) warning Party-leaders of drastic punishment, if they persist in their mischievous actions.

Frankly speaking the Congress is in danger of losing its sense of moral values altogether. The Party-system has scoured the dust-bowl to all the old traditions, and its nearest practice is to convert all tenets and principles to a cash basis, ignoring all questions regarding morality. In most provinces the local deities are eating into the minds of the State. The remedy lies in the hands of our leaders.

(The Modern Review, July, 1948)

ASHRAM ACTIVITIES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Worship

If instance on faith constitutes the root of the Ashram, prayer is the principal leader of that root. The social life distinguished from the individual activities of the Ashram commences every day with the congregational morning worship at 4-15 to 4-45 a.m. and close with the evening prayer at 7 to 7-30 p.m. Ever since the Ashram was founded, not a single day has passed to my knowledge without this worship. I know of several occasions when, owing to the rains only one responsible person was present on the prayer ground. All inmates are expected to attend the worship except in the case of illness or similar compelling reason for absence. This expectation has been pretty well fulfilled at the evening prayer, but not in the morning.

The time for morning worship was at a number of experiment fixed at 4, 5, 6 and 7 a.m., one after another. But on account of my persistently strong attitude on the subject, it has been fixed at last at 4-30 a.m. With the first bell at 4 every one rises from bed and after washing the mouth and face reaches the prayer ground by 4-30.

I believe that in a country like India the sower must rise from bed the better. Indeed millions must necessarily rise early. If the peasant in a wet year, his crops will suffer damage. Cattle are attended to and cows are milked early in the morning. Such being the case, workers of sewing truth, service of the people or service may well be up at 2 or 3, it would be surprising if they are not. In all countries of the world devotion of God and tilage of the soil rise early. Devotees take the name of God and peasants work in their fields serving the world as well as themselves. To my mind both are worshippers. Devotees are deliberately such while cultivators by their industry worship God unaware, as it helps to sustain the world. If instead of working in the fields, they took to religious meditation, they would be failing in their duty and involving themselves and the world in ruin.

We may or may not look upon the cultivation as a devotion, but where peasants, labourers and other poor people have willy nilly to rise early, how can a worshipper of Truth or servant of the people be a late riser? Again in the

Ashram we are trying to co-ordinate work and worship. Therefore I am definitely of opinion that all able-bodied people in the Ashram must rise early even at the cost of inconvenience. Poverty is not early but the latest time when we must be up and doing.

Then again we had to take a decision on certain questions: "Where should the prayers be offered? Should we erect a temple or meet in the open air?" Then again should we raise a platform or sit on the sands or the dust? Should there be any images? At last we decided to sit on the sands under the canopy of the sky and not to install any image. Poverty is an Ashram observance. The Ashram exists in order to serve the starving millions. The poor have a place in it no less than others. It reserves with open arms all who are willing to keep the rules. In such an institution the house of worship cannot be built with bricks and mortar; the sky must suffice for roof and the quarters for walls and pillars. A platform was planned but discarded later on, as its rise would depend upon the indeterminate number of worshippers. And a big one would cost a large sum of money. Experience has shown the wisdom of the decision not to build a house or even a platform. People from outside also attend the Ashram prayers, so that at times the multitude present cannot be accommodated on the biggest of platforms.

Again in the Ashram prayers are being increasingly induced elsewhere, the sky-roofed temple has proved its utility. Morning and evening prayers are held wherever I go. There there is such large attendance, especially in the evening, that prayers are possible only in open grounds. And if I had been in the habit of worshipping in a prayer hall only, I might perhaps never have thought of public prayers during dry years.

Then again all religions are accorded equal respect in the Ashram. Followers of all faiths are welcome there; they may or may not believe in the worship of images. No image is kept at the congregational worship of the Ashram in order to avoid hurting anybody's feelings. If an Ashramite wishes to keep an image in his room, he is free to do so.

(Translated from Gujarati by V. G. D.)

(To be continued)

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TWO ANNAS

DEDICATION

The Fifteenth of August reminds me of Mahadev. From as the First of that month does of Lokamanya Tink. Both were dedicated lives. The death of the Lokamanya coincided with the birth of the Non-cooperation Movement, with which commenced such a mass effort to achieve that birth-right which the Lokanyans had for more than a generation strove conscientiously to make the people conscious of. From stage to stage the movement developed until it reached the final stage of the 'Quit India' Movement of 1942 which claimed Mahadev's life as its first great offering. The date of Indian Independence coincided with the date of his death.

Mahadev then joined Gandhiji in 1917. Several of us had done so in that year, but none that I know of in the spirit and with the type which had moved him to do so. All of us had some already 'pre-fab' conceptions about serving the country. They might have been vague or clear but the ideas had some shape.

I once specifically asked Mahadev what had made him cast in his lot with Gandhiji. Was a Home Rule National Education, Swadeshi, Co-operative movement, religion, journalism? He unhesitatingly replied "It was Gandhiji himself." He came in contact with Gandhiji and felt that he was the Master for whom his life was meant. He had no ambition except to end his life in Bapu's service. His spirit had yearned for some one to whom he could fully and unhesitatingly dedicate himself, even as one's body dedicates itself to the soul. He found that one in Bapu, and he threw himself in his service.

And we know how loyally and devotedly he rendered it until life itself ended, and in circumstances which compelled Bapu to perform these very rites over his body, which generally a Hindu father hopes to receive from his son. Whether the service consisted in washing Bapu's commode and clothes, copying his letters, carry out his luggage, delivering his message (together to a Bapu's patient or to the Viceroy), editing his journals, circulating his writings, interpreting and reporting his ideas, negotiating on his behalf before political luminaries, or whatever other petty or important work Bapu entrusted to him, Mahadev never felt that it was a kind of work which Bapu should not have expected him to do.

As Gandhiji himself wrote in the *Margin* of 15-5-49: "The greatest characteristic I can think of about Mahadev. None was his ability to reduce himself to zero whenever occasion demanded it." And what various types of work Bapu put him to? On Bapu's bidding, he edited Pandit Motilal Nehru's journal in Allahabad and went to prison for doing it; secretariat Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in Bardoli and Dandi, gave company to Gauri Mathuradas Tribhuvan considering a Dandi named patients taught children as well as elderly persons elementary lessons learned as Gandhiji's correspondent on every conceivable topic, took notes of Gandhiji's talks with visitors and also attended to their comforts if they came as guests, fetching them from the station or seeing them off, went all the way from Wardha to Sevagram and back on foot every day for months at a stretch, put up before him complaints against himself of being a haughty secretary, who stood between Gandhiji and the water for some unsuccessful visit or an unanswered letter. And Gandhiji himself was no easy master to please, and his hardness was another on those who had chosen to stay near him most. He could make them weep all their tears even as he could make them laugh all their lives. And even Mahadev was no exception to this.

But what was a man to do with his body, if a master has glided with its tenderness or not with its power? So was Gandhiji to Mahadev. Physically Mahadev was Bapu's hands, legs, eyes and ears. He also reflected Bapu's sentiments and concerns. But spiritually the relation was otherwise. Bapu was all in all to him. He could not leave him. When in a moment of despair and intensity, he once or twice thought of doing so, thinking that he was too weak to serve Bapu, the attempt failed. It was as difficult for him to leave Gandhiji as to get one's skin flayed in all consciousness. Any suggestion by Gandhiji of doing something which might endanger his health or life was unbearable to Mahadev. There was no objective thinking where Bapu's life or health was at stake. It was M. D.'s direction and love that eventually succeeded in detaching Gandhiji from going so fast in 1940 and direct instead individual campaigns against war. And those who were near him close know how miserable he was for days and nights till the date of the leaders' arrest on the 9th August, 1942, because there was a possibility

that Gandhiji might embark upon a fast in case of arrest. Though Gandhiji had for the time being restrained Rupa and his comrades that he had given up that idea, the mental strain which Mahadevi had suffered for a long time had evidently exhausted him completely, and within a week he died so suddenly, that Rupa was too late to be by his side even though in a neighbouring room."

Such personal dedication to a Master is too rare in the world. Gurus are not so rare in the world, particularly in India, but a disciple like one Mahadevi was—no—too rare a find. And the loss which Gandhiji ever since sustained in him was irreparable as, any one who worked with him and saw him even after his release, could clearly see in Shri Rajagopalachari wrote, four years after the passing away of Mahadevi Devi,

"we have not been able to overcome the grief of the loss. Gandhiji is an essential figure in our life today, and we feel he has been missing in an important limb. There is not a day that we pass through but something sadly reminds us of Mahadevi's not being with us. He was one of those pure whom no one could hope to replace. But in every way, we are able to forget the dead through being absorbed in what others are doing. But in Mahadevi's case his service to the public, through his devoted service to Gandhiji, was of that essential character, which does not admit of any kind of replacement." Gandhiji could bear it because he had identified himself with another, even as Mahadevi had done with Rupa. The other one was the people of India and through India humanity and life in general. Gandhiji laughed India's joys, and wept India's tears. He could make no distinction between Hindu and Mohammedan, Christian and Sikh, Brahmin and Shudra. His life was dedicated to *Satyaj* but that *Satyaj* was *Satyaj* for all. It was this spirit of Dedication which made him work for her liberation till the end and it was that which made him ultimately lay down his life for her.

Our independence was achieved by such self-dedications and they alone will be able to sustain it.

Wardha, 1-5-46

L. C. MATHURWALA

Letters with Book-Post Matter

I often find enclosed in packets sent as 'book-post' letters addressed to me personally. This is in contravention of postal regulations, and the whole packet becomes liable to be treated as letter-post and charged at double rate. Moreover it causes delay of delivery. The letter should be sent separately and stamped as such.

Wardha, 1-5-46

K. D. M.

MAI TALIM RESOLUTIONS

It has been decided earlier that the resolutions passed at the All India Basic Education Conference held at Delhi independently, on 20, 21st and 22nd Dec. 1945. Theiry resolution has its parallel in the following and is printed in its entirety. These is a more theoretical or philosophical in position of an idea. They are all harmonious and also

—L. C. M.

1. Basic Education

The Conference starts with satisfaction the results reported from several quarters with regard to production of useful goods when craft-work was given its rightful place in the educational programme. The results justify the hope that in schools where the significance of craft-work as an educative factor is fully recognised production will be enough to meet the running cost of the schools. This is however possible only in full time schools of 7 or 8 grades in the last three grades contribute nearly more than proportionately to the total craft-production of the school. The Conference views with misgivings the tendency in some provinces to reduce the duration of basic education to five years for financial reasons. The Conference also believes that the continuation of education to the eighth grade with if craft-work is properly organized need not cost extra expenditure. The Conference also feels that an all-round education including a balanced and harmonious development of personality and citizenship can be completed in a minimum period of eight years. For educational as well as financial reasons the Conference feels convinced that the duration of Basic Education should in no case be reduced to less than eight years.

2. Pre-Basic Education

This Conference is of opinion that the work of Pre-Basic Education should be seriously taken up by all institutions and associations of constructive work as an important base for a programme of national reconstruction and recommends that a centre for training teachers of Pre-Basic Education be organized by the Hindustani Talim Sangh as the first step in this direction.

3. Post-Basic Education

The Conference starts with satisfaction the results of the experiment of Post-Basic Education being carried out at Khamrabad (Dist. Champaran) by the Bihar Government, and at Srirangam by the Hindustani Talim Sangh and recommends that a tentative syllabus of Post-Basic Education may be prepared on the basis of the experience of this experiment. It further recommends that at this preliminary experimental stage all educational may be organized as a self-sufficient self-reliant society based on co-operative work which fulfils all its requirements in balanced diet, clothing, and intellectual and vocational life through co-operative work.

4. Literature on Basic Education

The Hindustani Talim Sangh and all other agencies and workers official and non-official, in the field of Basic Education, should devote their special and urgent attention to the production

of literature bearing on Basic Education. This should include both literature for the guidance of teachers and reading material for children. Amongst the former preference should be given to books-books and brochures dealing with specific aspects of basic teaching, accounts of significant work done in one area or instruction and books providing enriched subject-matter lacking in the syllabus. In the case of children's literature, priority should be given to booklets dealing with topics pertaining to social studies and general science. Amongst sources which can be exploited by students in learning colleges are booklets—written by teachers and students of different types of Basic Institutions and handout material available for translation and adaptation in the English language.

The Conference recommends that all provincial and important non-official agencies should send its valuable representatives for attending the said to be essential as well as preparing of new material which may help teachers and children of Basic Institutions in implementing the Basic syllabus fully.

5. Buildings for the Institutions of New India

In view of the fact that the house and environment play an important part in New India this Conference recommends to all institutions of basic education that the institutions of New India be judged in buildings in keeping with the objectives of New India. The Conference hopes the 16-17th Indian Congress will get typical plan of New school house made to help the institutions concerned in making a good choice.

6. Training Institutions

This Conference is of opinion that all Basic Training Colleges and Schools engaged in the work of training teachers in Basic Education should be residential institutions where the teachers under training shall live as a community and that each Basic Training institution shall have the playground attached to it which will make adequate arrangements for the recreation of the children.

7. Adult Education

In the opinion of the Conference it is true that the country should make an all-out effort for adult education through all constructive activities that the official and non-official agencies are carrying on. As in other spheres, the education should be education for life and not confined to mere literacy.

8. An Appeal

The Conference appeals to the nation to share with the State in the responsibility for the provision of land and buildings for the massive spread of Basic Education of at least seven to eight years' duration on a nationwide scale and to the State to afford to the people the necessary facilities for the purpose by simplifying the rules and procedure for the transfer of land and for the grant of government subsidy and expert technical guidance for the construction and maintenance of school houses.

While the Conference recommends to the teachers and pupils to plan this productive, purposeful and educative activity to build the needs of the school community and the village community so as to reduce the need for an elaborate marketing organisation, it reiterates the recommendations made in the Zakir Husain Committee Report that the State take upon itself the responsibility for the utilisation of the basic school products for its own purposes and for their disposal through a separate agency other than the school.

Bombay, 20-7-49. D. W. RAMANANJAN

FANATICAL ZEAL

In a broadcast on the food situation in India Rajagopalakrishnan appealed to the people to "co-operate with Government and" in the solving of this problem. He suggested to put down our requests to a level where we can pay for it by experts and he stated "we have to produce all the food we require as we cannot borrow and loans which will reduce our population" and at the same time he put himself for entertaining of us. At Home gives by him to 1,000 guests at Madras by saying that no alcoholic beverages were served nor an ounce of rice, wheat or milk.

Tackling the food problem on a war basis does not mean merely keeping the use of things in which we are supposed to be short, but it implies that a definite condition of austerity has to be advanced and followed. Austerity cannot even be tagged with the tightening of the belt especially if it is to ensure financial propriety as suggested in Rajagopal's talk. Merely taking shelter under the fact that the hospital was not as full as in the days of the Viceroyal parties is poor consolation to the man in the street who expects the leaders to set an example which should be one which appeals to the citizens rather than one that takes the form of an apology. Accepting flower garlands worth Rs. 150 is not in keeping with no-frills austerity. High-priced persons cannot be too scrupulous in following the simplicity of life that is called for in most situations like the present. The very fact that Rajagopal had thought it necessary to make apologetic references to his "At Home" shows that he had to clear up the misunderstanding in the public mind. We hope that such occasions will not be necessary in future and luxuries will be reduced to a minimum if the public is engaged to follow a war-time moral and provide life.

J. C. S.

By Mahadeva Gadgil

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HARIJAN

August 14

1949

CANDIDATE'S THOUGHTS ON INDEPENDENCE

(1) Celebration of the Day

On 14-8-47 at Belaghatta (Gandhi) and that the next day was the last day of deliverance from the foreign yoke. It was, therefore, a great day. They were bound to celebrate it. In his opinion it was a day when both the Dominions were to shoulder a heavy burden. He invited every one to have twenty-four hours' fast and prayer during the day for the well-being of India as a whole and pass it in spending as much as possible. For, it was hand-springing that had kept the poor and the rich together and had given occupation to countless men and women who were without occupation. (Warpage 34-5-47)

(2) Now that Freedom has Come

"My views remain as they are. In the scheme of reconstruction for Free India, its villages should no longer depend, as they are now doing, on its cities but cities should exist only for and in the interest of the villages. Therefore the spinning wheel should occupy the proud position of the centre, round which all the life-giving village industries would revolve." (Nervos 31-8-47)

(3) A Grim Warning

"These members of the Constituent Assembly have no common goal. Congressmen themselves are not of one mind even on the constitution of Independence. I do not know how many swear by non violence or the abolition of believing in decentralisation, regard the village as the nucleus. I know on the contrary that many would have India become a first-class military power and wish for India to have a strong centre and build the whole structure round it. In the middle of these opinions I know that if India is to be leader in clean action based on clean thought God will confound the wisdom of these big men and will provide the villages with the power to express themselves as they should." (Nervos 28-7-46)

(4) Utilitarians v. Savredays

I do not believe in the rules, 'The greatest good of the greatest number' and 'Night is right. 'The well-being of every one'—Savredays—and 'the weak first' are the rules for men. We will ourselves bleed and baste, but have not yet been able to give up the notion of quadrupeds and the brute. Sharma contends in giving up this. (From a letter reproduced in Mahabharata Daily Tel 1, 10-7-50)

FURTHER CLARIFICATION

It would not be in the fitness of things for those who make an appeal to enter into argument in a spirit of contest with those who file a caveat against it. For this reason, we wish to refrain from giving anything resembling a rejoinder to the joint statement of Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Pandit Balarishna Sharma, Sri Nishal Shastriyagan and Sri Jashwantrao Vajalankar who have disapproved of our appeal and recommended its rejection. There are great and eminent scholars and their views will necessarily be considered by the public as well as the members of the Constituent Assembly. What we say therefore is just for clarification of doubts and misunderstandings.

(1) Name

The name 'Hindustani' is not preferred merely to please the Muslims. It is also the name which appeals to Parsis, Christians, Anglo-Indians and also to a large section of Hindus. We refrain from going into a scholarly controversy about the names 'Hindi' and 'Hindustani'. It is the present generally understood connotation of these terms that is important.

(2) Structure

Shri Madhwaraj has already clarified the words 'the language spoken in Delhi and surrounding regions'. We note that Dr. Chatterji and his friends also agree that "It is no doubt true that that form of Hindi which is known as *Khariboli* will form the standard in the matter of syntax of the national language." They further say "It is plain that in matters of vocabulary and to a certain extent in the matters of grammar and syntax a conscious attempt will have to be made to approximate to the 'common case' which is found in all the languages of India—that is to *hindustani*."

We agree that the language will grow and the growth will also affect its grammar and syntax. We do not know what exact shape it will take a generation hence, since it will be influenced by people of so many provinces who themselves will be under the influence of various political, social, economic and external as well as internal forces. These all will affect the grammar, syntax and vocabulary of their own languages as well as the common language. Sanskrit will certainly be one of these influencing forces. It is sufficient, we feel, to fix the starting point.

(3) Script

Even on the question of script, we speak on behalf of the present generation. They consist of a number of Hindus of the Hindu provinces, Muslims of several provinces, Sindhis, Parsis, both refugees as well as non-refugees, and others who have been brought up to read and write in the Urdu script alone. Even today there are newspapers, periodicals, correspondence etc., in the Urdu script. It was allowed in public offices till the other day in several Northern provinces and

possibly is still allowed in some parts. It is too just and proper that they should not be incoherently welcomed. In course of time, as the knowledge and practice of the Nagari script increases, it is possible that the Urdu script might drop off in practice. But we need not speculate into the future. It is sufficient if we do what is right today. The question of other regional scripts does not arise, since these scripts have never been used in any of the provinces which claim to be the home of the National Language. All those who have different provincial scripts have always learnt the National Language in any of its forms through the Nagari or the Urdu script.

(4) Appearances

There is not an appeal in a spirit of "Appeasement of Muslims". Not that there is anything against such a self-respect if even trying to please a section of our countrymen if it is necessary. But the present appeal, as we have conceived it is meant to please the protagonists of Hindi subject to what we consider to be just and equitable in the interest of all Indian citizens, we have been trying to approach as near as possible to those who advocate the cause and cause of Hindi. We currently expect our appeal largely

HARSH KAMLEKAR

VINDIA

Wardha, 7-8-49

K. D. MARATHWALA

EIGHTY-FOUR CHARKHA JAYANTI

The Charkha Sangh (A. I. S. A.) has issued the following appeal in connection with the observance of the Charkha Jayanti celebrations which will last this year from the 15th of September to the 3rd of October.

Handlooms have been an indigenous and cherished source of livelihood since centuries corresponding with the October 1949. When the public began to embrace the spinning, handloom came to Charkha Jayanti for two reasons. In the first place, it is an ancient and personal worship, and secondly the Charkha was the most beloved object and the centre of all his constructive activities. The Charkha came to play an important role in the form of exploitation and in establishing a hierarchical social order of handlooms. He believed that this social order could be brought about only through decentralised production of mass primary economic mutual co-operation and self-sufficiency. The Charkha was the symbol of that programme. It is therefore that after Charkha's death, spinning should continue to be encouraged by observing the Charkha Jayanti according to the tradition set up by handlooms. The Charkha also this year falls on the 15th September. Therefore the Charkha Sangh has decided to observe the Jayanti from the 15th September to the 3rd October (24th days inclusive) and appeals to the public to co-operate with the Sangh in its programme.

As the Charkha Jayanti celebration is connected with Charkha's birthday, this year's celebration has been called the Eighty-four Charkha Jayanti.

Spinning will be the main activity of the celebration and it is hoped that every one will spin as much as possible and devote his or her thoughts to the establishment of a non-violent social order. There can be individual as well as community programmes

for observance of this Jayanti. Particularly the 15th September and the 3rd October should be enthusiastically observed by having community spinning paper shapers, discolorers, etc.

The real object of the Charkha is to make every man self-sufficient and self-reliant in the matter of important necessities of life like food, cloth, etc. The object cannot be achieved by one or two big organisations or groups only. For that purpose citizens who understand the significance and the co-operative aspect of the Charkha, and who give shape to his idea to promote as well as practice should form themselves into small groups in every place and carry out the programme of Charkha as a continuous day-in-day activity. The Charkha Sangh envisages establishment of such bodies in every Indian (including Jajals) all over the country. Naturally the first object of these bodies will be to create an atmosphere which will encourage the idea of self-sufficiency and spinning for self-sufficiency and to provide facilities for the same. This work can be carried on only by those who have faith and devotion in it and who themselves put the idea into practice.

The Charkha Sangh has classified such workers into two groups: viz. workers and self-sufficient spinners. The workers will be self-sufficient spinners can form a Spinning Club and get it affiliated with the Charkha Sangh to avail itself of its help.

The Charkha Sangh proposes that such clubs should be established all over the country. It is as good a number as possible during the coming Jayanti and thus give the spinning industry a permanent place in our economy. It has been decided that all the first Jayanti at least 10 spinning clubs should be established in the rural and urban areas of each province.

The Sangh has prepared a pamphlet explaining the programme and details about the pattern and installation of the Sangh in regard to each spinning group. Copies of the pamphlet can be obtained from the Central and Provincial offices of the Sangh.

In order to the main programme of establishing spinning clubs the Sangh has also decided to increase the number of workers, to collect yarn subscriptions from those who are unable to become machine members, and to prepare a register of pure Charkha workers.

Machine members of the Sangh are those who believe in the establishment of a social order based on self-sufficiency, and therefore besides being machine workers they are regularly working in their capacity and pay an annual subscription of six annas in the Sangh. The value and dignity of handloom (primary productive labour) should be established before there can be a non-exploiting social order. Handlooms always worked on payment of subscription in some kind of labour instead of in cash and very subscription was given importance as a reward of that labour as being their remuneration and would be the purpose. Therefore the subscription for the main benefit of the Sangh has also been fixed in terms of yarn instead of cash. To facilitate those who cannot become regular members of the Sangh for any reason whatsoever, but would wish to make their contribution of labour in place of their respect for handlooms, the collection of yarn subscription will form a part of the programme of celebration as the spinning will be encouraged. It is not necessary that this yarn subscription should necessarily be sent to the Charkha Sangh. It can be utilised for the local spinning club or by Charkha work. But in order to present an account of such subscriptions to the public it is requested that information regarding them be sent to the office of the Sangh and also to the workers.

The preparation of a register of Charkha workers in this connection will be an aid in the work of Charkha

* The Indian way of extending it is to observe from the beginning of the year and end with the end of it.

importance. No doubt it should give more other methods previously followed. Its importance lies in the ideas being basic, because these passed from his own experience.

Many which are based on sound experiment and experience are almost all rejected and he others also since they are not based on any one but are simply suggestions. So are the ideas contained in this book.

In my opinion what we call Pre-School Education that is the training of small children should be available in the home itself. Parents are the first *gurus* of children and their authority is also greater than that of others, provided they possess some teaching capacity. But the conditions are not so today. Therefore we have to think of a system of Pre-School Education and draw its outline. But the ideal should be that Basic Education and Adult Education should spread in the country so universally that every family should become a school and as the *Saras* say, the education of the child should start right from the moment of conception. Until we reach that ideal where have to take the place of the parents and carry on the work. This book gives one aspect of this work. It can be started in our local institutions. Students will study this book in that spirit.

(Translated from Hindustani)

RAJADITY DEBBI MEMORIAL PRIZE

The trustees of the Rajadity Debbi (Humbly) Memorial Trust have decided to call for themes on Gandhian philosophy and to award prizes for the best essays received. The subjects and terms of the competition are:

I. The Rajadity Debbi Memorial Prize shall be awarded to the authors of the best essays in English on the following subjects:

A. A free society does in violence and anarchy is a contradiction in terms.

B. Gandhiji—"It is my belief that modern law, which is based on the proper place will not save the world but will destroy it."

II. The competition is open to Graduates of recognised Universities only.

III. The essays should not exceed 100 standard-sized pages. It should be typed on foolscap paper with double spacing and submitted in suitable binding. The essays should reach the office of the Honorary Committee c/o Mr. Subramanyam M. Narayana, Rajadity Debbi, Rajadity Debbi, Bombay 1, not later than 30th January, 1911.

IV. The prize is of the value of Rs. 100 (one hundred only) and will be awarded to each of those for each theme on each subject according to deservings as given by the Judges appointed in this behalf.

V. The award of the prize shall be final.

VI. The Copyright of the essays on which the prize is awarded shall vest in the Trustees of the Rajadity Debbi (Humbly) Memorial Trust.

THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE

[Reviewed Edition]

By Richard B. Gregg

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THE SANTINIKETAN FLORISSAGE IV

The discussion was resumed on the next day when he had a meeting with the workers and members of the staff of the various departments. "I want to hear from your own lips what is spurs you to be here and what are the difficulties that confront you," he told them, and with that preliminary remark invited questions. As some of them did not know Hindustani well or at all he gave the replies in English. But he warned them that the next time they met him they would have to speak in Hindustani at any rate they would not find him speaking to them in any other tongue than Hindustani. Here are the questions and answers.

Q. Should Santiniketan office staff be drawn into political work?

Gandhi: I have no difficulty in saying that Santiniketan and Vivekananda ought not to be mixed up with politics. Every institution has its limitations. Its restriction should not limitations upon itself a thing it is to make itself cheap. When I say that Santiniketan should not get mixed up with politics I do not mean that it should have no political ideal. Complete independence must be its ideal, as it is that of the country. But that very ideal would require it to keep out of the present day political turmoil. I was asked this question when I was here thirty years ago and the reply I then gave was the same as I have given today. In fact it applies with even greater force today.

Q. In order to make Vivekananda really an international university, should we not try to increase the material resources of the university and provide greater facilities and ordinary comforts of life to attract scholars and research workers of outstanding merit from all over the country?

Gandhi: My material resources I suppose you mean finance. Let me then say that your question is addressed to a person who does not even by material resources. 'Material resources' is after all a comparative term. For instance, I do not go without food and clothing. In my own way I have tried — more than perhaps any other man — to increase the level of material resources of the average man in India. But it is my firm conviction that the Vivekananda will fail to attract the right type of talent and scholarship if it relies on the strength of the material resources or material attractions that it can offer. Its attraction must be moral or ethical or else it will become just one out of the many educational institutions in India. That was not what Gandhi loved and died for. I do not mean that creature comforts should not be provided to the staff and workers who work here. There are ample material comforts in evidence here already. If I stayed here longer and had my way they might be considerably reduced.

are substantial progress and more and more efforts and donations begin to pour in in due season, it will be able to provide more attractive stipends and research workers, if it wants to (as I were asked for advice I would say "Do not yield to this temptation" Vivekharan must rely on the advancement of moral worth. "It does not stand for that. It is nothing more.")

Q. What must be done so that the institution need not lose its high moral appeal? (Gandhi said—do you suggest for it?)

Harilal: Every one of you should understand the significance of moral worth. Moral living is surely distinguished from material worth. The way leads to devotion to moral values, the way to Mahatma-ship. What distinguishes men from the frustrated beast is merely the recognition of moral worth, is the greater the moral worth of a person the greater his distinction. If you believe in this ideal you should ask yourself why you are here and what you are doing.

Every worker must have of course food, clothing, etc. for himself and his dependents. But you do not belong to Vivekharan, merely because Vivekharan feeds, clothes and finds creature comforts for you. You belong to it because you cannot do otherwise, because your moral worth increases day by day by working for its sake. Therefore, every defect that crops up, every difficulty that obstructs its working, will be bound to be ultimately traceable to some defect in your outlook in regard to moral worth. I have been connected with many institutions for over sixty years and I have come to the conclusion that every difficulty in their working was traceable to a defect in the understanding of moral values.

Q. We are trying to serve villagers. We find that at every step our activity is blocked by the social environment in the village. The joyless routine of life there, the stagnation and incursion of evil social customs obstruct our efforts. Should we not work for the eradication of these things; we can hope for success in our other activities, and if so how can it be done?

Gandhi: Ever since I have come to India I have felt that social revolution is a much more difficult thing to achieve than the political revolution, by which I mean ending our present slavery under the British rule. There are some critics who say that India cannot attain her political and economic emancipation till we get social emancipation. I regard it as a snag and a conundrum set to puzzle us, because I have found that the absence of political emancipation retards even our efforts for bringing about social and economic emancipation. At the same time it is also true that without a social revolution we will not be able to have India happier than when we were born. I can however indicate no royal road for bringing about a social revolution ex-

cept that we should represent it in every detail of our own lives.

Force has been used to alter the structure of society in some countries. But I have purposefully eliminated it from our consideration. So my advice to you is: Try again and again and never say that you are defeated. Do not get impatient and say, "the people are so good" further say, "I am so good." If the people do not respond within the time limit prescribed by you the failure is yours, not theirs. It is a tedious and laborious work. But you do not expect thanks for your work. Work that is undertaken for love is no burden—it is pure joy.

FRANKLIN

New Blood

At the last meeting of the Board of Management held on the 15th July 1949 the business transacted (which is published elsewhere in these columns) included the co-opting of three more members to the Board of Management and the election of a Secretary.

Shri C. Ramachandran, the newly-elected Secretary, is not a fresh addition to the group of emancipation workers but is a seasoned warrior who had served in several battle fronts and he has the unique distinction of having two Gurus—Rabindranath Tagore and Gandhi—and in his own personal life he combines the virtues with the virtues with a fervour which a master craftsman alone can command.

He is an old worker of the Subarnalaya Agraria who had devoted six years of work in the A. I. S. A. before taking on the responsibility for Indian Soviet work in Tashkent and Moscow. Then when Gandhi had the foundation of education through Ma. Talim, he functioned as the Assistant Secretary of the Hindustani Talim Sangh. Later when he found a call to help the State, he took up the responsibilities of the Ministry for Rural Development in Travancore Cochin and now he is discharging his last work on to combine all the three efforts he held before—to uplift the economically down-trodden, to reconstruct the rural areas by means of Gram Udyog Ma. Talim.

J. C. K.

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HARIJAN

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WED. 11. 30.

AUGUST 21, 1999

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CHANELA JANTRE MORGAN
Producer, *True Blood* (CW)

The outstanding construction work done by the Charitas Singh is well-known throughout India. It is not necessary for me to dilate upon it. I hope the people will realize the importance of developing it further and strive to adopt the attitude in their own. They can solve one of the difficult problems of the country through the strength of the Charitas Singh. Perhaps throughout history India never experienced such a time as this as she does today. The only solution lies under the present conditions is that every individual must produce as much stuff as he can for his own. This is possible only through the Charitas. The Charitas Singh can not complete guidance to the people in this I decided that the Singh requires co-operation of the people, I want that it can shoulder the responsibility falling upon itself in furthering this work.

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4.4.1.2. *Staphylococcus aureus* ATCC

WORKING COMMITTEE ON THE
LANDSLIDE PROBLEM

The following is the full text of the resolution on the language issue passed by the Congress Working Committee at New Delhi on the 14th August:

The question of language has been neglected the public mind and in the opinion of the Working Committee it is desirable to lay down certain principles which may be applied having regard to possible circumstances, involving the following items:

1000

The question has to be considered from 4-5 points of view: VII, educational and administrative. There is the further question of a State language for the country as a whole which will be the language link of intercourse between different areas in the same language.

There are 41 spoken languages in India, more than one language in spoken. Many of these languages are old and have valuable literature of their own. They should not only be preserved but further developed and enriched and making should be done to set on a foundation to their growth.

In playgrounds and taverns, where more than one language prevails there are often a high indifference, leading to one language or another. Parents feel that there are areas on the fringe where one language gradually slips into another and for the purposes of the investigation such areas may be termed bilingual areas.

It is for a problem of this kind that the language is a multi-lingual structure.

inferring belonging to the various languages to the 10 stages of language were found to be similar and the language of each inferred by the program on 100% occasions.

Abstract

The administration proposes the language of our pay-roll at the very minimum should be used. In writing or speaking means if the members, in order to be comprehensible to the 90 per cent of the population, must use, and in the public, it must have to use, as it is Government's money etc. Shortest will be. This case may stand in in both languages. For more and what they propose the language in the public may use it will be used in the public affairs. It will be the same because in any given meeting or other languages, which is in the public language, which is a slightly convenient.

The ultimate purpose there will be a State language in which the business of the Union will be conducted. That will be the language of international use with the proposed 1200 Governments. All records of the Union will be kept and maintained in that language. It will also serve as the language for our press and radio, our literature and our correspondence. During a period of transition which will not exceed 15 years English may be used in the Centre and for inter-provincial affairs provided that the State language will be progressively utilized until it reaches that stage.

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At the primary stage a child shall get instruction in the mother tongue which will be according to the wishes of the parents or parents of the child. It will ordinarily be the language of the area or the province. But in other places and particularly in fringe areas and in large cities where, people speak one different language comprising public primary schools giving instruction in the language of a minority will be opened or sections joined in other primary schools if there is a reasonable number say 10 pupils in a class. Concerning horticulture this language that even in such schools and even those giving instruction through a minority language particular language will be introduced in the middle stage even for children speaking the majority language.

Instruction in the secondary stage will ordinarily be given in the provincial language, but where a sufficiently large number of pupils demand it, it may also be run or sections thereof in other schools in a secondary language provided that will be determined having regard to conditions prevailing in the locality, such as whether there are any existing schools there—Government or private—giving instruction through the minority language, whether the frequency of the problem may affect more than one school, etc. At the secondary stage study of the mother-tongue language should be given, not as a separate

...in the ...
For ...
In the ...

THE SANTIMETAN PRELUDE

V

Q: Is an advance done the satisfaction of salary system more or degrade the ideal of the institution?

Gandhiji: I have no difficulty in saying that it makes no difference whether you receive a fixed salary or your expenses are paid for you. Both methods can be tried. The danger to be guarded against is this: if you pay a man his bonus prove you do not carry out the spirit of the advance. We should rather do without talent and salary, be it of the highest order, if it demands its higher value. In other words, we should wait till talent is attracted to the institution, not for money but for something else for which the institution stands. Now should you let the principle of "according to merit" take you even beyond bonus value. Salary system in Vardhmani is not a thing to complain of. The difficulties in which you have referred cannot be removed by mere salarizing. You must find out and remove the causes which are at the root of the defects you have in mind.

Q: How can we make headway against cynicism or lack of faith that we find among the youngsters?

Gandhiji: I have a sigh of despair when you ask me that question. When you find that your pupils are without faith you should say to yourself: 'I am without faith.' I have found that again and again in my own experience. And each time the discovery has been like an eye-opening bath for me. The Bible says: 'I have seen the bones from their own eye before ye point out the mote in thy neighbour's' is even more appropriate in the case of pupil and teacher. The pupil comes in you to find in you something infinitely better than himself. Rather than complain, Oh! he has no faith, how can I impart faith to him, it would be far better that you resigned from your job.

Q: The intellectual tradition of Gurudev is being fairly well maintained here but I am afraid that the idealism for which he stood does not find full scope. There must be something wrong in an organization that leads to such a result. What is the remedy? Secondly should our institutions only work to make culture available to the man in the street? This is your ideal. At the same time should not there be a place where higher culture can be preserved for the initiated? This was Gurudev's ideal. Such an institution will necessarily be exclusive and for the select only. I am a follower both of you and Gurudev's ideal and I am torn by the sea. Rest between the two.

Gandhiji: To take the second question first it is a reflection both on Gurudev and myself. I have found no real conflict between an institution with a disposition to detect a conflict between Gurudev and myself but ended with the greatest discovery that there was none.

"Diet and Diet Refuses" *

'I have been known as a man, indeed as a man. Evidently the reputation is well deserved. For wherever I go I draw to myself a circle of disciples and good men' wrote Gandhiji in the Young India of 17-4-1938.

I would regard this as a rather exaggerated statement, even though made by Gandhiji, except in the realm of Diet and Nature Diet. In other fields if he drew circles and good men also to him it was by no means the case of people of a further looking together. It must be regarded as, in spite of himself and on account of his extraordinary capacity of being able to draw of an enormous family. In other fields indeed he drew to himself people who could never be credited with unusual ways of thinking and acting. Take for instance the Nehrus C. B. Barden Vidyalaya and scores of others—politicians, educationalists, lawyers, businessmen, scientists and others. Even in the sphere of Nature Diet and Diet, he was a leader only in the sense of being deeply interested in the subject. Indeed, he once said that if he could retire from public life he too he envisaged in certain circumstances, he would devote himself to Nature Diet, which of course, included the science of diet. But there, too, he was not a specialist, though he was a field experimenter and made the experiments readily upon himself as well as others, without being too much worried about consequences. One is in difficulty for ordinary doctors to find willing human subjects to undergo "experiments". They have, therefore, to subject poor dumb creatures to their tests or check their patients without their knowledge that they are being simply experimented upon rather at their own expense. But Gandhiji's loving Mahatmaship gave him an advantage over other medical men in this, and he could induce even great leaders to become subjects of his experiments. No wonder that ordinary men accepted his counsel implicitly.

But as I have said above, not being a specialist, he discovered important truths in respect of Diet, preservation of health and cure of diseases without the help of drugs. He took help from every expert and also shared his own knowledge and discoveries with his students and gave a handbook that has been created out of his writings. Dr. Harshad Karmacharya has collected all these and also of other contributions of the Young India and the Navjeevan on the subject of Diet in the small book mentioned in the caption.

Mumbai 12-3-40

R. S. S.

turning you that question all I can say is that the feeling "I am all right but there is something wrong with the situation," betrays a P-rightness. It is asking: When you feel within yourself that you are all right but everything around you is wrong, the conclusion which you should draw for yourself is that everything is all right but there is something wrong within you.

Gandhi had allotted half an hour to the two men. Just as he was preparing to leave, Shriani Indradevi asked a third question. "Is there not too much noise and clashing here?" Is there not the danger of the music of the voice drowning the music of life?" Gandhi had no time to answer the question then. Much as he would have loved to prolong his stay in Santaralan the mansion which had brought him to England subsequently called him back to Calcutta. Reluctantly he took leave and boarded the car that was waiting for him. But his thoughts continued to linger on the scene he had left behind. From Calcutta he wrote answering Shriani Indradevi's question as also some other questions that had been posed but which he had not the time to answer.

"I have a suspicion that perhaps there is more of noise than warranted by life, or I will put it by thought in another way. The music of life is in danger of being lost in the music of the voice. Why not the music of the walk of the words of every movement of ours and of every activity?" It was not an idle remark which I made at the Mander service about the way in which boys and girls were sitting any how in the Mander. I think our boys and girls should know how to walk, how to march, how to sit, how to eat, to stand, how to perform every function of life. This is my idea of music. So far as I know, Gandhi stood for all that he has ever person."

There is something in charming but has the professor there come to the conclusion that Bengali music is the best word in that direction? His Hindustani name is music before and after the British period anything to give to the world of music? If a man it should have its due place at Santaralan. Indeed, I would go so far as to say that Western music which has made numerous studies should also blend with the Indian. Visakhari is conceived as a world university. This is merely a passing thought of a hymn to be transmitted to the music master there."

I do not like preparing boys and girls for university examinations. Visakhari is its own university. It ought not to be in need of a charter from any Government. As it is, you are giving Visakhari degrees side by side with preparing students for the chartered uni-

versity. You have a high ideal to live for and live up to. University degrees are a lure to which you cannot afford to fall a prey. Concerns that Gandhi made to weakness with impunity, Visakhari without him cannot make. Concerns to weakness began with the introduction of the orthodox, conventional examination. I was unable even then to reconcile myself to it and I do not know that we have gained anything by it. I am not now thinking at all in terms of non-examination. I am just now anxious for Santaralan to represent the highest that Gandhi stood for."

"You will not have real rural reconstruction unless you begin with the hand-craft, which is hand-spinning. Weavers' art without hand-spinning is a dead art. You know that I pleaded for it with Gandhi, at first in vain. Later on he had begun to see what I was driving at. If you think that I have interpreted Gandhi right in the matter of spinning, you will not hesitate to make Santaralan learn with the music of the wheel."

THIRUVAL.

UNITY

We all have to live in this country, breathe its air, drink the water and eat its food. After death we begin to all become one dust. There is no difference either in the dust in which we belong or in the food we eat. May does the dust, the water or the food differentiate between men and men, men from an alien? That is the lesson we have to learn. Just as we recognize a patient as a patient and not by his caste or class, a disease should be considered as a disease and a good man as a good man. We should not look at his religion or continued differences. If a man shares, to be a Hindu or a Hindu, his name will be lost only if he does little work. This applies equally to all religions. Little work will be the test of their devotion. We should not give importance to what name of God our fathers have or worship or whether we bow or bow to the dead.

Every river of India is called the Ganga. A dip in a river is considered equal to a dip in the Ganga and right from the source in the Ganga hills, all rivers are Ganga for this purpose. This provides a good example of our unity. This unity is to no more artificial but is a tradition of India and we have to propagate it in the whole world. There was a time when the followers of Lord Krishna were worshipping him and gave rights to the world. About two thousand years later there was born a man in this country whose teachings altered the world. The world expects that the people in whose country such a great man was born will possess the strength to bring peace to the world.

VISHVA.

"Karmam Karma. That Visakhari preceptor speech is translated in Hyderabad on 24-10."

By Mahatma Gandhi

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1949

TO MEMBERS OF PUBLIC SERVICES

It is not with a light heart that I write this I wish I can avoid it. But I am no other way but to talk to you directly about what complaints I receive frequently from almost every part of India. We have begun the third year of our Independence. If its achievement has benefited any single class of persons, very materially, it would not be wrong to say that it is you. Owing to the retirement of most of the foreign officers, the chance made by several Muslim officers to go over to Pakistan, opening of several new embassies, creation of new departments and the like, several of you who would have been still in the junior ranks have obtained quick promotions to important posts and better emoluments. Your material condition has definitely improved since Independence. The absolutely new type of government that succeeded the British could have chosen to choose its system of services radically. Even if it retained most of you, it might have placed over you absolutely new men, in places of high importance, in order to carry out new policies and create a new India. A government with the Charika Singh outlook might have made heavy cuts in your salaries and comforts.

The bureaucracy, as you were called, was as you knew, almost a byword for 'Corrupt', 'wasteful', 'high-handed', 'exploitative', 'dilatory', 'arrogant', 'opinionless'.

Most of the needs of the people were some of the violent adjectives freely used against you by the various Congress leaders, excluding some of the members of the various cabinets. For practical purposes, Free India was equivalent to India free from bureaucratic rule. Indeed, it would not be wrong to say that the younger section of the Congress expected such radical changes to take place, and one of the causes of their and the people's dissatisfaction against the Congress organisation is that their actions did not do so, and clinged to continue the old system almost as it was. After assumption of office the leaders took a view of salaries and mode of recruitment, and decided to continue the system as it was. Perhaps this was inevitable under the circumstances in which transfer of power was brought about. Perhaps this became possible also because the radical slogans both of Gandhiji as well as the real one of Lenin on the economic and social side had never been wholeheartedly accepted by the seniors in the Congress. The only ideology that remained was that of the revolution of old Hindoostan or old India on the cultural side and 'material progress'.

and (HARIJAN) 1949, pp. 27-28. Without too much of a knowledge of historical methods on the question of social class, British India has a very peculiar position.

To think, was not, the difference between this view and the traditions which were set by the British in India and which you had imbibed. For practical purposes, the British Government had command and made it possible for you and the Congress leaders to work together. And thus what might have become quite a serious problem became smoothly sailing both for you and the new Government.

If this smoothness had been properly appreciated, in spite of the new problems created by the partition and the influx following it, the peaceful transfer should have been extremely beneficial to the people. The case of the white class, which often made the child of you feel small before even a new youth had disappeared. You now work with your own people and among your own people. The periods of risk and privilege which separated you from your lands on the one side and the subordinates and the people over whom you exercised authority on the other side have broken. You were even then called Indian Civil Servants though the highest among you were neither Indian nor Civil nor behaved like Indians towards the people. Now you are all Indians have a chance to be tried and to work for the service of your nation.

But I expect to say that however satisfied members of the various governments might be about your efficiency, sense of service and our just praise upon about you is just the contrary. No there are complaints that your conduct towards the people is less satisfactory than what it was even under the past regime. You are rather more corrupt, less efficient, more dilatory, more open to the monetary influence and nepotism considerations, and your administration is felt more and more oppressive by the people than what it was under yourselves before 1947.

Even in the British regime, the services were not altogether incorrupt. But the Indian States were notorious for still greater corruption—even the difference that they were more cheaply obtainable. What could be got done with the bribe of a few rupees in an Indian State needed as many rupees in British India. Do you know what reports I receive from the merged States now? They say that the mode of bribes has also gone with your entry into their administrations. I am prepared to concede that some of these complaints might be exaggerated. In a mass of new arrivals might be exaggerable. But let me tell you that the complaints I receive are not only those communicated by the public but also those by some of the government servants themselves. For instance, the trials, corruption and dishonesties practised by the

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Editor: K. G. HARKER, C. I. S. S. I.



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TWO ANNAS

THE MAYOR'S CAR AND DIGNITY

Shri Dattabhai V. Patil, Leader of the Bombay Municipal Corporation Congress Party, writes:

I have been pained by your criticism of the Bombay Municipal Corporation in the *Barque* of 15th July 1945 under the caption *Mayor*. It is based on a sloppy report of the proceedings in *The Times* of India. I wish before making your remarks you had referred the matter to me.

"Let me explain. The member of Mr. Joseph Bapthista's caste was a ship. It ought to have been Mr. Bapthista who was placed Mayor in 1945 and did not have been substituted for new cars on them or their attendance to the

It has been wrongly assumed that every Mayor gets a new car and that a new car is purchased every year. This is not the case. A car is provided for the use of the Mayor and it is replaced by a new car only when the old one becomes unserviceable or when a new car is required for the purpose of the Municipal Corporation in which case the old car is given to the department that needs it and a new car is bought for the use of the Mayor. For the last 10 years Mayor's cars have been used the same car for at least three years and sometimes for a day or two years.

"As much for the facts of the case. Coming to your criticism, while I can appreciate your views on dignity in the abstract, it will be difficult for my car being in this particularly in this the Mayor which are really suggested and such necessary transport facilities, to put such these facts together. To set up to the people not facts by you would only mean waste of time and consequent neglect of important duties.

"Nobody can blame Mr. Bapthista that C. Rajagopalachari of being prone to pomp and splendour. Rajaji continued to live in his cottage in Madras even while he was the Premier of that province but on coming to Delhi as a Minister in the Central Government and later as the Governor-General he has to adjust himself to the dignity of the office especially because of the presence of a large number of foreign dignitaries. For similar reasons Mr. Bapthista too felt obliged to shift to a more spacious house as that both as Premier and Foreign Minister, he could suitably represent India.

"In the *Barque* though it is a member of the Mayor of Bombay, the premier city of India which attracts a large number of foreign visitors, has a high office to perform. The question why Mr. Patil or any other Mayor should be provided with a car it should be his own should hardly arise. Before elected to the office of Mayor he used the car for his professional and public duties, as well as for the use of the members of his family. Persons occupying high important positions have also to receive a large number of guests, and receiving guests of status means not only accommodating them but also

providing them with meals of consequence. He even did not use this service. He used the new car for his official duties, while the old one was placed at the disposal of the Department that needed a car. It is to be desired that I should like to assure you that Mr. Patil is provided with a car by the Corporation and for his health and for his own interest.

I am glad to publish this explanation. The reason for the purchase of a new car on this particular occasion may be accepted as sufficient. The C. I. S. I. members of Bombay may not be accused also for following the lead of New Delhi in matters about "the dignity of office", and maintaining proper pomp and splendour "because of the presence of a large number of foreign dignitaries". Bombay would naturally take its standards from New Delhi. Whether it is a correct way of thinking is a matter of opinion. Bapthista has given an enjoyable and humorous description of Bapthista's marriage procession in which Tukha and other pomp-tossing gods and dignitaries of India's, were mixed along with Bapthista's own naked or semi-naked subjects. Bapthista is represented as not seeing any inconsistency in the mixture of the two Tukhas approached it fully. He also knew the views of gods and so advised the latter to keep their procession separate and enjoy their dignity in their own way, without disturbing Bapthista's dignity, which had its own history.

It is fortunate that Mr. C. Rajagopalachari is capable of submitting to pomp and splendour but it is a pity of Gandhi's or Prophet Muhammad's type had to play the role of the head of the State, I have no doubt that nations about what a proper dignity would have needed a radical change. Mr. Churchill thought that the dignity of the King of England suffered by leaving Gandhi in his chair at the Royal Palace and no Governor-General could possibly think of visiting Gandhi in his own place of residence. But by 1945 the notion of dignity had to get revised, and Lady Mountbatten did not consider beneath the Viceroyal dignity in seeing Gandhi at the Sharada College, and both she and the Governor-General agreed in the words among the crowd at the reception.

It is our own fault that we have our dignity, not our pomp and splendour. Ours is a poor country and our dignity must appear in our simplicity and austerity and not in material and second-rate pomp and splendour and lavish receptions. If a poor's wife thinks that in order

to appear in person, and, although the Government's wife, she was being influenced by them and other friends who were here, others to beg borrow, steal or purchase (they) (1934) a wife and false diamonds. The Government was not likely to be deceived thereby. (1934) is the Governor's wife is a very worthy woman, she have a greater regard for her if she (1934) is her own sample but clean home name (1934) have reached (1934).

If we seriously study the economic and moral uplift of our country, we do have to revise our attitude on these matters. Pomp and luxurious standards are least dignified in a poor country like ours and Shri Dabichandra's letter serves only to point out that the changes must be set in by the leaders at the top.

Wardha, 27-8-35

K. C. MARATHWALA

Rajasthan Premier's View

A P. T. I. message from Japan reports that Pandit Harshi Shastri, Prime Minister of Rajasthan, referring to a miniature gold and silver plough presented to him when he was inaugurating the Rana Conference at Jaipur near Jaipur, said that a wooden plough instead would have been useful as it could bring a plot of land under cultivation. Two cultivators immediately brought a big wooden plough and presented it to the Premier who, placing it on his shoulder, said, "I take a solemn vow today that just as I sown with my own hands to make my own cloth, I shall with the help of this plough begin producing my own grain."

Wardha, 28-8-35

K. C. M.

LEST WE FORGET

XIX

Khadi in Varanasi Speech

(1)

In hand-spinning is hidden the protection of women's virtue, the insurance against destitution, and the cheapening of prices. In it is hidden the secret of Swaraj. The revival of hand-spinning is the least penance we must do for the sin of our forefathers in having succumbed to the evil and influences of the foreign manufacturer. (Economic of Khadi p. 28)

(2)

I claim for it [the spinning-wheel] the properties of a magical instrument, for whilst the hungry and naked women will refuse to dance to the accompaniment of a piano, I have seen women beaming with joy to see the spinning-wheel work, for they know that they can through that rustic instrument both feed and clothe themselves. (Ibid. p. 324).

(3)

India being a cotton-producing country, it must be considered a crime to import a single yard of yarn from outside. (Ibid. p. 32-33)

(4)

The problem is that of getting clothes in every one of the six crore homes. (Ibid. p. 324).

(5)

The shakhs [sic] the most efficient means of making education available to the seven and a half lakhs of villages in India. (Ibid.) the nation (will be) able to solve the problem of financing mass education without any extra taxation. (Ibid. p. 33)

QUESTION BOX

Salt Tax

Q. Has not the Constituent Assembly acted against the wishes of the country and the cause for which Gandhiji stood by enacting the law on Salt Tax as originally drafted?

A. I do not think that the Constituent Assembly can be censured for this. The omission of the law does not mean an invitation to the legislators to impose a tax on salt. As Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru pointed out the history behind the Salt Tax would make any government think seriously before reimposing it. But it would not be proper to lay down for good the hands of the coming generations if a change of circumstances needed an imposition of that duty. For instance, in some other member pointed out it might well happen that owing to its freedom from tax foreign salt might kill the manufacture of Indian salt and in the interest of Indian salt still a duty on foreign salt might be necessary. So too other unforeseen circumstances might arise justifying a tax of that kind. No doubt no government would take this step without serious deliberation. The people of our generation might be under the impression that it was only by Gandhiji's campaign in 1930 that a sentiment against Salt Tax was created and it is for Gandhiji's sake that that article of food should go unpaid. This is an erroneous opinion. The Salt Tax had always been unpopular and hit hard ever since it was first imposed. I think, in about 1878, if not earlier. Serious riots took place in several parts of the country over this. The Surat Fast case, which gave Su Pharoosah Mehta a place of distinction at the Bar, was in connection with disturbances arising out of the newly imposed Salt Tax there. It took nearly 60 years to get it partially removed and 15 years more to have it repealed. This shows how rugged is the road to freedom.

To the Satyagrahi soldier of freedom there is no need to feel worried. If it is sought to be unjustifiably reimposed by a future government, he must always be ready to take the challenge again and again.

Wardha, 28-8-35

K. C. MARATHWALA

By Mahatma Gandhi

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HARIJAN

August 28

1949

USE OF ANIMAL TRANSPORT BY MUNICIPALITIES

I am glad to share with the readers the following letter of Shri G. T. Navlakha, Speaker of the Central Legislative Assembly.

I felt like writing to you when I read your article in the recent edition about animal transport. I find like writing many a time in respect of the present situation when I see that the Harijan children and adults in a town in respect of many matters have still means are writing to you in English to solve them.

The problem of animal transport came to my mind very strongly after I was elected President of the Ahmedabad Municipality on 1st March 1948. It appeared to me that in the of vital importance from three different points of view. (1) Rural development in the Punjab District and (2) Governmental in character. The immediate cause of the problem coming to my mind was the necessity of making Harijan children patients and supporting. But then patients were to be treated preferentially a matter of public confidence in religious grounds. It was only when I was haunted with the responsibility of making up the deficit of the income payable from 1948 on a basis that I began to consider this question and I am not sure how long it took to reach the conclusion that we must provide the cow not only for the milk it gives but as the mother of good milk to be brought by our children. We must therefore make the cow an economic proposition by use of everything that it gives—milk, butter, dung and bones. Hence we must also see measures about the skin as also the manure as a good fertilizer. It is not possible to make the cow a decorative.

I therefore tried to introduce cow milk to rural hospitals and other boarding schools, and through me this was not accepted by medical men on the ground of its contents. I am glad it was accepted on the ground of being an essential of our food.

In Ahmedabad in the Municipality I was trying a number of experiments in the direction of increasing rural work and help to rural areas by providing transport via from the municipal savings fund. The use of the bullock as an essential implement in the fields and also as a part of decentralised work was always in my mind and I tried to push it as far as possible. But unfortunately my plans could not materialise as I had to leave the Municipality for work in the Provincial Assembly.

On an interesting experiment I may tell you that a 1/2 of one lakh rupees were raised into which was brought big contractors who employed milkmen as I know, milk. This was done mostly when I was elected as President and partly after I had my own division to arrange this process, and I quickly purchased and made use of milkmaids both for milk and for the benefit of which this was done through women labour. The result was wonderful. The milk maid I give employment to a large number of people who have nothing work, but the work was not done equally well as about 50 per cent of the milk arrived through the big contractors and the high incidence.

Encouraged by this I decided to remove the cow refuse through bullock-carts. My objection to

removal of the cow-refuse was in the main that it simply has brought in the country, as all the major citizens and the small registered for that part of the village made. Unfortunately it meant a loss of employment to a large number of men, who were used to the work equally efficiently of removing the refuse through bullock-carts. I had however to help some labour to build two new sheds for the removal of the refuse through use of bullocks in the city. My idea was to employ entirely Harijans for the labour that had to be removed from sheds of the city and to place about three or four miles beyond. I believe even today the bullock carts carrying cow refuse include carts for transport. I am not quite sure.

"I wish our Congress leaders who go to run municipalities with their majesties should really have made enquiries to these aspects, studying the economy of the measure, its character and the question of employment. I am afraid we are going too much for mechanisation without considering how far the effects thereof on our kind of rural economy decentralised industry and reduction of unemployment or underfed labour."

While I was interested in Ahmedabad in 1948-49 I had an occasion of coming in contact with many people there. Knowing that I felt interested in rural self-government I was asked to look into their affairs and advise them. The Municipality had an income of about Rs. 10,000 a year. I was deeply surprised that they had thought that they should be given a motor-bus for busmen (drivers) transport though the city was full of all vehicles. The houses in many places were situated in distances and the early and of material was about Rs. 5000 spent from depreciation for purchasing a motor-bus after a few years. The country was in poor that as well very backward of great India's class. As I after the bullock had spent their and labour on it for two days. Numerous poor people used to walk 12 miles to bring the bullock of great to bring gift and to make the bullock again to reach their villages. I wondered why my friends there thought of buying a motor-bus for carrying the bullock when there was such intense poverty and unemployment. To my mind it was a waste to spend Rs. 5,000 a year over the price and the cost of running a bus when the work could have been done equally efficiently by having a dozen bullock carts, which would have given employment to a number of drivers and keepers of the bulks.

"We are in charge of the administration of the country. But I am afraid we get lost the business to try methods which in our concepts and ideas. We are getting more and more in the whirlpool of mechanisation. I am glad you have asked your case of progress against this mechanisation."

During the last war when there was a great shortage of wagons for transporting civilian goods from one province to another, the Navjivan Press was experienced serious difficulty in getting its paper supply from the Trigarh Mills. The paper was there for many in Gharia, but how was it to be brought to Ahmedabad? Gendhyal suggested that that was the time to organize bullock-transport as of old. There should be a regular run of bullock and other animal wagons carrying goods from one end of the country to the other.

But the suggestion was regarded by those to whom it was made as too difficult to organize for immediate purposes, and the idea was not further mooted. I carried the impression that

Graciously was not quite satisfied with the dropping of the idea and felt that the plea of time and difficulty was due merely to our usual inertia. What he was thinking was not the solution of the problem in a fortnight or a month's time, but of building up a new organization and for that the situation of the year was indeed very opportune. However, for the time being, the idea was abandoned.

But it is an ever-standing necessity and a beginning should be made even now. With necessary encouragement by governments, a five-year period would enable us to lay a decent foundation of a thriving transporting agency working in collaboration with mechanized transport.

It is not the race or swift horses which are needed for civilian needs but the brute of burden i.e. bullocks, oxen, mules, mares and if necessary, drag horses. The last have not a great place in India, since our agriculture depends upon bullocks and not horses. A good breed of carriage horses, do have a limited use.

I am glad that Sri G. V. Narayanan has put in my name.

Wardha, 12-6-62

L. G. MARSHWALLA

Earthquake Disaster

A tremendous earthquake disaster has come out of Ecuador in South America. It is comparable to the one which had shaken Bihar in 1934.

P. T. 1 — Reader says

"The death toll in Ecuador disaster was not exactly officially today is 1500. It is said that 1500 persons perished in the area of Atacama where, since 1918, was a flourishing, farming and commercial centre now reduced to a gloomy and fearful spectacle. In the wreckage of Pailon, completely obliterated city, 300 of the 1500 earthquake survivors, more than 10000 persons in the earthquake area are said to have been injured and property damaged is estimated at 20,000,000 United States dollars. It is estimated that 100,000 persons are homeless. Survivors from Atacama Pailon suffered here today by the earthquake 1918, said Pailon had been obliterated. Pailon located at the very township there is an immense lake with only the spire of the principal church rising above the flood water. An entire hill crumbled into the valley flooding a river."

"Returning from a tour of the devastated area, President Lasso said: 'My country has been the victim of a truly great, the earthquake of an already more advanced nation has destroyed the cities of Atacama Pailon Pailon Pailon and Salento as well as several smaller townships of Transandina Province. The damage to the world is terrible.'"

Let us pray in silence for the unhappy and, though unknown, nevertheless members of our family beyond the seas.

Wardha, 10-6-62

L. G. M.

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FEDRAT NAMAR

A High School teacher of C. P. writes

"A circular from the Director of Public Instruction C. P. and D. P. has prohibited outside studies holidays in Madras teachers and students only. For instance, on the occasion of Good Friday all the schools had to remain open."

The Municipal Council has also been asked to keep further. By 10 AM all the schools have closed to remain closed for 11 hours (11:00 to 12:00) on every Friday to enable the Madras teachers and students to offer their prayers. On other days, this "long closure" is for half an hour (11:00 to 11:30).

"Now the Committee has ordered that although the Madras will be free to attend their prayers and to leave the school (in Madras) in 1952, the school will however keep as usual with only 10 minutes 'interval'—that is to say, the Madras may offer either a hour of 10 minutes, either or give up their Friday prayers. It is strange that the Committee should have so completely ignored this aspect of the problem for it has not made any suggestion how it proposed to settle up the loss caused in the Madras schools for no lack of funds."

Would you please let us know how far such orders are connected with the ideal of a secular State?

While I would appreciate if the authorities concerned deem proper in their discretion to declare Friday instead of Saturday as a general half-holiday, I am not prepared to find fault with them if they stop at the point mentioned above. I do not think there is anything inconsistent with the ideal of a secular State in the aforesaid order.

I understand that most of the governments have revised their old lists of holidays and cancelled or reduced the duration of several old days long enjoyed formerly as general holidays. This Government, I understand, has been made a national holiday, Raksha Bandhan has been cancelled and so on. The number of holidays was increasing every year for some years past and it needed severe reduction. Consequently there should be no misunderstanding if Madras is declared a national holiday.

There is not much religion in Madras. Christians and others still cling, on Raksha Bandhan or Hindu and others on Id or Christmas, unless they take and are encouraged to take part in the festivals of one another.

The loss of income does create a dilemma, it cannot be helped. In such cases one has to choose between one's secular advantages and one's religious advantages, and a man of religion will choose to forego the secular advantages. Secular teachers and diligent students would make up in some other way for this loss, even as they do for the loss of their incomes for absences otherwise caused.

Wardha, 10-6-62

L. G. MARSHWALLA

Correction

In Marges of August 7 1964 (XIII-32) on page 184, in the first line of the article, Advaita Advaita for marriage read marriage and in column 2 at the end of the first paragraph for old-two read old-two.

INDIAN BANKS AND FINANCE

The following is a summary of suggestive notes received in words of letters by a correspondent having inside-quarter of a banker's experience of banking as a small independent office.

—25.1

There are a number of weak points in the structure of Indian Banks. They lead to loss of income to government, loss of money to depositors, discontent of Bank employees and misappropriation of money. The result is that those who deposit money or open accounts in banks do it, as if it were, at their own risk. This is not of the nature of inflation of currency and the failure of as many as 53 banks in 1940 and the dubious position of several even now. If the financial condition of the country is to be improved and borrowers are to be induced to invest their savings in a productive manner, better safeguards must be provided than what exist at present, despite the latest contract. "The Banking Companies Act, 1940."

There are several loopholes in the present system which enable Directors, Managers and Bank employees to practise fraud. For instance: (a) Directors are able to advance large sums of money to themselves or their friends and associates or fictitious firms or companies in which they are themselves interested. (b) officers empowered to advance money do so to numerous parties either negligently or corruptly or to please their Directors. (c) assets such as farmland are purchased for the Bank at a far greater price than market price from firms or companies run by Directors or their relatives. As the payments are properly receipted and supported by vouchers no auditor can question them.

Such legalised robbery of public funds by the top executives of Banks or other companies reduces the amount of the actual net profit earned. This deprives the government of a considerable amount of income-tax, and leaves a smaller amount for distribution amongst the staff as bonus or contribution to welfare or welfare fund, and as annual increments in salaries and wages.

These practices cannot remain a secret from Bank employees with the result that there is deep-seated discontent amongst them leading to inefficiency, negligence, strikes, etc.

When so many major points are notified, it is hardly necessary to refer to favoritism in staff matters. Friends and relatives hold important positions of profit without any qualification except that of relationship.

The gravity of the present state of affairs of several Indian-managed Banks can be judged from the following extract from the speech of Sir Padamshri Senghania at the annual general meeting of the Hindustan Commercial Bank, Ltd.

Information regarding defaulting deposits totalling up to more, as a result of portion of the assets for general reduction in the value of securities (mounting up expenses), funds deposited in general

and the numerous uncompleted debts of banks are no longer a common thing being those who are working in them—

The Central Government should also tighten up regarding Bank government which will itself help it to save.

Triumph of large sums for banking in this country, however, having pulled political freedom progress of Indian banking is not commensurate with the natural resources of the country. On the other hand I am noticing that lately foreign banks are getting the upper hand over us and their deposits are increasing in the case of Indian Banks.

Another writer, Shri D. S. Ramaswamy, also describes the causes of this situation as follows:

"The Indian banking structure has enormously expanded itself particularly during and after the Second World War. But this expansion has not been healthy. Some banks have been established without sufficient capital while others have come to be known for their unsound practices. This state of the structure of Indian banking are some few salient facts. Many Indian banks have been fed on the war and post-war boom. As a result of the war, there has been a considerable accumulation of money in several sections of the population who have placed their savings in the numerous banks which have been springing up. Most of these depositors are generally ignorant and are neither disengaged, business-minded and successful banks, nor keep a watch over the working of their own banks. Recently, Bengal was in the grip of a banking crisis and it is not unlikely that other provinces may have to undergo the same panic, if the Reserve Bank is not alert. Despite of the recent Banking Act, which came into force just three months ago, we have had a bank failure in the corporation of operations by the Karnataka Bank of India and Africa. It is very strange to note that a big bank like this should have failed at such a crucial period in the history of Indian banking and that following so closely on the heels of the government of the new banking law giving wide powers to the Reserve Bank and the Government of India. Many depositors in India and particularly Indian depositors in Africa must have been led by this calamity. Whatever the reason for the failure of the Bank it is a glaring example of the dangers of the haphazard and un sound development of our banking structure."

It may not be possible or practicable to prevent further failures of "Indian" Banks, whose affairs have remained mismanaged for some length of time, but it is imperatively necessary to take preventive measures to ensure adequate protection of the interests of the vast masses of depositors, from being almost entirely ignored by the Banks' Directors.

A very dangerous type of irresponsibility and lawlessness has crept the minds of a very large number of Banks' employees and even Directors who take full advantage of all loopholes found in the law, as at force at present. They can afford to continue to do so with impunity, hoping to accumulate sufficient wealth by the time the Bank is forced by circumstances to close its doors involving the ruin of a very large number of innocent depositors.

Many bankers are negligent in detecting bad character, unwise practices and un sound business and after the crash in the interests of unaccountable investors and depositors, it is almost essential to prevent mischief before it is too late.

NOTES

Death of Deshabhakti

As this goes for the Press, I receive news of the passing away of the venerable Deshabhakti Shri Konda Venkateswappa Pantulu, the great leader of Andhra. It must be noticed with some anguish. But want of time and space prevents it being done in this issue. So, for the time, I close with paying my humble tribute to his memory.

Wartha, 15-8-40

Correspondents

Some correspondents write matter which could better be replied to by a personal letter only. Some send even postage stamps for reply. But it becomes impossible to do so, or the stamps fade (the reply being returned by the Dead Letter Office) on account of slightly or insufficiently written names and addresses.

Instead of giving their full name and address, some refer to themselves as subscriber. No so and so. Please note that the register of subscribers is not kept with me but at the Press in Ahmedabad and I cannot look into it.

Anonymous letters cannot be attended to. And those who make a show of writing a signed letter but in an illegible manner without full address (e.g. by simply saying Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, etc.) are no better than anonymous writers.

Wartha 15-8-40

Third Class Travelling

"You have complained on second class sleeping coach. Now, you complain on third class railway travel too!" This would have been in keeping with the spirit of the Marjani Gaudij always translated into. And why then should the first classer who the many cannot have, use their title against us?

Third class railway travel was trying enough before the war. Now, the war it has become a hell—especially a hell for us. From Calcutta to Delhi or Bombay. In a coach meant for four old persons (nearly) squarers in. And in the spaces between, between these are full of luggage stored with people squinting or snoring in between. As you cannot stretch your legs, and they get stiff. And your body on the bench, it hurts enough to reach a seat, is jammed between two other bodies. Really discomfort apart, one comes to doubt if he is a human being at all.

The complaint is true. It is neither love for comfort nor capacity of the purse that made me travel in the second class on the occasion commented upon. I have to submit to occasional second class travelling because, for me, of the impossible-to-travel-conditions of the third. But I fully endorse the correspondent's criticism, and may add that the second class is as less crowded. The conditions can improve only when more trains or carriages are made available and people are enabled to keep less baggage with them by creating confidence that they

can safely place it in the brake-van and have it delivered to them as soon as they reach their destination.

Wartha, 16-8-40

"The Power of Non-violence"

There is a new kind of book. The title might give the impression that this is intended book by a devotee of dreams that once made the Hinduist his proposed his independent rainbow, which will always be put in the sky and never touch the earth in any point.

But the reader will soon discover that this book is not just another dream of one white rainbow vision. There is no such rainbow in this book as there is in dreams. It is a fine blend of what is real and what ought to be. In any case for this writing, what ought to be springs out of what has been proved and been in, what is, the first and the last of what is real—presently, start up this rainbow. We are invited called upon to follow a careful scientific process which shows an effective method of the disconcerting heart proving its greater truth and satisfying itself in practice.

"It is not a legend but it suggests a profound truth. It is only those who believe in what and have faith and hope in the new and better world which men by co-operation with God can build here on earth that help to lead us toward the lands of promise. The author of this book has this deepening faith and he has effectively impressed it. (Dr. Radha K. Jena in the Introduction to the First Edition)

"The first edition of this book was published in 1935. It is now out of print. Subsequent events have raised many questions not considered in the first edition." Hence this edition. The author has cut from the first edition eight chapters with their notes and in place of them inserted three new chapters discussing a few practical aspects of the subject. The reduction in size has been made to make it less expensive and thus find a wider circle of readers. Some of the old chapters were attractive and many will regret their exclusion.

Wartha, 27-7-40

E. G. M.

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HARJAN

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WHY THE WORLD LOOKS TOWARDS INDIA 71

India is, a big country, perhaps one of the only one, in the world which has been, in colonial days, rich in both things. Her history is one thousand years old and the minds of people have not lost touch and taste in the modern world. In the world which is inhabited by such a lot of conservatives. This country looks to the future with an optimism more broad-based and genuine and they are not content with the world as it is. The world recognizes India as a powerful country. Our people are experienced and the world is surprised to find them using very old techniques. They are not trained but they are efficient. Their rarely shared among themselves but there are people who are quite capable and there are others who are intelligent and use the modern people. There is the common people in the world around. Unlike the Americans, Malaysians think of the world in terms of only one. In other words, among themselves. People who are other people are not capable. Therefore, our aim is to change things in the world, therefore, away from this situation of war. These men who were interested in their own work were drawn by the city people, their leaders were drawn towards the atmosphere around them and had some more attention on both sides. It

anyway, I am happy to learn that the blues will be here in their numbers. If the authorities and voters feel in this position that they will proceed with a free vote is never satisfied.

Our Democratic Assembly has decided that in the future composition of bodies there will be no distinctions between Catholics or Protestants or Christians. No religious and national differences have been abolished. One commanding feature is the fact that the Russians also gave their support to this. That is the decision now involved in consideration. Now the problem before the country is to get on with love and friendship. We are a strong nation and if we live in peace we can bring the two hate breeds and the whole world will benefit as well as us. The world is tired of violence. Within the last twenty-five years or so there have been several wars making it very sad indeed. The world wants to merge a third war and looks to India for leadership.

One of the reasons for the world's hope of India is her history. India has never lost an aggressor in her whole history. Many empires have risen and gone—ruined the empires of Persia, Africa and Mesopotamia. It has been said of Mesopotamia that it considered this vast country from Babylon to Cape Good Hope as its big old man and his grave on the eastern coast. Though he was strong enough to attack them, The other empires did not offend him and that is the characteristic of India. People were used to it. Great Empires arose with knowledge and labor and not with political power. They propagated freedom by displaying it in the world. The people in last seven years saw an em-

of tradition in the world which has no parallel in the history of the world. Christians also spread their religion, but not at the behest of their governments. There was no political power to back the Christian prophecies. That alone makes a great point of difference. The same spirit permeated Gandhi's life and that is the reason why the world reads his life with great interest. From time to time our history is full of noble examples and the names of great men and great men who were born in this country enriched your small nation on the large history of this traditional land. The world under whose light you are at home.

There is also another reason for such high hopes. We will see that, according to the prevailing social viewpoint, the friendship of a woman for over thirty years is the result of the relationship being in the female also. This idea is shared by people and thus recognized also by persons whose view that women although being the weaker sex in that our friendship may be unrequited, they often still find, that would not have gained unless forced to do so. Thus the social opinion also contributed to the achievement. But above all were the great qualities of the friendship of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Amelia Ann Jackson who, with that woman, has achieved much and to influence John Smith with others immensely, will be described. Therefore the words "friendship, affection, comradeship" of two women and such records in the last.

A third reason for India's high profile in the world is our Prime Minister. Pandit Nehru was being gregarious and broad-minded. Chandra Shekhar has made the world his second home.

The three three reasons Indian people, in the world, I hope today, if we maintain national peace, India will influence a 40 increase and the value will be based throughout the world. If there is no national peace, all our energies will be spent in maintaining it and we will not be able to open up the poor. We have suffered from this and it is worse if we fight and wars are not but to solve this, believe that the differences between man and man, like a mother the LORD all — such also peace — like. Therefore our development is to be and only we can cross the difficult child but that is to be country where there is nothing but justice and there is equal treatment for all.

But after our Independence Day has and have our experience become used of our energies were spent in maintaining peace. By God's grace peace is returning to this country and we should all live in peace and harmony.

1998

100

Lovers of Gandhian literature in South India will be pleased to learn that though some of the bigger bookshells of Madras used to sell books published by the Manoranjan Kar yakshe we have now arranged for the sale of all our publications at the A. S. S. A. (Tamilnad) Shop, Madras, 6, Barton Road, Madras 600 020.

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²² Adapted from 2009 American Psychological Institute. In *Handbook of Stress Management*, pp. 24-26.

CONTROLS FOR CRACKERS

I

"The author of the following article had discussed in 1942 the question of foodgrains through the operation of the *Ashta* under the name & place of 'Bhagwan'. This programme the author, at greater length, in short time, intends to discuss our economic conditions and desires more fully. I shall reserve my comments until the next issue of the article." —(Ed.)

The economy was still suffering under a number of disabilities the most important one within the high cost of living. The Government has taken strong anti-inflationary measures so that prices may be brought down, but with the position remains the same as it was. The cost of living index figures do not show any appreciable difference and there is no prospect of the hard-boys and the mavericks of the economy who have been in the rear house. I feel that the basic approach to the whole problem is wrong and is misconceived and with the present methods, even the years of efforts would fail to alleviate the sufferings of the masses in India. Let me take up each item one by one.

Food

Food shortage in India is not a new problem. Inasmuch as we were importing a million or two million tons of rice from Burma and that source was cut off during and after the war. To combat this food shortage, we started the 'Grow More Food' campaign. It might increase average under cultivation and imported considerable quantities of foodgrains after the war and even then we have not sufficient to feed ourselves, nor are we getting the quantities and qualities required by us. To ensure equitable distribution at cheap prices, remaining was it, ordered for almost one-third of the population, and stringent laws were imposed for curtailing consumption and free movement of foodgrains. For the marketing system, not only foodgrains were imported but compulsory or voluntary procurement was resorted to. In spite of these, the rates at which the public obtained their foodgrains were nearly 300 to 400 per cent. higher and persons never got what they were accustomed to or the right quality of foodgrains, but deteriorated or poor substitutes. The main defects of marketing shortages in this way immediately came to the forehand. Procurement prices were very low in the beginning and even when raised, the margin between procurement, selling price and the procurement price was very large and one fails to account for this large difference. I am informed that rice is procured in a certain district at Rs. 12-4-0 or Rs. 12-12-0 per standard cwt., but the same rice is sold at about Rs. 37-2-0 or Rs. 38-2-0 per standard to the public in that very district. Prices of paddy were fixed at about Rs. 7-0-0 per standard and on that basis selling price should be Rs. 12-0-0 per standard cwt. In several cases the difference between paddy and rice prices was never more than 50 per cent. One cannot understand why it should be 125 or

150 per cent. more. Government/has been doing poor agricultural work and it is more than because of their ignorance of the importance of agriculture and substitution for Government. Farmers were however, not interested in Government's buying and selling policy and their co-operation with procurement schemes was little. Of late there is even hostility and violence against these schemes. Hence procurement schemes have failed and considerable foodgrains find their way to the black market with the connivance of corrupt Government, wholesale officials and police. Also, owing to indifference to government machinery involving delayed payment and slow movement, large quantities of procured grains deteriorate and loss is caused by several in its transit.

Besides not-openness there are other defects also both in the procurement and the purchase of foreign grains. Government encouraged apportionment from villages because in some cases there were actually crop failures, when Government officials treated on the hard quotas of procurement. And the purchase of foreign foodgrains was left in the hands of middle persons who bought at any cost and whatever foodgrains were available, whether suitable or not. Large quantities of maize and even rotten wheat which were unfit for human consumption were purchased. Hence too the difference between the purchase price of the Government and the selling price leaves a wide margin which cannot be understood by the common people. If wheat is available for Rs. 20 per bushel, that is about 55 lbs. and even if the landed cost is slightly higher on account of freight and other shipping charges, one cannot understand the difference of about 55 to 60 per cent. between the actual landed cost and the ultimate cost to the consumer. And in spite of all this, the losses on purchase and sale of foodgrains are large both according to the Central and Provincial budgets. So the consumer pays directly and indirectly by way of taxes much more than even the selling price of the commodities. I think it is high time somebody probed into this problem and found out where the differences are going and what is the actual cost to the public, after taking the amounts spent directly or indirectly. How can anti-inflationary measures ever succeed so long as food prices remain at the present level and the public exchanges on the top of a huge amount of expenditure on establishments and salaries lower?

Defects in the Marketing System

It never came to the public what they wanted in quantity or in quality. Marketing on card business to distribute or bogus cards and a number of people made a living out of it. The use fixed for hotels and public establishments were deliberately kept low so that they were compelled to resort to black-market operations

Losses in transit were considerable both in railroads and in movement from one place to another by motor transport and these lost food grains were available for sale in black markets. There was another complaint against rationing that people living in a particular area never got foodgrains grown in that area. It appears to me that people who were in charge of the foodgrains organization relied on data which was never up-to-date nor did they have a concrete well-thought-out plan for tackling this problem. There has been no proper co-ordination between centre and provinces, while the centre is asked to find foodgrains for all deficit areas, provinces have not done their part of the work, that is, of preserving the area under cultivation of foodgrains nor improved their machinery of procurement and quick movement. In fact restrictions imposed by them on sale and transfer from village to village and districts to districts impeded movement of stocks and sometimes these were destroyed by worms or rotted with farmers. The ultimate result is that shortages are magnified and sought to be perpetuated for the benefit of the vested interests.

Solution of Food Problems

The actual food shortage is only about 5 or 10 per cent that is about two or three million tons. This is not much considering the fact that India is an agricultural country growing most of its foodgrains. If we work out per capita the shortage may not even work out to half a kilogram per head. It is often argued that though the quantity is small this slight margin may lead to higher prices. Hoarding by traders and wastage by the richer classes as they can easily afford to buy any quantity if there was no control or hoarding. I admit that the marginal shortage may lead to higher prices but I do not agree it will encourage hoarding among traders or that richer classes of people will be wasting these commodities by excessive consumption or extravagance. In spite of rationing and controls nobody can say that the richer classes have been prevented from either getting whatever quantities they wanted or from entertaining any number of guests privately. As regards hoarding by traders I can definitely say that if supplies are coming regularly into the market the traders will not have the necessary money, in about 1,000 crores of rupees to manipulate prices, particularly when Government is supporting the shortage. In no case is it necessary for us, in order to meet the consequences of this small deficit, to have all these procurement schemes and the resultant opposition and losses, to inflict hardships on the public by not meeting with their requirements and to have nearly one-third of the population under rationing. We can devise a more simple machinery to meet the shortages and avoid top-heavy administrative schemes, Central and Provincial. I would sug-

gest a more simple solution that is restriction of rationing to only five or ten per cent of the population, particularly in the deficit areas or in industrial towns by imported grains. Other strata of the society should be completely left out. There should be no restriction on movement of foodgrains in any part of India except that the Government should guard against smuggling on the border areas, particularly East Bengal which is a deficit area. If the Government can purchase wheat or rice in the foreign market, the same should be sold at their landed cost plus transport charges only, and it should not be sold through Government agencies but handed over in cities to public and commercial establishments who should be asked to take the foodgrains direct from ports to avoid handling and wastage charges. Government can also have their cheap rationing shops for other people, non-industrial and non-commercial. I would further suggest that these imported foodgrains should be sold at ports and as near to ports as possible and in such places where commercial crops are grown or in places where there is a tendency on the part of traders to profiteering. As already stated, there should be no restriction on movement even in rationed areas, so that those who do not desire to use imported stuff can buy indigenous production. If foreign food grain markets were free I would suggest that the import of foodgrains also should be left to commercial importers rather than Government. But at present owing to shortage of foodgrains on a world-wide scale, controlled or otherwise, foreign Governments are trying to make capital out of the situation. Even if Government has the necessity to procure, the procurement price and the selling price should not have a difference of more than 10 to 20 per cent including all charges, in other words, the difference between procurement and selling prices should not be more than what was during pre-rationing conditions.

I think under the present scheme there is excessive transport and handling charges, because Government policy is generally to unload it from a ship and take it to some central storage and again to distribute it to Provincial Centres and they again in their turn distribute it to the retailers. I am not quite sure on this point but the difference in their procurement and selling rates may be due to this, although not wholly. It is also necessary that the Government should publish a correct audited statement showing on the one side landed cost, i.e. the cost of foodgrains as paid to its origin, plus freight and insurance charges, handling charges, wastage, loss in transit, etc. and on the other side, the retail price and stock. The accounts should be published every three months and not after years and that too for departmental records.

(To be continued)

HARIJAN

September 4

1948

CHARIHA JYANTI

Charika Jyanti is drawing near. Kshatriyas and regular spinners are already busy about it. For several years past Shri Narandas Gurella has been promoting the practice of observing a spinning week lasting for as many number of days and of accepting donations in terms of as many barks or coins as the number of Gandhi's birthday. Thus for him every year the Jyanti week averages by a day. Following this practice, Shri G. Sreenivaswamy of Vasudhavan in Andhra has organised a number of non-stop shuklas for nightlong days and has already produced by now a large stock of yarn. If future generations continue this practice faithfully, on the 100th anniversary of Gandhi's birthday, the observance of the 10th Jyanti will synchronise with the end of the 48th. In other words it will come to be a Jyanti spinning having thereafter become a daily duty of the observer. That, of course is the very object underlying the spinning wheel. It is not a ceremonial practice to be performed for a stated number of days, but a thing meant to form part of one's daily life. Once this habit is developed in the people there is no necessity to count the date of its commencement or for running spinning wheels occasionally.

Plying the spinning wheel is so easy, pleasant and refreshing work that one who begins it will soon get like to leave it soon, once it is started, and spinning is co-operative with others is even more pleasant. But human nature as it is tries to seek novelties and puts forward plans to escape from doing even an easy, interesting and refreshing task so long as the habit of doing it has not developed. On the other hand, when once a habit is formed man will perform even difficult, harmful and tiresome tasks. To weave daily in the morning is no pleasant work, but once the mind has developed the concept that the face should look clean in society, even a person suffering from fever insists upon doing it. But he would not engage himself in such work as *pratyaksha* or *surayamashu* though they are healthy exercises. Thus the formation of a good habit is as difficult as making an impression on a stone by means of a rope. The impression is definitely made but after exhausting a number of ropes. On this ground, Shri Narandas Gurella has lived the long period of 365 years for the full achievement of the ideal. If we regard August 15th Birthday as the beginning of this practice in spinning over this great nation for five or six generations, Shri Narandasbhai has shown remarkable patience, perfect confidence in the objective and faith in God and life.

Shri Sreenivaswamy and other workers of his temperament by winning this opportunity

for expending their earnest faith have been giving it a great momentum.

There is no doubt that prominent leaders contribute much to this movement for mobilising and popularising new habits in the people. But Gandhi's ideology of the spinning wheel is so completely original and revolutionary, that it is no wonder if people find it difficult or novel or scholastic, proved in different channels of thinking, look upon it as strange or even as doubtful soundness. It is, therefore not unusual if many of our leaders show indifference towards it. Fortunately, however, there are among the leaders some who understand it and take part in it. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's message shows his faith and regard for it. If he cannot spin now, so one will find fault with him at his age and in the present state of his health. Shri Manabhai Patel makes up for him. She does not sleep before finishing her daily spinning. Mostly it is Manabhai's yarn which clothes Sardar. Shri Rupendrabhai, if not ill or too busy in urgent work, loves the charika ceremony and often spins for two or more hours at a stretch and with good speed. Dr. Kailash Nath Kaysi the Governor of West Bengal conducts the spinning activity even in the Government House and visits the villages for popularising it. He has an much convenience for the spinning wheel as he has his Sanskrit. The Premier of Rajasthan Shri Hiralal Senary has recently observed in this he wears the dhoti woven from self spun yarn only. That he spins for his clothes, besides discharging his duties as a Premier, is really creditable to him. In the Bombay Cabinet also Shri Morarji Deas is I believe, generally a regular spinner. I mention names only well-known to me. There are perhaps also or more charika-loving ministers in almost every province. Nevertheless, it is true that the ideology or love for spinning is not quite common among prominent men in government.

By efforts of such earnest Kshatriyas, examples set by leaders and help of Kshatriyas, the Charika Sangh has been making efforts to pursue its original object of making spinning a part of daily work of the people throughout the country and a means of self sufficiency in cloth. This is its only true and main work. It certainly wants to clothe the entire country with Kshatriya but it has realised that it could not be done by creating an organisation for producing and selling Kshatriya yarn to Kshatriyas. It is understandable if four or five per cent of the people, though capable of spinning, depend upon others. But if the majority suffers from such a mortality it is impossible to make Kshatriya universal. It is cannot be attempted or else it could drive only under some form of administration which is either tyrannical or colonialist. It cannot achieve universal good — *Sarvodaya*.

Realising this fact the Charika Sangh has applied its organising capacity in propagating spinning for all. Even great leaders have not been able to understand this change and have misunderstood the policy of the Charika Sangh

some feel that this is a measure of defeat of the constructive aspects of the Charkha Sangh. Some feel that it is, in fact, a measure of opening work upon which hinges—some sense in it an attempt to show that the spinners belong to a higher caste than mere black weavers. Some sense it of intolerance or an attempt to foment a sect, and in like manner various doubts are raised or motives attributed.

But if one reasons properly, it will be clear that if *black* is to be made universal it could be done only as the line indicated by the Charkha Sangh. If an attempt is made on any other line, it can become only a sentimental expression of the few or the badge of a political or semi-religious group. It would always require the patronage of either the State or the wealthy class for its maintenance and propagation. People associate many good virtues with black-weaving. If a person puts on well-dresses whether he puts on a machine and a hat or whether he puts on a turban and a long robe, no one feels that he is a rogue or a gentleman in spite of a particular kind of dress, for all believe that the personal character of a man bears no relationship with well-dress or its fashion of wearing. But people look to black as a religious or political symbol and so as they criticize a *rudrak* carrying the sectarian mark on his forehead, they criticize the black-weaver's character also by the quality of his cloth.

The propagandists of *charkha* and *black* do not intend to create a sect of followers of Gandhiji or the Congress. *Black* is not meant for providing a test for man's moral character. It has been conceived as the fundamental remedy for the abolition of poverty of the forty crores of people of India (including Pakistan). That object still remains. Neither by Indian tradition of various types nor by Communist or other form of Government can *Swadeshi* be brought. There is none but this way to *Swadeshi*—which guarantees individual freedom, development of the personality and abolition of poverty all at once. That being his conviction, Gandhiji spent a great part of his energies after the *charkha*. As a result of his efforts, a handful of workers, though imperfect, were produced, who have made it their life-mission. People will advance in the direction of *Swadeshi*, to the extent they adopt the *charkha* and its propagandists.

Rather through reasoned conviction, or under the force of circumstances, people and governments have to realize one day that the acceptance of the *charkha* is the only sure national of Gandhiji and the celebration of Gandhi Jayanti.

Varanasi, 25-8-49

S. C. KAMBERWALA

(Translated from Gujarati)

A Correction

Paragraph 11-4 of Page 230, "Red" give: "The New India people" as corrected, "would" for "give the New India people". He continued "it would" in part 2 of the appeal.

OUR INCREASED RESPONSIBILITY

(Address by Kumbhar to the 7th Charkha Assembly)

It is usual to increase constructive work on the occasion of Bapu's Birthday. He gave our first place to *charkha* and *black* in all these activities. It was hoped that as soon as foreign rule was removed and our own people had assumed power the National Government would make *black* its own concern. But perhaps, involved as it is in political complications, we do not remove from it the expected lead to *black*. The responsibility of the public therefore to take to *black* is all the greater.

We observe that the more we are reading from Bapu's teachings and principles the greater is the loss suffered by our country. It should not happen that whatever good things we inherited from Bapu should die with him. In fact, in his absence our duty is greater than ever. If India is to be absolved from the sin of his death, the only way to it is to pledge to carry on the constructive work which was so much after his heart and with the help of which he earned on the struggle for *Swaraaj*.

New Delhi, 26-7-49

(Translated from Hindi into English)

"PHYSICAL LABOUR WEEK"

Shri K. G. Sanyal, at present Educational Advisor to Bombay Government, has published a pamphlet, *An Experiment in Social Education containing details of a programme of 'Physical Labour Week'* organized by him in the schools of Kankar Bazar, where he was the Director of Education before joining the Bombay Government. Extracts from the report are given below.

It is necessary that the programme drawn up should fulfil the following conditions:

1. It should provide for *real* labour and manual work, suited to the age of the children, so that they may actually achieve something worthwhile at the end of the week.
2. The programme planned should lead itself to co-operative activity, so that children may learn to give and thus learn through practice the habits of discipline and qualities of leadership.
3. It should be varied and carefully planned so that the mass of thousands of children participating in it may all find something worthwhile in the end state of their—manly playing of work—in service. This will be facilitated if the programme includes work both in the school as well as outside—especially activities help in field operations, hospital visiting, community activities, etc.
4. In order to exploit the educational possibilities of this Labour Week project attempts should be made—as indicated in the Report—to link up the work done with school programmes of learning and thereby visiting reading, writing, arithmetic and all other subjects.

The following outline programme was drawn up to guide the teachers all over the province in the work to be attempted during the Labour Week.

- (1) Water-washing of the classrooms

- (1) Wall plastering of the school roads whenever necessary.
- (2) Cleaning and improving of the school yards, vegetable compounds, gardens and playgrounds.
- (3) Improving the school walls and fencing.
- (4) Cleaning of the furniture in the laboratory, the library and the school rooms and ventilating it 2 times a week.
- (5) School decoration—preparation of charts and pictures, arranging suitable notices, etc.
- (6) Improving the school approaches, e.g. filling up of depressions, removing obstacles, improving the condition of roads.
- (7) Improvement of roads—filling up of depressions and complete clearing of drainage etc. in the school locality.
- (8) Deepening the school wells by cutting.

From the reports received, it was found that the following kind of work was done by the students in Primary, Middle and High Schools all over the State:

- (1) Cleaning, white-washing, repairing and decorating the school buildings, furniture, fence, grounds and surroundings.
- (2) Repairing of roads, clean open drains, etc., from the lanes and streets.
- (3) Cleaning watering places like springs, and ponds and helping in digging wells.
- (4) Constructing bridges over small drains and streams to facilitate communication.
- (5) Filling pits in the streets and lanes, clearing and repairing roads, repairing broken steps of hills which were dangerous for the innocent passers by.
- (6) Enrichingly building houses for their children.
- (7) Teaching adults to write their names.
- (8) Improving drainage and drying nearby grounds.
- (9) Tending of the school compound.
- (10) Preparing reports for the public regarding the importance of personal cleanliness and social conduct in order to ward off common diseases, curing of common jobs, learning the use of the modern agricultural methods and implements to add education and efficiency of students. This was done through the example of actual work as well as through organised programmes in the course of which teachers and the students delivered lectures, sang songs and arranged other programmes.

With a view to giving a concrete idea of the scope of work accomplished and to show that concerted effort and activity can achieve great results, a few of the projects actually carried out by some of the schools are cited below:

- (1) Putting up a solid stone wall 100 feet x 4 feet x 4 feet around the school garden.
- (2) Construction of bridges over smaller streams had made it difficult for children to attend school.
- (3) Construction of houses for the school.
- (4) Clearing up a large plot of land adjacent to the school and making down hill tracks where children used to take shelter.
- (5) Setting up of bathing centres where ladies were given daily baths.
- (6) Planning and construction of model kitchens.
- (7) Construction of a Government shaded reading room.
- (8) Social service work in the Mission Hospital.
- (9) Constructing a well round a mosque.

- (10) Cleaning of surface springs which had been dirty for decades and a course of diseases and epidemics.
- (11) Construction of a channel to bring water to the school premises.
- (12) Construction of a hut, against the hillside ground of a neighbouring stream, over 50 stone sports material.

The Editor of the *Navin Sevak*, (a Gujarati monthly published from Surat), while reproducing the above report in the issue of May-June 1948, has appealed to the schools to observe the coming Gandhi Jayanti as "Social Service and Labour Work". The suggestion is very good, but in undertaking any work in the name of Gandhiji the following principles should necessarily be observed in the programme:

- (1) Spinning.
- (2) Harjan service and functions for the establishment of equality of all castes and communities.
- (3) The programme should suit the season and the agricultural activities of the village.
- (4) A complete outline showing the distribution of work to be done by various parties should be ready well before time so that there is no confusion at the risk of the moment for want of instructions or implements.
- (5) An account of the work done by each, of expenditure incurred and the results obtained ultimately should be assessed at the end.
- (6) The programme should not conflict with that of other organisations in the village nor is it desirable that each organisation have a different programme.

Wardha, 30-8-48

K. G. KASHIRWALA

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COST OF EDUCATION

It is often said that education is costly but when you come to real values, education is more costly. Such ignorance provides also in high quarters. It is propagated by vested interests at enormous cost by setting up schools and advertising in their business-controlled papers. They teach us to throw away that which is good and hold fast to the shaft. They take hold of the cost of education and return it back to the original holder in fabulous prices in different forms and under different names. So the ignorant common pays for his ignorance twice over, once when he throws it away and a second time when he buys it back. This costly ignorance is prevalent mostly among the uppermost class townsfolk and it is fostered by the Government backed by the business people. Such ignorance is set up by business which do not care for our real needs but ponder to our vanity.

The most common field for such ignorance is in the food line. Wholesome food produced by nature is destroyed by man by false processing. The consumers suffer from malnutrition and business comes to the aid offered in by medical men coached up by propaganda and advertisements. This system is not merely costly financially but it is definitely ruinous from the health point of view. This type of exploitation can only be counteracted by proper domestic education in schools. In spite of food shortage the Government allows polishing of rice and the preparation of meals. We are thus throwing away vast quantities of nutritious food, causing ill health and damage to life.

It has been found that rice polishing which are thrown away contains about 5,000 calories in one pound of bran. These polishes are as follows:

1. Perish	125 per cent
2. Fat	50%
3. Carbohydrates	42%
4. Salt	5%
5. Cellulose and fibre	10%
6. Moisture	5%

It will be seen, therefore, that in polishing rice we are throwing away valuable nutrients.

If it were left at this point, there will not be further exploitation apart from malnutrition. When the consumer suffers from malnutrition the travelling agencies in the form of medical men come to his rescue with various types of drugs and injections, charging the patient in addition to clearing his debts and pain.

The businessman now steps in by producing vitaminised rice. This vitaminised rice is added to the polished rice so as to restore to the polished rice the original nutritious value. All the doctors they are establishing such a factory at Singapore. All these business arrangements are necessary to satisfy an artificially created fashion of serving show-white rice made tasteless by polishing.

We can see, therefore, that this method of raising the standard of living will increase ex-

penditure without meeting the needs of the people. The natural consequence is that the victim spends more and more and gets less and less real satisfaction. This is brought out by an enquiry into the family budget of middle-class employees of the Central Government. Enquiry shows that in U P, the Punjab, Bihar, Orissa, U P and Madras city, deficit budget runs more than 70 per cent on the total number and about 40 per cent of the families in Delhi and 75 per cent in Calcutta are involved in deficit consequently. What is needed, therefore, is the abolition of real values and not spreading of business-inspired standards of living. It will be the function of a National Government to educate its people in a rational mode of living to save them from profuse exploitation and meaningless expenditure.

I. C. KUMARAPPA

Caution about Subsidiary Foods

Leaders have been advising people to reduce their consumption of cereals with the help of subsidiary foods such as bananas, legumes, sweet potatoes, etc. Perhaps they are not fully aware of the danger that that very advice is prejudicial to the production of foodgrains. A correspondent from South India drawing attention to that danger writes:

Subsides of cereals of high nutrient food has been changed over to those subsidiary foods. The small subsistence farmers produce their subsistence and cereals for his own consumption but the commercial producers are those who grow them on a large scale. They grow for the markets hundreds of miles away and their attempt to get the best lands is to increase their profit. In a sense you are now, away a great portion of rich topsoil soil.

"From the introduction of millets which has been successful (1940-45), millets, the demand for Green revolution has increased and growth rate has been taken over by these crops. If propaganda is spread and benefits are offered, the diversion from cereal cultivation will be greater.

"These substitutes are all processed and they get the outside labor or derive the money before than the cereals from their land. Only cereals crops of irrigated land would be so directed. Now what happens is that that some having potential fertility the price rises of these and expensive they export.

Similarly another correspondent from Gujarat

"Progressively Gujarat has now reached the mark of the 12 to 15 lakh acres of legumes, which is, superior to other places. The agriculturalists are recommending their rotation upon because cultivation, which is more paying, their cereals, and that purpose even harvest money to buy a portion eight from and purchase an engine and pump from the black market. There is a suggestion that if one half of the land should be utilized for growing food but all attempts to break the law. Cereals is grown on about 75 to 78 per cent of land and sugar in the rest. In the black market, at such a, enormous rate in the exchange makes a show of working like in the fields and gain the profitability of the land used as land for growing food. But later the cereals is raised and sold because it even in the whole area. This is because cereals is more paying than pulses.

Let the Food Production Commissioner and Subsidiary Food Propagandists take caution.

Wardha, 10-5-48

L. G. K.

LETTERS FROM TERAYDA MANDIR

(A) M. K. Gandhi)

XXII

(Purnacharan Gandhi writing from Poona asked Gandhi three questions: (1) What is the difference between the materialist notions of the Jain and the notion of the Gita? (2) If God is not a deity, who dispenses grace? Is power anything more than the expression of a person's ability? (3) What do you think when you say that Truth is God? To both Gandhiji replied as follows:)

I do not think there is any contradiction between the Jain and the Vedic doctrine. They are only different ways of looking at the same thing. The God of Vedic Hinduism is door as well as non-door. God pervades the universe and is therefore a door but He is a non-door inasmuch as action does not affect Him and He has not to enjoy the fruit of action. The universe is not the result of any law or (action) of God in the sense in which you use that word. Therefore there is no discrepancy in the Gita verses quoted by you. Remember that the Gita is a poem. God neither says nor does anything. He did not say anything to Arjuna. The conversation between the Lord and Arjuna is imaginary. I do not think there was any such conversation between the Krishna and the Arjuna of history. There is nothing improper or untruthful in the saying of the Gita. There was a custom of making religious books into such a shape and we cannot find fault with any cultured individual even today who employs such a vehicle for his ideas. The Jainas put it logically, unacceptably and dirty and said that there is no Creator of the universe. There is nothing wrong in saying so. However, mortals cannot live by logic alone, but need poetry. Therefore even the Jain rationalists found it necessary to have temples, images and similar aids for the uplift of man which are ruled out by mere logic.

In answering your first question I have in effect also answered the second. 'Grace' is the domain of poetry. Devotion (Bhakti) is itself poetry. But poetry is no superior or inferior or unnecessary thing. On the contrary it is badly needed. Science would tell us that water is a chemical compound of hydrogen and oxygen but in the language of poetry water is the gift of God. Understanding such poetry is an essential element of life, while ignorance of the chemical composition of water does not matter in the least. It is perfectly logical to say that whatever happens is the fruit of action. But 'unpredictable is the secret of action' (Gita IV-37). We mortals are so constituted that we cannot know all the causative factors of even a very ordinary event. We are therefore perfectly right in saying that nothing happens except by the will and the grace of God. Again the body is a prison for the soul who is like the air enclosed by a jar. The air in the jar is ineffective so long as it thinks itself to be different from the atmosphere. In the same way the soul imprisoned in the body will be unable to draw upon the Reservoir of Power that is God so long as she imagines herself to be a door. Therefore to say that whatever happens happens by the

will of God is to state a matter of fact, and such humanity befits a seeker of truth. A lover of truth esteems only righteousness which are bound to be fulfilled. Our prayers bear fruit to the world to the extent that our soul is grounded in truth. The universe is not different from us, and we are not different from the universe. We are all members one of another, and influence one another by our actions. Actions have inside thoughts, so that not a single thought is without its effect. Therefore we must cultivate the habit of always thinking good thoughts.

I say that truth is God, not because God is without form and so is truth, but because truth is the only comprehensive attribute of God. Other attributes are only partial expressions of the reality that is God. The Gujarati word *Ashava* (the Lord) is also a descriptive epithet of God but as it literally means ruler, it sounds quite cramped. Thinking of God as the King of Kings does not satisfy the intellect. Such a line of thought may generate a kind of fear in our minds, so that we are afraid of committing sin and are discouraged in doing meritorious deeds. But men, acquired out of fear almost cease to be men. Let us do good for its own sake and not in order to win a reward. Pondering over the matter like this, I found that 'God is truth' is an uncomplex sentence. 'Truth is God' is the fullest expression of our meaning in so far as it can be set forth in human speech. We arrive at the same conclusion if we consider the etymology of the word *Asya* (truth), which is derived from *as* for seven times. That which exists at all times is truth. It shows us everything else is not. But while we hesitate to recognize God as truth, we must not also let our faith weaken. On the other hand it should grow stronger. Such is my rule of my experience. By looking upon truth as God we then lose of quite a number of dangers. We lose all interest in seeing or hearing about miracles. Seeing God is difficult to understand, but seeing truth presents no such difficulty. Seeing truth is indeed a hard task, but as we approach nearer and nearer to truth, we catch a glimpse of the God or truth so that we hope to have a full view in His good time and our faith also grows brighter and brighter.

(Translated from Gujarati by V. G. D.)

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HARJAN

16 Pages

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TWO ANNAS

— LORD OF HUMILITY —

From a little book, by The P. Way Press, just published by International Book House Ltd. (London) (price Rs. 2/10). It contains conversations and correspondence of the author with Gandhi along with a short biography. Just three years ago she received from Mrs. Bhabha a letter in which was enclosed the following: "I prepared by Papa himself the book called 'The Little Book' — an English version, who was then working at a Hindustani Welfare Centre — and who had asked Mrs. Bhabha to get Gandhi to give her a foreword. The foreword reached my desk long before she came to see me, understanding it to be added that she was the same Mrs. Bhabha to which I is related before in the last of the correspondence and of those who made it reaching this night, give." — (201)

Lord of humility, dwelling in the little parish hut,
help us to march for Thee throughout
this fair land
watered by Ganges, Brahmaputra and
Jhelum

Give us receptiveness, give us open-
heartedness,
give us Thy humility, give us the
sturdy and willingness
to identify ourselves with the masses
of India

O God who does help only when man feels
unwilling humble,
grant that we may not be ashamed from
the people
we would serve as servants and bonds-
men
Let us be embodiments of self-sacrifice
embodiments of godliness
humbly presented that we may know
the Lord better
and love it more

Wardha, 12-3-34

"Bapu's Letters to Mira"

Under the above title are collected 146 letters selected out of 638 that Gandhiji wrote to Mirabehn (Mira Madhavrao Shinde) during 1924 to 1936. About these Mirabehn writes:—

"The last twenty-two years of Bapu's life are reflected in these letters. Not the grand and the noble outer life seen by all, but the inner personal life which was so balanced, even course of spiritual search, unobscured by all the turmoil of the outer world. At the same time his ceaseless search for Truth made him aware of inner or sentimental weakness impossible."

I am glad to announce that this valuable collection will be out on the next Charitra Jayanti Day 19-9-1936

The book contains 387 pages and is priced Rs. 1/6 (postage extra)

J. D.

C. R.'S MONDAY UTTERANCES

I

On the second week of August His Excellency, Sir C. Rajagopalachari made two (two important) utterances on various Indian problems at Bombay, at the opening sessions of the new building of the Ministry, Yashwantrao Chavan and at a meeting of Press representatives. As I was not satisfied with the reports which I saw in some of the Bombay dailies, I sought for an unbiassed account which — I am very sorry to say. The speech and the Press Conference, refer to four important topics: (1) Primary Education (2) University Education (3) Labour in Universities and the Difficulties in the Middle Class. I propose to publish all the four unbiassed accounts in the Harjan, one by one and give in the present issue the complete, in the first two topics. The full text of the third and fourth I reserve for the next issue.

Difficulties of the Middle Class

Q. The middle class is feeling the economic pinch more and more

A. There is no doubt they are, but hard as it is, it will not do. I am asking the question: I would like to approach it from a different angle. In any society the steps of occupation for the middle class is limited. It does not cope with the increase in the population in that caste or class. The result is that almost unemployment and permanent dependency and so on are caused if the children of the middle class are not ready to take up work not generally associated with that class. If the middle class and ruled according to the laws of heredity and without birth control the position cannot be met unless middle class occupational chances are multiplied correspondingly. What then should be done? We must make the middle class a true middle class and not confined it with caste feeling. It is only when children born in middle class families adapt themselves to working class occupations that the problem of middle class unemployment would be solved. This is pure mathematics, not politics.

"Is a working class competition unfettered?" asked someone

A. Yes, because it is automatically adjusted to the population. Essential requirements increase as population increases. But middle class occupations cannot be so increased. If our industries advance there will be larger scope for what may be called middle class occupations.

The financial misery of the middle class now, is which you refer, is the measure — again

I STATEMENT IS: 13. 10/19/11

The following is the year-by-year record of the "Romantic Joke" column, as told by Sarah.

the 1980s and 1990s, the typical political party in the United States has been a loose coalition of individuals and groups with diverse interests and goals. The party system has become more fragmented and more volatile, with a greater emphasis on individualism and a greater emphasis on the role of the individual in the political process.

on 20th the day of Yashvi's marriage was also coinciding with the Yagor event. The musicians and the village women gathered to sing songs and dance to the accompaniment of the *gaitan*.

...and the fact that he had arranged for the...
...in 19... and... in a...
...to... and... and... to...

[illegible]

The cattle owned by the place came here on an organized drive according to the scheduled program. It is interesting to note no horses entered the afternoon trials. The horses gathered here, and nearby.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

On the other hand, as well as the reformist and social-democratic. The government may attempt to go on merely passing the laws and now and then appointing an adviser. But the reformists have failed to remain organized like this. It is the reformists who have not only broken up themselves into petty Hinduas also, rather work among the petty demands more across nationalities.

W. J. G. M. VAN DER KAM, *Wageningen Agricultural University*

There was no more time left for the captain to explain. I could tell, however, that there was more to come. I asked him whether I allowed that women could get a divorce; that was in working 19th. The answer came in German, that was the captain's native tongue. I said I had seen here by way of a comment. I cannot stand go to the city to which we have just left. I will believe some other day, perhaps, that the women can get a divorce and so the women can. That was all. I will think he had said it all.

[illegible]

That would mean, in essence, that the government is not allowed to spend more than it takes in. It would be like a family that could not spend more than it takes in. The family would have to live on its own resources and sell its assets if it needed more money. The government would have to do the same. It would have to sell its assets if it needed more money. It would have to sell its assets if it needed more money. It would have to sell its assets if it needed more money.

[illegible]

*Ladies' Ties and Ties... Contributions Address
in Blackland to the President of the Ladies' Club
Rising Ties, Contributions, on Black.

ADDITIONAL ACTIVITIES

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 1034 1035 1036 1037 1038 1039 1040 1

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At the morning prayer we find twice the *shema* (verse) printed in Hebrew, Shema (verse) (Hebrew), and then once one Shema (verse) followed by Russian translations of Psalm (verse) and general invocation of the (Shema). In the evening we have recitation of the last 12 verses of the second chapter of the Law one Shema (Hebrew) and then read some portion of a sacred book.

The ladies were selected by Mrs. Kate Kabeira who has been in the Ashram since its foundation. Mrs. Magdalen Gaudin met here in Shantidhara when he and the children of the Phoenix Settlement went there from South Africa while I was still in England. Deshabinda Andrews, and the late Mr. Frances were then in Shantidhara. I had advised Magdalen to stay in, were place selected by Andrews and Andrews selected Shantidhara for the girls. Kate was a teacher there and came into close contact with Magdalen, Mabel and I, being feeling the need of a "Sanskrit Mother" which was supplied by Kate Chatterman. She assisted him in the work. Kate taught the children how to recite the verses repeated in prayer. Some of these verses were omitted in the Ashram prayer in order to save time. Such is the history of the verses named in the foregoing paper all their day.

The retention of these verses has often been objected to on the ground of saving time, or because it appeared to some people that they could not well be recited by a congregation of youth or by a non-Hindu. There is no doubt that these verses are recited only on Hindu occasions, but I cannot see why a non-Hindu may not join in or be present at the recitation. Muslims and Christian friends who have heard the verses have not voiced any objection. Indeed they need not cause annoyance to any one who respects other faiths as much as he respects his own. They do not contain any reflection on other people, Hindu being in an overwhelming majority in the *Valam*; the verses must be selected from the sacred books of the Hindus, not that nothing is sung or recited from non-Hindu scriptures. Indeed there were occasions on which Brahmin boys recited verses from the Koran.* Muslim and Christian hymns are often

But the verses were strongly attacked from the standpoint of truth. An Abrahamic merchant has firmly argued that the wording of Surahs, Ghassah and the like was violently done by

*Excerpts of short passages from the poems in which form makes an integral part of the literary effect.

trials. For example, differences could be due to differences in the way the two studies were conducted. For example, the study by Kohn et al. (2000) was a randomized controlled trial, whereas the study by Kohn et al. (2001) was a non-randomized trial. The study by Kohn et al. (2000) was a randomized controlled trial, whereas the study by Kohn et al. (2001) was a non-randomized trial. The study by Kohn et al. (2000) was a randomized controlled trial, whereas the study by Kohn et al. (2001) was a non-randomized trial.

I cling to one victory of truth, and yet I do not mind stating these verses as feelings there is the shadow. If we consider more fully on the strength of this argument it would be disastrous to an attack on the very heart of Hinduism. Not that we were not reaching anything in Hinduism which we let for confirmation no matter how ancient it is. But I do not believe that this is a weak or vulnerable point of Hinduism. On the other hand I hold that it is perhaps the characteristic of our faith. Samvatsara and Chaturmas, not independent entities. They are all derivative names of one God. Devoted people have given a local habitation and a name to His countless attributes. They have done nothing wrong. Each verse derives neither the its significance nor effect. When a human being worships God he worships Him to be such as he feels He is. The God of his imagination is this, not that. Even when we pray to a God of love and benevolence we do in fact worship Him with attributes. And attributes too are born. Unmistakably God is indescribable in words. We mortals must of necessity depend upon the imagination which makes and serves some good to us. The qualities we attribute to God with love or out of devotion are for our use. It is miserably true because all attempts at describing Him must be unavailing. I am told by both religions of the east will cannot help but be a true the attributes of God. My mind cannot conceive no reliance, over my head, can properly be placed and my heart in its weakness, ignorance, and a God with attributes. The doctrine which I have been stating every day for the last 15 years gave me peace, and did good for me. In fact I feel happy as well as secure. I could now tell many a story about my own travels and the life which have taken over me. I do not know their deeper meaning as I have not gone into it. Finding a guarantee for me. It may be that my approach to the salvation. I did not see that I need to go deep into this as a part of my quest for truth. It is enough that I know my God and although I have will to realize His living presence, I am on the right path to my destination.

I could hardly expect that the objection should be stated with this reply. An ad hoc committee examined the whole question and had finally recommended that the slides should remain as they were, for every possible selection could be viewed with disapproval by some one or other.

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1. *Journal of Management Studies*, 1997, 34, 1, 1-14.

in our common life, in the general of things, up to death. The world is not for us either for no reason or excessive reason — more than pure function. Our existence is too dependent on reason to be free, and that leads to a kind of freedom, a kind of freedom, a kind of freedom, a kind of freedom.

To all of these things, the world is not for us either for no reason or excessive reason — more than pure function. Our existence is too dependent on reason to be free, and that leads to a kind of freedom, a kind of freedom, a kind of freedom, a kind of freedom.

A writer in *Surveyor* has an impression that the world is not for us either for no reason or excessive reason — more than pure function. Our existence is too dependent on reason to be free, and that leads to a kind of freedom, a kind of freedom, a kind of freedom, a kind of freedom.

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COMMON LANGUAGE CONTRASTS

Readers may have seen from the opening the result of the highly technical Hindi-Hindustani controversy. Just as the Hindi became supreme as a result of the controversy, so the Urdu and Persian in the Urdu language, but (Hindi) became even after their dispute, and the propagation of Hindi and Hindustani, and the result of a controversy.

Since the *Surveyor* (1900) has been in the hands of the public, it has been a great success in the history of the language.

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POSITION OF INDIAN BANKING

THE POSITION, in another thoughtful contribution, at the request of Indian Banking — 441

Banks and Industries have a vital part to play in building up and promoting National Wealth and Welfare

The Indian Banks have made a steady progress, though there is a lot wanting as yet. The Banks usually produce some national dividends and the country, in one time or the other looks up to them for its economic uplift. What is essentially needed is sterling character of such Financial Heads. This will not only play an important part in building up sound banking in the country but such heads being in constant touch with the industrialists are in a position sooner or later to create the same character in the latter wherever lacking. It is an accepted fact that in the post-war world there has been an all-round perceptible fall of morality and lowering down of ethical values. The tendency to blame the Government for all our misfortunes is gaining momentum, but how many of us go to think of the responsibility of an individual, organised corporations and the so-called social groups? I feel unless all of us, individually and collectively, pull ourselves up, the present economic conditions and political situation of affairs to go unchecked, will lead us into such difficulties as to make our escape therefore impossible.

Trustees are kept locked to ward off the temptation of a moment when they take a normal view to be honest and right-thinking; but not for themselves and interests—they will somehow or other break in. Emoluments and emoluments are penalised by the Government to reward the public of their responsibilities to their country. People who frankly take upon themselves the pretensions of stating the same and denigrate the very purpose of such emoluments are a little difficult to apprehend immediately though they all pay for their deeds in one form or the other at some stage. I group them in the class of thieves and robbers, whose number is our misfortune at present as large. Their character and the moral conscience in them need to be built up.

Banks which are repositories of wealth need a careful handling. Their investments and advances deserve the greatest and expert consideration. The various evils created by some of our so-called industrialists and Banking Heads has been responsible for what the industry has been through from 1945 onwards. The banking crisis of 1946 in Bengal shook the foundations of many sound Banks. The practices adopted by some of these Banks in Bengal and elsewhere are open secrets now and if there had been legislation then to control the activities of such Banks, probably banking in India would not have received such a rude shock. The Banking Companies Act 1948, here as it comes is still most welcome. Some suggestions in the

direction were submitted to the Reserve Bank of India at the time of the Banking Act, which had been passing through the House, even as, in some cases, the Banking Act is under consideration almost all the time, we have been very rightly taken at the most convenient time and better late than never.

The Act has been received with a great feeling of appreciation and approval from different Bankers particularly from private ones as the institution they represent. It is understood that the Banks, particularly the small ones, are bound to improve a great deal of character in practical working. It is also understood that they have passed in safeguard the interests of depositors and that the shareholders, if they are given a right, however cannot be overlooked that some sort of legislation was necessary to check the speculative activities of some of the Banks, which were misusing and oversteering with the public funds with impunity without realizing that they were not trustees of such funds but with them. The misusage of deposits have results more than ten times the interest of the shareholders. So naturally their interests have a priority. Once this is guaranteed the shareholders will reap the benefit of being the special sort of a sound Bank.

The Act is also intended for having many loopholes. This is true but usually we find proper legislation is possible. If there is a certain class of 'robbers', they will continue this workless. How long and how can we take them? It goes with every industry in the country and unless we all contribute our best to the Government, the Government will not come to the rescue of the public by right and Government. Yet the Act as it stands is sufficiently rigid as it is in keeping with the conditions prevailing in the economic sphere of the country today. A stricter Act would be hard and only the small Banks has come a big one too. With the powers now vested in the Reserve Bank of India they are in a position to put us and to many of the misdeeds have proceeded so far. From a general of this sort of direction to the Banks it is all-around that they must business. The Act has however afforded reasonable time to Banks to discontinue activities considered unwise and it is to be seen how far this can be fulfilled. It is likely that the very existence of a few of the small Banks may be threatened, but all the more it is hoped that the depositor funds will not be jeopardized.

It is agreed that we cannot spread the network of smaller Banks as they render no much service in smaller towns as the big ones in big cities. But banking based on sound principles is the need of the country today.

It has been pointed out by Sir B. B. Ramaswami that 'in spite of the recent Banking Act, which came into existence a few months ago we have had a bank failure in the management of

The Spinning Commission (1934-35) suggested that 100 million yards of cloth should be produced in India. Then the sales were not to exceed 100 million. Licensing Authority under the provision that large quantities of cloth were to be sold in old sizes and lengths although somewhat below standard, released them in the market. They allocated quantities. There were many complaints so licensed dealers under the quota system found that they had passed the quota limit in the month of June, whereas it suggested cloth remaining for a period of two months after the July.

What do all these mean? There is no shortage of cloth in the country, and even if there is any shortage, it must adjust themselves to it without any intervention on the part of the Government. Large quantities of cloth mills are so heavily stocked that there is a cry to let the market decide the price. They refuse to allow any more credit on cloth. The gross stock position of the cloth and textile industries, among the countries and especially in a poor country like India, is the subject of the investigation of India and neighbouring in the past. Textile Mill owners and Government have been called and free export of goods has been tentatively decided. People are complaining about cloth shortages but vested interests have been making so that shortages can be maintained by these unlimited exports. The Delta Cloth Industries, all to the Special Representative of Government that improvement in the supply position is due to control measures and the success of the United States to ensure equitable distribution. "And the stock 'is not more than 300 million yards." If that be the case, why should they be in such a hurry to allow unlimited exports? If India is really short of cloth, where is the necessity to export cloth at all? It is better that we go with out even our capital equipment or consumer goods rather than deprive ourselves of cloth as cheaper rates. When unlimited export is allowed, sales can not even at several prices and maintain the high margins of profit by manipulation of controls. This is an arbitrary alliance of vested interests to deprive the poorer classes of India of their legitimate dues. A few days ago Shri Venkateswaram Ayyangar, member of the Constituent Assembly, is reported in a speech to have complained on the one hand of food and cloth shortages and, on the other, advocated the export of cloth in unlimited quantities. To me it appears only a wicked device to perpetuate cloth shortage on the plea of export drive to balance the trade. Before allowing unlimited exports of cloth, the Government's first duty was to see that the entire country were completely covered and that were the public recognise the charges of the Textile Commissioner's establishment, control, and its various counterparts in the provinces.

One fails to understand why those who were crying loudest to remove shortages of cloth,

are now in such a big hurry to export cloth and perpetuate cloth shortage and with the co-operation with the establishment, charge, for the maintenance of this control.

A news item of P. T. I. dated 2nd June, declares the complete attitude maintained by Government. It says, while the Government are inclined that the position need to be the closing of a few textile mills and close industries during the past weeks is not serious. They have decided to take steps to ensure that no single industrial undertaking will in future close down without giving a working notice to the Government. I cannot understand when the present Government considers an order of unemployment among the textile workers who get it is of a few so many is not serious. There are about 15,000 workers who had been about there are many more in other parts of India like Kapas, than Surat, etc.

(To be continued)

A FIELD OF WORK IN AHMEDA

The Mahatma Seva Mandal, Ahmeda which has been doing laudable work for the last thirteen years was perhaps the first non-Christian institution of the kind at its beginning. All over the world labor server has been a specialty of Christian missionaries who have earned on this work with love and sacrifice. Though of late others also are engaged to take up this noble work, it is still too little to be counted. But something is better than nothing.

In the introduction of the Thirteenth Annual Report of the Mahatma Seva Mandal just published, Mrs. Manohar Datta, Secretary of the Institution, writes:

A review of the last thirteen years work reveals that the Mahatma Seva Mandal, which received the blessings of great men and valuable co-operation from many, and has been able to plant its roots firm and spread itself, 222 inmates is added, limited to the capacity of a military worker. This was its valuable then and perhaps even proper, too it might now become and perhaps has become an impediment to further progress. It is possible that this period was necessary also in understanding the different aspects of this work. The Mandal's work might have also inspired others to do.

The new era attention was mainly devoted to propagating its efficient service, consolidation, broadening organization of colonies, education, spiritual aims, superintendence, recreation, sports, school, temple, cultural development, etc. of the patients. But it has become clear now, that the extension of the latter position lies in the extension of the further provision of increasing for the military the number of workers employed with expert knowledge and devoted to this work in the spirit of service and a satisfaction.

If the idea behind an institution is to send it up after the demise of the founder, it might be good to have the scope of work limited to a single individual. It is said that the cry of

HARIJAN

FOUNDED BY VALPITA GANDHI
EDITOR: R. C. MAHADEVASA



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TWO ANNAS

"LORD OF HUMILITY"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Lord of humility, dwelling in the little
parish hut,
help us to search for Thee throughout
that far land
watered by Ganges, Brahmaputra and
Jumna.

Give us righteousness, give us open-
heartedness.

give us Thy equality, give us the
dignity and self-respect

to identify ourselves with the masses
of India

O God, who does help only when man feels
utterly helpless.

grant that we may not be isolated from
the people

we would serve as servants and friends

Let us be embodiments of self-sacrifice,
embodiments of godliness,

humility personified, that we may know
the Lord better

and love Him more

Wardha, 12-9-34

TO THE MIDDLE CLASSES

His Executive Member, President of the All India Spinners' Association, has addressed a very valuable letter to Mahatma on the occasion of the Charika Jagat. Though the letter is primarily intended for Mahatma, incidentally it is worthy of consideration by the middle classes also. As it is too long, I had to cut certain portions. A copy of the letter is full (in Hindustani) can be obtained by sending postage stamp worth 1 + 2 p in the Treasury, A. I. S. A., Varanasi, U.P., in most postage and now. —R. C. M.]

The Charika Jagat is the first and biggest of all the experiments that Gandhiji set up for the fulfilment of his objective and, therefore, after his death, as the eldest member of the family, a great responsibility devolves on you, Mahatma workers. More than what you would appeal to the people to do, you have to go deep into your own obligations and fulfil them, otherwise your words will not carry any weight and it will be a dangerously hollow show.

The greatest problem before the country is that of production and its products. With the development of capitalism during a period of several centuries the all-round exploitation of the masses has gone on increasing and today its poison has spread so widely and universally that the world is crying for success. The slogans which go all round are 'cheat capitalists'

and 'abolish class war', etc. The inevitable result of this agitation is that it is leading all parties to one goal, viz. abolition of all classes and the creation of a single working-class society. The slogans are common to Communists, Socialists as well as the Congress. But despite all propaganda, we do not see that the world moves even an inch in that direction. Why is it so? If the Charika Jagat is to solve the present problems of the country and thus justify its existence, it has not only to answer this question, but also successfully solve the problems of the country, or else perish in the attempt. The motto 'Do or Die' is the legacy which Jagat has left to all his comparative organisations. Ordinary people will take 'Do' to mean, 'eat, drink and do other acts of creature life, and start something for achieving that purpose'. But for Jagat 'Do' means, as we all know, 'solve the problems of the day or perish in the attempt'.

The main reason why any progress is not made in the direction of a classless society, is that though every one desires that society should advance, no one wants his individual life and comforts to be reduced in the least. It is like soldiers wanting to remain in their barracks and wishing the advance of the army. The Government-General's pomp and show must be maintained as of old, and the rulers must maintain a standard befitting their high position. The capitalists should enjoy a life of luxury and ease to run the country's industries efficiently and ably. The large number of middle class people created by capitalism for its maintenance and development feel that they would not be able to make an impression upon society if they do not have a splendid white dress and maintain the polished style and manners of their employers and superiors and maintain a decent establishment. Therefore, every one wants these to remain as they are. It is not then a matter for surprise that, nevertheless, all intelligent people want that the whole society should be converted into a classless society of workers.

The middle class people make the loudest agitation because they are the hardest hit. They are like a crow dived with peacock feathers. They desire a place in high class society, but have no sufficient resources. As a matter of fact, the middle class is a part of the mass of the people employed by the capitalists as their agents and assistants for exploiting the rest. In

country can do without them? If not, we have to think with a clear conscience. If we cannot cook food for ten or twenty families in one kitchen, because it will be wasteful and costly, how can we talk of large industrial and other undertakings for a village or the country?

There are other reasons also for talking to community kitchens. If you want to enter the field of service with your families, the maintenance of separate family kitchens will inflict injuries on our women. To become workers like men and menfolk is not to adopt their wrong habits. The man and his wife work in the field throughout the day and when they return, the husband stretches himself on the bed, smoking his pipe or bet. While his wife has to do household duties and look after the children. Thus the burden on women is doubled. Even in middle class families where women also work, the condition of women is the same. But you cannot do so. At the conference held after Gandhi's death, this subject was much discussed and it was decided that there should be equality of status of men and women. Therefore if we want to do productive work along with our families, we must have common kitchens and common arrangements for looking after children. That is why a community kitchen is compulsory in *Shiksha* which is the way shown by Gandhi for a communist society. If we do not take up this problem also simultaneously, in these days of freedom and class war, it is possible that a woman's movement may also take up demanding equality of status. I know that the opposition to my suggestion might come either from women than men. In the beginning this is natural. But you have to go deep into this matter and understand that in this age, modern dualistic ideas are quickly giving place to social mix men and he who does not move with the times will be drowned in the currents.

As a member of a reformat organisation, you must also give up habits of tea, tobacco, tea, coffee, etc. Our main object is a village village service. It means we go to the village to change their centuries old customs and modes of life which are harmful to the individual as well as society. It is a matter for surprise that some workers argue that they cannot do without tea, or coffee, or spices in food because it has become a habit with them. Some others show their readiness to leave those habits, but say that their wives may find it difficult to do so. To them I ask, how do they hope then to ask the villagers to leave their habits? To ask others to leave their habits while one pleads inability to leave them oneself is like one wishing to teach history without having read it himself. Students would not take education from such teachers but laugh at them on their face.

You have to think on these lines and decide to make the necessary changes in your life. I know our weakness is great, we are all weak

men. Therefore my suggestion is, let every one think about them, share this letter with your family members, discuss with them, and take a decision according to your capacity. It is not necessary that every one should make a common resolve in every detail. But you should resolve to do a little more than you think you can easily do, and there should also be something in it which all the members of your centre can collectively adopt. For your guidance, I enclose herewith a copy of the Pledge* which the workers of Sevagram made on the 30th January last. It is not necessary that you should adopt the same, but it will serve you as a guide. If you take even a small deliberate step now and go ahead continuously, you will be able to achieve much.

I wish that you think over this during the *Ayazul* period (19th September to 2nd October) and decide on the last day what you resolve to do. Then from the 2nd October to 30th January, you will make all necessary preparations for it, and on the day of Gandhi's last voyage, you can finally take a pledge.

I write this letter with great faith, and hope you will think over all the points. I might have written some plain words. I hope you will consider this letter as from a friend and overlook them.

(Translated from Hindustani)

*This is published elsewhere in this issue.

Correction

In the *Harvest* of September 11, 1948 (XIII-28) on page 225, column 2 in article "Dandabala Kanda Vachaspathyaya" in line 15 of paragraph 2 for 'Kanchah' please read 'Kutah'.

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HARIJAN

September 23

1947

THE MESSAGE OF KHAM

(By Gandhi)

A Religious Discourse

The Chairman has asked me to give you a religious discourse. I do not know that I have ever given a religious discourse, or to put it the other way, I do not know a single speech of value and full of ideas, written by my own collection, which has not been a religious discourse. I think it is not doubtful that at the back of every word that I have uttered since I have known what public life is and of every act that I have done, there has been a religious consciousness and a downright religious motive. My acts may have appeared to my audience or to the readers of the word that I have written, political, economical and many other things. But I ask you to accept my word that the motive behind every one of them has been essentially and predominantly religious. And so it is to be this morning.

When I asked what I was expected to speak about, I was told that I was to speak what I liked. Well, the message came to me this morning as I was on my way to the meeting, and I prepare now to think before you stand.

I had very precious moments with a missionary friend in Yellare. I had a heart to heart talk with the students of that place, and the next morning I was told something like this: "Your speech was very rare. You talked of the things of the spirit. Not here is it that in the middle of the speech, like King Charles' head with the removed Mr. Dick. Allah came up!" Can you explain what connection Allah can possibly have with spirituality?" Then he went on, "You spoke about temperance, that delighted us and it was certainly spiritual. You spoke about untouchability, a very fine subject for an audience spiritually inclined or for a spiritually inclined man to speak about. But both these came in your speech after your message of Allah. It seemed to jar on some of us." I have given you the substance of the conversation in my own words but faithfully. I give the grammar that came to me at the time, and this morning I want to simplify that answer.

Simplifying — Supremely a Spiritual Message

Throughout 35 years' collective experience of public service in several parts of the world, I have not yet understood that there is anything like spiritual or moral value apart from work and action. I have often repeated in addresses like this that great virtue which has always remained with me ever since I read it.

"Not every one that says unto me Lord, Lord shall enter the Kingdom of Heaven but he who doeth the will of my Father who is in Heaven."

I have not experienced that virtue recently, but you know what this term is, and it is so true.

The moral I want to submit to you is that every act may be done, conceived and presented from a spiritual standpoint, or it may have none of it at all. I want to claim before you today that the message of the spinning wheel and khadi is supremely a spiritual message, and it is because it is supremely a spiritual message for this land that it has got tremendous economic consequences as also political consequences.

Know Your India

India is suffering from unemployment, and if you will perform the necessary spinning and make some return to those starving millions to-day I say there is nothing but khadi for you. And if you are spiritually inclined, you will think of those less fortunate than you are and who have not even enough to support their selves or clothe themselves. If you will have an indissoluble bond between them and yourselves I say even more there is nothing for you but khadi. But it goes, and the reason why it goes is that this is a new thing and is a visionary thing, a day-dream as it appears to many. The necessary friend of Yellare of whom I spoke just now told me at the end of our conversation, "You but can you start the march of modern progress?" Can you put back the hands of the clock, and induce people to take to your khadi, and make them work on a more primitive?" All I could say is that this friend did not know his India. From the Yellare meeting I went to two places, Ahmed and Jirai. I did not see much of the people there. I stayed poor but even the villages had well clothed than I am. I saw them not in their time but in their time of thousands.

Talk to them of modern progress. Induce them by talking the name of God before them is vain. They will call you and the friends if we talk about God to them. They know, if they know any God at all, a God of terror, vengeance, a pitiless tyrant. They do not know what love is. What can you do for them? You will find it difficult to change these delightful states (pointing to the ladies present) from their silk sari to coarse khadi worn by those pariahs and caste heads. Khadi is tough. It is too heavy. Silk is soft to be touched and they can wear 5 yards of silk, but they cannot wear 5 yards of khadi. The poor masters of Groom have no sense, they are in rage. Yet they have not lost all sense of decency, but I assure you, we have. We are naked in spite of our clothing, and they are clothed in spite of their nakedness. It is because of these that I wonder about from place to place. I beguile my people,

God's Work

But I cannot be satisfied not till every man and woman in India is working at his or at her wheel. Turn that wheel if you find a better scheme. This is the one and only work which

can supply the needs of the millions without disturbing them from their homes. It is a mighty task and I know that I cannot do it. I know also that God can do it. The mightiest and the strongest matter is but a tiny affair for Him, when it pleases Him. He can destroy them all in the twinkling of an eye, as He has destroyed now thousands of homes in Gujarat and as He had destroyed thousands of homes a few years ago in South India. I carry the message of Allah and the spinning wheel with the boldest faith in God, and therefore in His chosen man. You may laugh at me today. You may call this a wicked thing. If you like you may distract me and say this to some political schemer who has come to place his hand before me, but he has got many things up his sleeve. You may misinterpret me and my message. You may say:

'We are too weak to do these things, and we join.' I know it is possible for you to repel me by your arguments and make me speechless. But I shall not lose faith in you so long as I cannot lose faith in God. It is impossible for me to lose that faith, and therefore I cannot lose faith in the message of Allah and the spinning wheel.

If I have not succeeded in opening out my heart to you, and if I have not succeeded in showing to you the rock-bottom spirituality of the message of Allah, I don't think I shall ever succeed in doing so. All I can say is I mean to succeed. My lips may not deliver the true message. God will do it all in whose name I have delivered this message to you. God bless you.
(A speech at the T. H. C. A. Meeting)

Fanny India 125-9-27

QUESTION AND

Compensation to Landlords

Q. I put some questions to you from Louis Fischer's *A Week with Gandhi* for clarification.

Page 32.—Gandhi: "The peasants would take the land."

Farmer: "Would the landlords be compensated?"

Gandhi: "No. That would be the only injustice."

Page 33.—Fischer: "You feel then that it must be conducted without compensating them?"

Gandhi: "Of course."

From the above it appears that Gandhi was against compensation to the landlords. Whereas the accepted policy of the Congress Committee and of the Congress Government is to favour it. How could it be then executed and what is to be taken as justified?

A. On looking into the book I find that the quotations are misleading when torn out of their context. In the first talk Gandhi explains his conception of the political and economic structure of India. It was of an entirely different type from that which is being forged in the Constituent Assembly. If Gandhi did not favour vesting too much power in the Centre, or even provinces. At page 34 of the book, Gandhi is reported to have said as follows:

"Then, *the Constituent Assembly* returned to-
day to India. *They should be organized ac-*
cording to the vote of the citizens, all of them
voting. Then there would be seven hundred
thousand votes, not ten four hundred million.
Each village *independent unity* would have one
vote. The villages would elect their district
administrators and the district administra-
tions would elect the provincial administra-
tions, and these in turn would elect a presi-
dent who would be the national chief execu-
tive."

I do not mention this to depreciate the Con-
stituent Assembly. The Congress had never
renounced itself to the Gandhian view of the
political and economic structure, and the Con-
stituent Assembly and the government's repre-
senting the views of the Congress in the state
are justified in acting in accordance with the
principles which they always held.

The second question and answer occur in
the course of the discussion on the "Quit India"
programme. Gandhi was asked to describe
how he visualized the situation in case the Bri-
tish left India without handing over power to
any organized body. Gandhi explained:

"In the villages the peasants will stop
paying taxes. They will make salt despite
official prohibition. This seems a small mat-
ter, the salt tax yields only a paltry sum to
the British Government. But refusal to pay
it will give the peasants the courage to think
that they are capable of independent action.
Their next step will be to seize the land."

This was all imagination, and it would not
be proper to take an answer given against an
imaginary background.

Beside apart from these two answers Gandhi
did not, I believe, favour the uncompensated
method (with compensation) which is being
followed. But even for that the Congress can
not be blamed. Gandhi wanted all property-
holders of whatever type to be trustees of their
possessions. They had to render service to their
beneficiaries (indians, labourers and the peo-
ple) and were to be entitled to only such per-
sonal remuneration as a manager could get.
And we also know that he, also about personal
remuneration was that it should be the same for
every one as the manager, the mill-owner, and
the highest officers of State should get only such
amount as could be allowed to a shop or a
small labourer. Since neither property owners
nor the people at large, nor even Gandhi's
workers, are prepared for such revolutionizing
life as yet, it would be unjust to criticize the
Congress for acting as it does.

Whether the amount of compensation is ex-
cessive or low, and the way in which it should
be paid are matters of detail and of course could
be debated on merits by those who have studied
the problem.

Wardha, 2-9-39

L. K. MANDREKAR

back. According to me, even the export and import controls should be abolished completely or modified in such a way that there is minimum Government interference. I do not think there is any necessity for import controls from such necessary areas. The weighting policy of the Import Control has resulted in a glut of consumer goods. Had there been free imports, people would not have rushed in to import as much as they could. The fact that luxury goods will be imported in large quantities is also as forecasted, as the Open General License during the last six months has shown, according to Mr. Nease himself, that such imports were only up to 14 per cent. To preserve exchange they need control only private manufacturers or private firms. If any of the imports are necessary for industrial development, their uses can be controlled by the Tariff Board and protective duties granted to such industries.

As for exports they may hand over the whole export business to the respective trades by fixing quotas and receiving licensing or permit system from official boards. The Associations may form exporting corporations and the quotas of such individual members can be fixed on the basis of their post or pre-war records. If there is any dispute among the members, the services of a judicial officer may be had. There is only one thing to safeguard here and that is that exporters may prepare invoices of lower amounts to accumulate foreign exchange, so all these export bills may be scrutinized by rating rates of prices.

Transport

I have not said anything about transport control because if all the other controls are removed, transport will automatically find its own level. Too much is made about shortage of wagons, but we have instances as noted where wagons are returned or are kept lying at marshalling yards or at private siding without any check or explanation by the higher authorities. The usual charge that the public is not co-operating with the Railway authorities is also wrong. I am reading every day advertisements about labelling, marking and packing, but if this is investigated at any despatching station, it will be found that packages are correctly labelled and securely packed. The Railways have a right to refuse overcrowded packed articles at the despatching station. But what is actually happening is that parcels are often lying at the stations, unsorted for or tampered with on the way, their labels and markings removed and they are not delivered correctly at destinations. It also happens that parcels are received intact at the receiving stations but the delivery clerks are too careless to check up and deliver on presentation of Railway receipts. I have several instances where for days together delivery has been refused and after filing a claim parcels were located at stations by the Claims Officers. It really causes great annoyance to the public as materials are not received in time and be-

lieving them to be lost they submit for new materials, only to be informed by the Claims Officer, after a year or so, that the parcels are lying at the station awaiting delivery. If there is proper check and supervision at packages and marshalling yards, it will be found that wagons are lying or are not moved quickly. Money spent on advertisements inviting public co-operation—MPL advertisements and allied ones—is sheer waste of public money. The public are not to be blamed but Railway authorities are really to be blamed. The transport problem is really an administrative affair and if there is proper check and supervision, the shortages will disappear.

(To be continued)

DESHABHAKTA KONDIA VENKATAPPAIA

II

(1898 to 1939)

In 1918 he was elected to the Madras Legislative Council and distinguished himself therein. But on the inauguration of the Non-co-operation Movement he gave it up and there himself burnt and went into the Non-violent Struggle under the inspiring lead of Pappa Bapu. He started the whole of Andhra on the Non-violent campaign and contributed to its splendid success in Andhra. It was said that his native district topped the list in the whole of Andhra if not in the whole of India. He opened on 1-12-1920 the first national school at Tenali. The Non-co-operation Movement was in full swing and Deshabhakti had his full share in it. He was elected President of the A. C. U. Provincial Congress Committee, which was located at Guntur and he chose me as its Working Secretary. He had been known to Bapu before 1918. Mahatma knew the sterling qualities of the Deshabhakti and took him into his Working Committee of which he continued to be a respected member for several years. Lasting friendship and affection grew up between them and continued till their deaths.

In December 1921 the President and the Secretary toured the Guntur District and prepared it for the no-tax campaign, prelude, the final decision of the Congress at Ahmedabad. These Venkataswamy's obtained Naga's permission to start the campaign, of course on fulfilment of the conditions prescribed by him. On 8-1-22 the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee gave sanction to the District to withhold taxes and the Deshabhakti authorized the Guntur District Congress Committee to start it on 13-1-22. The Polakuntlapada strike was selected for the non-tax fight and it was mentioned in Naga's address to Lord Reading. The no-tax campaign caused a tremendous upheaval. Old and young became volunteers and revolution started abroad. 25 lakhs out of the total revenue demand of 95 lakhs were withheld in the district.

Meanwhile the Chauri-Chaura incident cropped up. Bapu suspended the movement. He was arrested. Venkataswamy was also arrested.

as the only one. The other Government launched a campaign of intimidation.

After the first year with the C.B. Mahabadi Government in the education, Madhavadas Mahabadi, and the second Pawan Mahabadi, he is still Governmentary and therefore Government. Government as they say, always failed and Mahabadi Government again, but as the Government Mahabadi and Pawan Mahabadi Government, regarding the freedom of the thought, language, Committee Mahabadi as well as the Government was happy only in the Government. In the end it was acquired.

As he was imprisoned for one year in 1922, he could not attend the Ganga Sabha but after the resignation of Mr. Chatterjee in 1922, he was elected President of the A.L.S.C. with the Andhra Pradesh as Working Secretary. At the end of that year the Congress was held at Calcutta and naturally he was the Chairman of the Reception Committee and he delivered his welcome address in Hindi.

Thereafter the political game abandoned a little. As a no-change, he took to constructive work. The Andhra Khadi Bank was formed in 1928 and in his instance, it was transferred from Manipalpur to Guntur in 1930. The A.L.S.A. Andhra Branch was formed with Venkateswamy as agent. I had to act as the Secretary of both the Khadi Bank and the Andhra Branch till my resignation of the latter on 1-12-1932. In 1929 it was removed to Manipalpur with Dr. Pannik as Honorary Secretary. During Mahabadi's short stay in Andhra, Keshav started himself in the worst and a sum of about three lakhs was collected in Andhra, his district tapping the State. During the negotiations that took place regarding the transfer of Andhra branch, Mahabadi remarked, "Where Venkateswamy is, of course, Government is there," showing how he correctly appreciated our relations with it. In spite of the transfer of the Andhra branch, he continued to take keen interest in it and during the time period in 1935, the Guntur District Khadi Association was formed and Mahabadi some time later offered to hand over to him the Guntur District from the control of the Andhra Branch for constructive khadi work. It was in connection with the constitution of this institution, that he attended a meeting of the A.L.S.A. at Mahabadi and there for the first time he took food cooked by Harjans. When at the evening after prayers, he was asked to address the gathering, he referred to it as a fortunate day in his life as he then completely fulfilled Bapu's injunction in the matter. His unbecoming overture has early hesitation. Though he had no scruples about untouchables (observing caste in food and dish-dishes regarding food even by a man of inferior caste as untouchable), even so the Vidyasaram, he was not prepared to eat food cooked by the Harjans.

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(To be continued)

SEVAGRAM KHADI WORKERS' PLEDGE

Today we are in the midst of Gandhi's Anniversary when it is in duty to be placed among us in 1949. Right from the start that he and his followers on this day we give our best thoughts in our selfless action, self-sacrifice and social service.

The primary object of our organization is khadi propaganda. For some years we have been trying hard to improve on the social efficiency and speed in spreading and economy processes to discover cheap and simple implements to prepare khadi and on the technique of spinning and to spread knowledge about it and to teach it to others. There is yet much ground to be covered in this direction and we the workers and students of the Gandhi Sangh Sevagram resolve today to devote, incessantly and continuously our best mental and physical abilities in this task during this year.

In doing with this resolve is fully conscious single-mindedly with devotion and determination to these aims we cannot forget that the ultimate object of the spinning wheel is to achieve freedom from oppression and exploitation. The main purpose we have as this an efficiency it, our then and the khadi is the first and the most important way in this direction, being not merely adequate. We realize that the khadi cannot come within a life based on non-complexity and individual as well as responsible individuality. We cannot begin the other factors concerning this kind of life. In fact, these other factors such as non-violence and politics are necessary for spreading the spinning wheel and making the ultimate objective. We, therefore, also resolve today to try our best collectively to ensure the importance that come to us and to our organization. As a beginning in this direction we will not use mill flour in our organization but will rather grind it ourselves, if that is not possible get it ground by others but wages in khadi. Similarly we will not use milled but only ground through the hand of distressed or suffer some who is confined in a very few hours it is hoped that then too will have this habit and consider such things as possible flour, it will only be used as a makeshift under helpless conditions. We will not use paper documents wherever copies were required in case of absence that even in that case we shall, as far as possible try to talk and consider and their disposal with the economy of service. We will also take full care to keep our garments and surroundings clean.

We realize that our weakness are weakness of the mind and in order to remove them and to strengthen and purify the mind and to achieve social progress, we will take part in prayer both in the morning and evening.

We pray for Bapu's happy blessings in our resolve and for his help in fulfilling it.

(Sevagram, 28-1-49)

(Translated from Hindustani)

BAPU'S LETTERS TO MUSA

[1928-1948]

It is the most simple, direct and intensive teaching of a Spiritual Father to his gambling child.		— Musabhai	
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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY K. M. PANDEY)
EDITOR: K. R. MURTHY



VOL. XIII No 10

ANDHRAKAP—SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1949

TWO ANNAS

"LOVE OF HUMILITY"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Lord of humility, dwelling in the little
parish hut,
help us to search for Thee throughout
that far land
watered by Ganges, Brahmaputra and
Jamuna.
Give us righteousness, give us open-
heartedness,
give us Thy humility, give us the
ability and willingness
to identify ourselves with the masses
of India.
O God, who dost help only when man feels
utterly humble,
grant that we may not be looked from
the people
we would serve as servants and friends.
Let us be embodiments of self-sacrifice,
embodiments of politeness,
humility personified, that we may know
the land better
and love it more.

Wardha, 12-9-49

"AN APPRECIATION"

On January 1951 the National Labour Publishing Co. of London, had published a small book, entitled *Mahatma Gandhi*. It was a collection of studies in Gandhi, by about a score of various personalities of India, England and the U.S.A. and consisting of letters of the leaders on the eve of their arrival in the course of the Non-co-operation Movement just started. A friend has sent out of these a few selections which would be appreciably repeated even this day. The following edited in some degree in it by way of "Foreword". I have omitted certain passages giving details of the programme and progress of the non-cooperation of "Non-cooperation" is not pertinent in power. —K. S. M.

Gandhi's simplicity, openness, frankness and directness confound the modern politicians, parliamentarians and publicists. They suspect him of some deep design. He fears no one and frightens no one. He recognises no conventions except such as are absolutely necessary not to remove him from society of rich and women. He recognises no masters and no lords. He claims no debt though he has many. He has and pretends to no supernatural powers, though credulous people believe that he is endowed with them. He owns no property, keeps no bank accounts, makes no investments, yet makes no fuss about asking for anything he needs. Each of his countrymen as have drunk deep from the fountains of European history and European politics and who have developed

a deep love for European literature and European culture realise undervalued see him. In their eyes he is a barbarian, a visionary and a dreamer. He has probably something of all these qualities, because he is intent to the lastness of life and can look at things with plain eyes without the glasses of civilisation and complexity.

Some say he is a saint, others that he is an anarchist, others again that he is a Tolstoyan. He is none of these things. He is a plain Indian peasant who believes in God, religion and the Scriptures. He believes even in caste (not the present-day self-denial and self-sections of it, but the four original castes of the ancient Aryans). He does not believe in the superiority or domination of one race over another, but he believes in their different occupations according to their inherited ability. He is so orthodox as to believe that caste is terrible. Far from being an anarchist, he believes in discipline, organisation and authority. His oath is not one of negative attitude, but of positive discipline made up of self-denial and self-sacrifice. He does not believe in the inherent superiority of the white race or in the God-given mission of ruling other people by making tools of them. He does not hate the European civilisation, but he attacks the industrial system upon which civilisation of Europe rests, and the double-mindedness which characterises European politicians. The doctrine of non-co-operation which he practices and practices is not a negation. It is the withdrawal of that help which the Indian people have voluntarily been giving the English which has made it possible for them to rule India and exploit her for their own ends.

Gandhi and his associates have been working on this programme for only twelve months and the success they have achieved is surprising.

It may be safely said that the masses and the middle classes are with and the wealthy against him. There are a sufficiently good number of wealthy men also with him as was proved by the phenomenal success of the Trust Scheme Fund for which ten million rupees were collected in less than three months. In these three months, he perfected the Congress programme which now has the registered membership of about ten millions. He called upon the country to introduce two million new spinning wheels in the same period and the response was more than adequate.

(LAMPARA)

ECONOMY SELF-BOUGHT

In order to curtail the cost of administrative machinery in reducing the burden on the taxpayer or conducting inflation, the Government has directed to executive orders continuously throughout the various that a spontaneous spirit on the part of the services for implementation, first of every stage can create healthy conditions for strengthening independence under democratic rule.

Dr. Narendraprasad being interested in the development of the village industry of Palam provided when he was Minister for Agriculture setting up a Palam-ge Development Section in 1947. The regular working was started from January 1948.

The Palam section is functioning on a voluntary economy basis. Besides the Adviser, four more officers were appointed, viz. a Deputy Adviser, two Assistant Advisers and a Principal for the Central Palam-ge Training School. All the officers decided to accept a very moderate scale of remuneration. The Adviser himself has not drawn any salary. According to the Government rules these officers are entitled to Class I and journey, and they voluntarily substituted their class travel for saving public expenditure.

The table given below will show that a saving of Rs. 37,447 has been made during the year and half years from January 1948 to June 1949 by resorting to voluntary thrift, which is also to 40 per cent reduction.

Period: January 1948 to June 1949				
Capacities	Actual	Advised	Saving	Per-centage
1. Adviser	Rs. 7,300	Rs. 11,900	Rs. 4,600	39
2. A. A.	Rs. 10,400	Rs. 1,600	Rs. 2,400	23
Total	Rs. 17,700	Rs. 13,500	Rs. 4,200	24

This means that the five Government officers (including voluntarily resigned their salaries and T. A. to the extent of 84 to 75 per cent respectively). The scales of pay and the salary draw, shown and saved by each are shown in the table below.

Period: January 1948 to June 1949				
Post	Salary Scale	Salary Drawn	Saving	to Govt.
Adviser	1,000-1,000-1,000	Rs. 10,400	Rs. 400	Rs. 9,600
Asst. Adviser	1,000-1,000-1,000	Rs. 10,400	Rs. 2,400	Rs. 11,700
	plus 10% P.F.			
	Rs. 180 p.m.			
Asst. Secy (Planning)	600-600-600	Rs. 1,100	Rs. 3,000	Rs. 4,200
Asst. Adviser (Field)	do	Rs. 4,400	Rs. 3,000	Rs. 1,400
Principal	1,000-1,000-1,000	Rs. 11,000	Rs. 3,000	Rs. 10,000
Total		Rs. 76,000	Rs. 10,800	Rs. 65,200

Q

[Note: The Government of India must be congratulated for possessing and showing at least one department in run with such commendable thrift.

Wardha, 10-8-49

—R. S. NAIK

DESAHARITA RONDRA VENKATAPPAIA

III

(1930-1940)

He led the Andhra Dash in the 1930 Satyagraha in 1930 and in the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1932. In 1933 Mahatma had his Harjan tour in Andhra and Venkateswara helped in the collection. Besides help to Sarathi-rajan, he gave Rs. 2,000 to Vengaluru and Rs. 500 to the Yagnaswamy Educational Fund. He was fond of the ancient Hindu literature and made presents of food and money to poets, liberally during his practice and sparingly afterwards. In 1940 Daspa accepted him from going to jail on account of his health. In the 1942 Quit India Movement, he was again jailed and was accidentally released on medical grounds in 1943. He spent about four years in jail in all.

I had the good fortune of seeing his jail-life. It was an exemplary one and he was treated as a rule by one and all. He was ready to share the sufferings inflicted on his comrades by the jail authorities in times of strikes, etc. within the jail compound though some of the aggressive workers had lagged behind, he stood firm till the end. He translated the Dutch Republic into Telugu and compiled a dictionary of technical and scientific terms in Telugu. Outside jail he wrote the *Annals of the State of Andhra*, his autobiography, and other works in Telugu prose and poetry. Except a devotional work addressed to the Andhrakam, Deva Pradarsana of Tirupati, the rest was not printed during his life-time. The *Andhra Mahatmas Pracher* Sabha of which he was the President for thirteen years since his election has now undertaken to publish all of them.

He resided for a while after release from jail on medical grounds in 1943, then he took up the organization of income relief in Rayachoti. He went to Bombay and collected over a lakh of rupees for the same. Prior to it, he organized income relief in Ongole Taluq (Guntur Dist.) for which a dash centre was opened. It was continued and is now working under the A. I. S. A. Andhra Branch. Out of the profits earned in the first stage, arrangements have been made to celebrate Daspa's birthday every year at that place and prizes are awarded to the sponsors.

He was for a while time elected member of the Madras Legislature in 1930 and was doing useful work till the Congress Ministries resigned after the outbreak of the Second World War. In 1945 he did not seek election. But to set right the mischief in connections made by the then Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, he made a pilgrimage to Bombay, where Sardar Patel made many changes in the lists of the representatives made by the Deshabhakt.

His letter to Daspa about the corruption rampant in the Congress circles and the Congress Government is well known. Daspa

acknowledged it as a corrupt organisation, and it was appreciated by officials and non-officials. His last farewell message on the eve of his eternal pilgrimage through unfortunately incomplete work in the same strain and exhorted his countrymen to demonstrate the freedom won by Mahatmas. It reveals the nature of his mature deliberation.

He was in direct contact about the formation of the Andhra province, but for his proceptivism in Congress politics and the attachment of Andhra to the Congress and Mahatmas, he would have achieved it at the first of the ripeness of the Orissa province. He expected the Andhra province immediately after the establishment of Swarajya. He along with the other Andhras was sorely disappointed at the delay, appointment of committees and the efforts made even in high quarters to water down the principles accepted and acted upon by the Congress during a quarter of a century. Consistency requires that if linguistic provinces are not feasible or desirable for administrative purposes they should be scrapped for Congress purposes also. He gave evidence before the Dhar Committee and was upset by the committee laid down in the Three-man Committee. He pleaded for convening an All-Andhra Convention. It was held. Though elected its President, he could not preside over it due to ill health. His address was read and published.

He had not a happy family life. His wife suffered from paralysis for seven years before her death in 1938. His eldest daughter has no children and his second daughter is a child widow. He educated her and she graduated from the Hindu University. Only one of his brothers has survived him.

His eighty-first birthday was celebrated by his friends and admirers in 1940, and on 16th February this year we celebrated the 1000 months since. We feared for his health and satisfied ourselves with calculations based on our recollections. Chandra shankar!

In 1937 he went to Delhi to plead with the Congress High Command about the swarajya against the Prohibition Ministry. After returning from Delhi to Madras he wanted to go to Tiruvarurmalai to see the Mahatma. Early in the morning on the date fixed for the journey he had an accidental fall which fractured his hip joint. He was treated in the General Hospital for some time but finding no relief he was brought to Guntur and under indigenous treatment, he recovered to some extent.

He was generally a regular spinner on the charkha, but after the bodily injury he could not sit up for spinning. He therefore took to work which he was plying almost till the last. He was interested in village industries and was the President of the Guntur village Grama Swasthya Sangham. For years together he was using combs and betelnuts.

He took interest in education of his community and was a member of the trust created by his co-ethnopath, Shri A. Narayana

He was the President of the Andhra Branch of the Adambu Swasthya Sangham recently formed.

We were contemporaries of the Bar at Guntur and our political association began about 27 years ago. We grew in happy intimate relations. He treated me as his son, while I revered him as my father and guru. At the time of his demise, he was anxious to see me but unfortunately I was away at a distant place and could not be present near his bedside to receive further instruction and inspiration.

He met Pandit Jeebhakshi in July last year and the reverence shown by the Pandit to Denshankar was most worthy of both of them and was admirably expressed on the words of the fortunate speaker.

He attended the first Sarvodaya Conference at Seragam in 1948 and gave his mature advice.

He was a powerful speaker, specially at his best when encountering opposition. He was neither overkillous nor ambitious. His last prayer to God was that his next birth should be in accordance with his present desires. That shows the nature of the man. Till the end he was concerned and was serving his God and the country. It may truly be said of him that he lived upto the words in *Isavasya Kramamashu*. He made the best use of his long life vouchsafed to him.

At the time of his death he was the eldest among those of his country. Rajaji loved him. Mahatmas revered him and Arbhaya. They had great affection for him. In his life he was innocent as a child and meek as a lamb but he was terrible as a tiger against corruption and evilness. He was always busy throughout the day giving letters of introduction to all in distress who sought his helping hand. His soul never flagged and his active life shamed many a younger worker. He wrote a most beautiful book both in English and Telugu and his mind was as clear as his handwriting. His mental and moral powers grew as his frail body declined.

He had only two regrets. One, he did not see the fulfilment of his dream of the Andhra Province, and two, he could not remove the root of corruption in Congress and government circles.

It was a strange coincidence, rather a great good fortune for him and for the Andhras that he went back into the bosom of God on the second anniversary celebrations of Independence. Whenever and wherever these celebrations take place in future, his name will be coupled with them as one of the dauntless warriors who heroically fought and won the good cause of India's Freedom. His death will thus be no failure, not an occasion for sorrow but for rejoicing.

May God bless our good old beloved Denshankar!

Vinayachandran 22-1-40 G. NARAYANASWAMY
(Concluded)

You and I are my best friends. We will trade a firm resolve to succeed and a common goal. We will. I am hopeful that those strong and steady hands will assist in shaping a new India and will be a valuable asset to our Program.

NOTES

* Communal Unity *

Under this head Dr. Bhawan Kurnersappa has collected together all the writing and utterances of Gandhi on Hindu-Muslim Unity. It is a formidable volume of more than a thousand pages and yet, he says, "It was not possible to find a place for everything he said on the Hindu-Muslim Question, for that would make the volume too bulky." At the same time he assures us "nothing of importance has been omitted."

The problem of Communal Unity is by no means yet solved for our unhappy country. The communal factor both at home and in Pakistan are still fully busy and have contaminated even those from whom a more disarming and generous outlook should be expected (Gandhiji might not be the final victim of fanaticism). And yet if India or for the matter of that, humanity is to be saved, nothing will do it but whole-hearted conversion to his views. As Dr. Bhawan Kurnersappa writes:

Gandhi's life and teachings are now no more merely for India and Pakistan, but for all the world. Stripped of their local coloring, they challenge men of whatever class, race or religion to be fair with themselves, with and against and to have the same, unflinching respect for all distinctions for this is Religion pure and unadorned. In his life and teachings there is great wisdom such as alone can make for the healing of the nation. Is humanity prepared to learn or has it?

The remarkable feature of Gandhi's writings is that they spring out of action. They are not the speculations of an intellectual in his library, or the dreams of an arm-chair philosopher. They speak with life and because they are the outpourings of a heart plunged in the midst of a terrible agony, human weakness, weakness, grief and violence. His words are full of life for they are forged in the fire of experience. They reach the innermost recesses of one's being for they come from the depth of his own soul. They appeal to the highest in us for it is the highest in him that speaks through them.

Hydrogenated Oils

Government policy regarding hydrogenated oils remains still unaltered for reasons not known to the public. And when people are not taken into confidence they naturally suspect pressure of vested interests which prompt by the cards.

The investigation into the nutritional value of the substance would be relevant if the immediate issue was whether hydrogenation should at all be allowed. The present demand is for its replacement only for preventing its adulteration with pure ghee. The necessity for this rests on moral grounds and not on grounds of health.

* Published in the *Star of India* Press with a Foreword by Dr. Rajendraprasad, P.O. No. 2

It is sad that the Government experts are still unable to select a good colour and the high official discussed by some does not meet with their approval for reasons not made known to the public. A colour suggested by another expert is not known to the expert in charge of the department and his absence in the U.S.A. prevents further progress. Thus months have rolled on. In the meanwhile a makeshift trade is allowed to prosper.

One is unable to understand why the Government should feel that the responsibility of finding a suitable colour lies on its shoulders and not on those of the manufacturers. Is it that some of the factories are guaranteed by Government, or run by it? Why are the manufacturers not asked to produce a satisfactory colour within a few months, failing which they would have to stop the hydrogenation?

Let hydrogenated oils be even nutritively superior to pure ghee or mustard oil, if the reports so ordain. But they should not be used to adulterate pure ghee. This is a simple moral proposition outside the scope of experts.

Wardha 14-8-49

R. G. M.

C. K.'S BOMBAY UTTERANCES

II

[From the unpublished page 1 of C. K. Raja's unpublished speech at the Bhamburda Yatra Bhavan, Bombay, on 14-8-49.]

Primary Education

Dealing with primary education, whether it be reading, writing or arithmetic or learning through work, or education through play, whether the child should be asked in symbols and moved to broadenment and pass from the earliest period of its life or should be allowed to deal with things and play and work making little difference between the two and finding joy in both—whether we call our method Pestalozzi, Montessori, or Raja, or any other dear name, the education of our children must be planned so as to suit our present conditions. For obviously we cannot change these conditions in order to suit our pet ideas. If you sit down and apply common arithmetic to your plans and in the natural course on which you must ultimately draw by executing any or all of your plans, you will find most plans going to pieces in the process of calculation, and in sheer desperation you have to put your head into the sand and decide and refuse to see what is before you.

Elementary education is perhaps not very relevant to our function today. But it is not altogether unconnected. What masses or culture can we hope to conserve if our children are not brought up wisely and well? In spite of all the promises of constitutional reform and reorganisation of society in India through acts of Parliament and Welfare movements and movements the threads of essential labour on which the nation's life hangs have been hopelessly kept unbroken by family tradition. Most children still assist in the work of their fathers and mothers and they learn the family trade without

school or institute and learn it well. Farmers, carpenter, cobblers, sweepers, smith, weaver, shoemaker, cardmaker, all these mothers of humble folk, unconscious of the afflictions and the afflictions of higher people, carry on as if nothing were happening and so we live on. We may build our castles in the air with impunity because the real house we live in down below has been maintained by the humble and the unlettered, unconfident of our endeavours at higher level. The food is grown, the cloth is woven, the shoes are shod, the cows are grazed, the shoes are mended, the mending is done, the post-schools and the playgates are built and repaired, because, thank God, the respective castles are still there and the homes are homes as well as trade schools and the parents are parents as well as masters to whom the wandering children are automatically attracted.

Under these conditions which no one but a mad man would disturb what is the plan we ought to follow in the elementary schools we have established and are adding to? Shall we force all children that at home we can lay hands on away from family apprenticeship to the trades of their parents, and compel them to spend all their time in the schools we set up much as they are—and we know just how efficient they will be with our best efforts—and make it impossible for them to learn the trades of their parents for they cannot later in life learn these unfortunately, nor can we hope to teach them in the schools which we set up through the hurriedly trained teachers there installed in authority? The thought alarms me for I see too clearly the mischief that must result from such a step. But I am needlessly afraid. For I am certain that in spite of our best efforts quite a number of children will fortunately escape our tyranny and the old system of family apprenticeship and traditional occupations will continue despite our efforts. How shall we reconcile our laudable object of spreading education with the need for continuing traditional occupations and family apprenticeship? I am a moderate man, a man not for healthy abandonment of all kinds and so I venture to suggest to the creators of compulsory primary education whether we cannot be content with three days in the week for schooling. During those three days you may do with the children just as you like. But give the children a chance during the other four days to work with their parents. Let us see what happens. There would be thus an insurance against error. We shall see in my advance, keeping the conversations in the rear intact. Those who do not have to follow the trade of their parents or who have none of that kind, whose parents plan for profession or for government service or competition and purchasing of various kinds may use the free four days in any way they like. The humble folk however will use those four days in the work for following the occupation of the parents

and take schooling during the other three days which I think should be unnecessary.

This would double the capacity of our schools and our teachers too. It would mean they could take two sets of work—in the week leaving one day off for rest from labour.

The financial problem would be greatly eased by this arrangement and the pressure of symbols and word-learning on the tender brains of the pupils will be less. The four days off will give time to disengage and furnish opportunity for the boys and girls to assimilate and to apply and to benefit from the schooling. Indeed I think this would improve the quality of the instruction and the assimilation all round.

I do not like the alternative of cutting up the day into two halves. The school as well as the family occupation should have the benefit of mornings as well as afternoons. The farmer boy and girl ought to go to school on three full days and get the benefit of it, and be with parents and cattle in the field or in the family workshop during four full days. We should not take away the morning or the afternoon sessions altogether from either school or family.

(This was further elucidated by Mr. Eversham at the Press meeting of 19-4-48.)

Q. Your Excellency, about your statement on primary education, do you think that Provincial Governments should take up the question before they frame their budgets for the next year?

A. I am not a Minister for Education. I just give an idea. Also it will take some time for people to see my point. The immediate reaction that I have seen in the local press makes it clear to me that they have not heard me fully or had an unprejudiced report of my speech, or people read things in a hurry. I will thus state what I mean. It was stated in one or two comments I have read that the motive of my suggestion was financial or something like that. Not at all. The main thing is not finance but how we shall maintain the essential occupations which today support society. The comments are urban, middle class comments, made on the basis that children are a nuisance and must be handed over to schoolmasters. That is rather a superficial view of the problem. I was thinking of the numerous workmen throughout the countryside, carpenters, weavers and so on, whose occupations have to be maintained. I want an enlightened countryside as much as anybody else. But look at our schools. The water-boy's father knows much more than the master who pretends to teach him weaving in the school. For our people have a superstitious faith in acquired afflictions and send their children to them. If you examine society with a sensible eye you will see that there are certain essential occupations which support society and for maintaining which you must have either schools, or family training. In connection with

small population it is possible to have individual contact and give the necessary training to all the children and enable them to pursue different careers—that what is the total number of educational institutions we have in India at present? A few towns in the cities can go to some technical institutions and get training, and afterwards the first-rate kind of teacher's job in that line that is producing a job—is that enough for you?

In America children must be trained to do a few things in life. They must continue to do a few things during business and they can do it only in childhood. That educates my mind. You can give very sound education and at the same time allow the boy to have his own mind training also. You have not felt as I have felt the sterility of the kind of schooling that children get now, even your own and mine. It is artificial and ineffective. You may point to those who have managed successful in life after school education is upon it many difficulties in the human mechanism is so good that it triumphs. But what is the best way to do things is very different from how things somehow get on. I think that the schooling that children get could be improved by more contact with nature, which includes both work and play. The quality of elementary education that you give in schools will be bettered if the boys do work of some kind at the same time. And when kind of work could be made started for a pupil that the work that is available for him to participate in his own home or field?

"You hope by vacation training in the country to stop the drift of children down the rural districts to the urban?" asked someone.

A. It is somewhat difficult for me to accept this because you are attributing to my proposal a motive. Motive is different from a result, possible or probable. Those who want to proceed to higher education will do so but those remaining over will be at their family trade, in addition to which they will have the benefit of school education. I think that what you say about the population flow from the rural to the urban areas being reduced may be one of the results. But that is not my motive. It is difficult correctly to report a conversation or a talk. For instance I read some time ago that all the refuse of the towns should be converted properly, mechanically converted into manure and returned to the rural areas. That is the only way to regenerate the soil and food production properly. We are continuously drawing out the urban areas not only population but all the strength from the rural areas. Now it was reported in one of the papers that I had read that the farmers should be taught how to manure his field properly.

A result is not the same thing as the object.

B. K.

"Satyagraha Gita"

It is by no means surprising that readings a long list. Academics and theologians should require poets and philosophers to think hard in various forms and languages. Naturally, scholars of Sanskrit cannot afford to sleep here. Like Ramakrishna and the Pandemonium Gaudin will also be a source of personal inspiration to students in that sense, Sanskrit is certainly not a dead language of India.

Now, then, one Sanskrit scholar has written words of long run on Gaudin. Several years ago I saw one entitled *Shatashatnam* (meaning) a book naming in several names on describing Gaudin's life in terms of different names. There was also a scholarly book, *Gaudin's Gita*, in which Gaudin's teachings were sought to be reduced in the form of verses. The latest issue of the *Asian* Poet takes notice of a new recent publication. I have in my hand just now a book entitled *Uttara Satyagraha Gita* (meaning) by Saratwati Kishore, son of Kishore Kishore, this is a middle volume. The first volume, *Satyagraha Gita* (meaning) I understand was published some years ago. It covered the period of Gaudin's life up to 1930. The present one begins with the Gaudin's first part and closes with the presentation of the *Satyagraha Gita* from on and October 1941—*Gaudin's Gita* (meaning). I understand that Saratwati Kishore is working on the first volume now. The whole poem is written in the Sanskrit epic verse (verse). This middle volume which consists of 11 chapters was written in the space of five months. This shows the perfect command of the writer over the language, which is easy, free from mistakes and what struck me particularly also free from the usual limitations of Sanskrit—the metaphors and hyperbole. Dear disciples, the full or the new moon, lotuses of various colors, and gods, goddesses and even human references to bewilder the reader. And yet the verse is not without its grace and beauty. The first part, I understand, is priced at Rs. 2.50 and the second one at Rs. 3.00. At the end there is an English summary of the verses to guide a reader whose knowledge of Sanskrit is not perfect. Saratwati Kishore has designed to be compensated for her composition. The book can be read with profit by students of Sanskrit.

Winnipeg, 22-9-40

R. G. H.

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THE ANNUAL

‘ LORD OF HUMILITY ’

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Lord of humility, dwelling in the little
palish hut,

help us to march for Thee throughout
that dear land

watered by Ganges, Brahmaputra and
Jamuna

Give us righteousness, give us open-
heartedness

give us Thy humility, give us the
obedience and willingness

to identify ourselves with the masses
of India

O God who dost help only when men feel
themselves humble,

grant that we may not be isolated from
the people

we would serve as servants and friends

Let us be emboldened of self-sacrifice
emboldened of godliness,

humility personified, that we may know
the Lord better

and love it more

Varaha, 12/9/38

C. K.'S ROBERT UTTERANCES

III

University Education

The colleges in India are full to overflowing. At the beginning of every academic year there is a great scramble for admission, matriculates putting forward claims and counter-claims on all possible grounds including caste and community. Judged from figures our universities must be declared to be completely successful. Yet it must be confessed that almost everybody is certain that the universities as they are today are unsatisfactory. Professors, students, members of our Parliament, the general public, the various Public Service Commissions, all agree that the work manufactured in the universities is not by any means good enough. The demands of the State are not met although in numbers there is no question of insufficiency. There is deplorable inequality in quality.

Democracy's claims and all-enduring promises notwithstanding, social leadership is the fundamental of original achievement and it must come from the products of our universities. We cannot seek for it elsewhere. A revolutionary leader or mass may appear by a miracle here and there in the history of a nation and reshape its affairs and its character. But the day-to-day work that is required for the steady

evolution of progress depends on the continuous supply of leaders to manage men and guide the efforts of our people throughout the country and this does not belong to the world of miracles. We want, not one, but thousands of men of character placed in position to be the servants of the units throughout the country. It would be no exaggeration if we admit that the gap between the needs of the times and the quality of supply from our universities is a yawning gulf. The men and women who come out as graduates have to learn everything and personality has still to be shaped only after employment somewhere. This is most unsatisfactory when the burden and responsibility of the public services have increased beyond the wildest imagination of the previous generation of our public men. The most important equipment that a young man must get before he leaves his university is personality, not learning but character. Unfortunately, the atmosphere of our colleges is far too much vitiated by intellectual and moral confusion for anything like this to be attempted. There is not that guidance available which is essential for the building up of personality in the young men and women studying in the universities. Great power is at a very high order and a tremendous quantity of learning is put in, but the essential stuff is wanting. The explanation offered is that there is confusion both intellectual and moral in the world around and that is reflected in the universities. But not enough for universities to reflect outside confusion instead of making up for it. The function of the universities must be to reform not proportionately to represent so, only, but to do something to restore moral values and intellectual orderliness where there is anarchy.

The universities I have again emphasised, must give the nation the leaders, teachers and administrators who are required in this complicated age to build the future developing as the State and to guide society in its cultural life. Fully must be replaced by reason, passion must be put aside in favour of reflection, ideals must be installed where caprice governs principles must prevail not opportunism. All this cannot be hoped to be accomplished for us through some mighty sudden stroke. It is the function of universities to produce young men and women who will be able to find joy and fulfilment of spirit by guiding the people up this glorious mountain path.

Young men today are the sport of random and confused thought that finds expression in ephemeral printed matter of whose undependability even the writers are not aware. In the great experiment which India has in the evolution of her destiny undertaken to make in our generation there is nothing more unfortunate than the present state of our colleges and universities. They were planned and built in a past generation and it is no fault of theirs if they do not suit our times and have not gained but rather suffered by the revolutionary techniques that was evolved for the speedy attainment of freedom.

Had our philosophy and our culture which formed a great backbone that protected India through past ages been intact, the mischief arising out of the inadequacy of our universities might have been of relative unimportance. If our Vedic culture had been kept alive, nay in veneration above all in the hearts of men and in their deeper understanding as deficiency in school or college education would have matured or scolded in various forms. Unfortunately this ancient inheritance became in later times a rapidly disappearing asset. Little of it, I fear, is left now. Otherwise we would not have witnessed the vast quantity of greed and selfishness that prevail and have made the sons of our National Government so difficult of achievement. The discipline and restraint and the sense of moral values which Vedic culture implies, have been almost completely obliterated by the steady and unrelenting educational plans pursued during the last fifty years, which also did not furnish us with anything in place of the old inheritance that was thrown overboard.

All learning should develop personality. Otherwise it is worthless in every sense. On the other hand if this aspect of university aims be kept in mind, every variety of study would be rich in fruit. Be it science, technical training, economics, history, law, domestic science or whatever else it might be, it would — each one of these — be an ample field for making a boy or girl a leader of men provided that, along with intellectual equipment, the development of personality were attended to.

I am not unaware of the difficulty of moral training. We cannot get the right type of personalities to rise and move among the youth gathered in the universities whose very life and deportment would without direct instruction or compulsion of discipline be an inspiration. We get teachers vastly competent in every other respect. The greatest reluctance is generally felt in introducing anything in the scheme of school or college education which may be mistaken for denominational religious teaching. One must recognize the validity of the sciences and apprehensions that lead to that. But we may easily overdo all this. We cannot afford to overprotect our boys and not content doing nothing. The arena is far too real and grave. We cannot take a single negative attitude on account of our

hesitation. I feel there is a way to achieve the object: A comprehensive scheme creating opportunities for studying and understanding various religions and philosophies, including what goes by the name of classical humanism in the Western universities, namely the thoughts of Greece and Rome would, all taken together, furnish an atmosphere and an incentive which will enable our boys and girls to sense the truth and assimilate the culture and philosophy of our own land without exclusive direct effort organized for that purpose. The indirect approach may achieve what may not be directly undertaken. Let our boys be encouraged to interest themselves in the literature of Christianity, Judaism and Islam and the classics of Greece and Rome. Then, as one need ask them but they will recognize for themselves the Vedas for it is still available for reception by anyone born in India and blessed with enlightened pride. When staying from the studies prescribed for me, when I was young I read Bhagya's *Pilgrim's Progress* and chapters in the *Old and New Testaments of the Bible* and later I argued at length with the thoughts of Koran, Marcus Aurelius and Brother Lawrence, the gay and reverent writer, who looked towards the *Upanishads*, the *Gita* and the *Mahabharata* though we were not led to it. All spiritual search is one and God blesses it wherever it is done and by whomsoever. If I am today a devoted though very imperfect Hindu, Vedism is not less due to my contact with some of the sacred books of other people than to the contemplation of what our own great sages have left for us. Not by total exclusion of all religion and spiritual thought but by all-embracing acquaintance and appreciation of spiritual thought of all lands shall we be able and shape ourselves properly.

(Continued)

WITH COURAGE.

"It has become the fashion in this day to run down the Congress Organization and the Congress Government and blame them for every evil and misfortune from which the people suffer. The Congress leaders and you (Mr. Bhargava) too are so much responsible for this in the general public. Naturally it should be regarded as a healthy sign and evidence of honesty that leaders should be conscious of and frankly acknowledge their failings and shortcomings. But the fact also needs to be recognized every one is to share the blame on their bodies and to undertake or even forget their own failings and shortcomings as responsible citizens."

"There is the other side of the picture as well, there are opportunities everywhere. They try to make capital out of these disorders against the Congress. We hear so many imputations against every leader of Congress. Some attribute them to Congress for Hindu attacks on Muslim leaders and so on. False propaganda against the Congress is as bad as pay and gain by Congressmen, both are corruption."

"Before making extreme public opinion against the present Government and the press and various organizations that has the credit of forming them, you must also see whether the evil results of corruption, nepotism or politics are such as exist only because it is the Congress which is in the helm of affairs, and would be unwholesome remedy if some

other party came into power. Are you sure this new year entitled "Vijaya Dashami" would believe property if stored in offices or in safe to build for your economic property without at the same time throwing some other parties into economic hardships and changes of fortune? I doubt if the situation is suitable for merely handing over power to one particular party.

'The world is suffering from the after effects of a long turbulent world war and India, in addition of economic and political chaos, is suffering from more than a famine and a hail. The property has to be built up slowly and by the combined efforts of all thinking and practical men working together in a spirit of brotherhood and mutual understanding and equitable accommodation of all interests that have come into existence. A civilised population will always have to be an orderly reform. Property held across on the idea of trusteeship by which we should understand that we must all work together towards it and being treated by others. There is one who has not so far been considering of what he has himself enjoyed, and also there is some who are increasingly becoming of what he is discontented, entitled to on principle of equality whether social or economic. Society is a complicated web and cannot be set right by simple rules of arithmetic or mathematics of balancing ledger.

The above is made out in my own words from several letters I have received from time to time. There is much more contained in this which all should accept.

Wardha, 21.9.49

R. G. MADHUSWAMI

SUGARCANE KNAPS

Figures given with regard to sugarcane cultivation are always misleading because the acreage taken up by it is only half the problem. Sugarcane occupies the land on which it is grown for a period long enough for growing two to three grain crops. At the same time the farmer chooses his best land for sugarcane and gives it all the manure he possesses and most of the water, if any is available to him. It is, therefore, obvious that growing of sugarcane interferes with the growing of grain crops to a much larger extent than the actual acreage of land occupied by the cane.

All this goes to show the tremendous advantages it would be to the country if we could develop systematically and extensively the sugar available in palm trees. As a well-known palm tree grows freely on rough land unsuited to cultivation. The Central Government has made a start on palm *gar* and sugar production, but it needs to be much more seriously taken up on a much larger scale. Another advantage pertaining to cultivation of palm sugar is that the product is better for human health, and more sustaining. My personal experience is that, though I can eat very little sugarcane *gar*, as it affects my throat and digestion, I can eat palm tree *gar* without any ill effects. Shri Gajanan Mankar, Palm Gar Adviser of the Government of India estimates the potential yield at over 30 lakhs tons of all the five species of palm trees are tapped for it. At present only a fifth of them are tapped, and some of them for toddy and not *gar*. According to the same authority, the present annual production of cane *gar* and cane-sugar is 40 and 25 lakh tons respectively.

All these tremendous advantages should have, by now, led us to intensive production of palm tree *gar* and sugar on a large scale. Unfortunately vested interests are involved. Some day or other vested interests will have to be firmly dealt with. Until that day comes, the Motherland will not come into her own.

Wardha, 21.9.49

SHIRADHAN

THE WILD CATTLE PROBLEM

A short while ago I sent an article to the daily Press in which I referred to the very serious damage caused by wild cattle in India, and mentioned how the Government is considering a scheme for culling and taming these animals, so that instead of devastating cultivated land, they will themselves become an asset to the nation.

The following letter of Shri B. K. Singh of Kanpur is an interesting response to the article, and only shows how important it is to tackle this problem without delay.

'I have read your article with considerable interest. This is to inform you that there is a herd of about sixty wild cows in Aherwar which is a village in Kanpur district. The number of these wild cows is increasing every year. They are causing a great harm in that and those that feed a dense and wooded village. All attempts on the part of the authorities of the locality to catch them failed. Because of this massive spread hundreds of acres of very fertile land have been abandoned by the wild cows and it is undergoing rapid erosion. In Kanwaria herd there are only about thirty wild cows and they also cause the land in that area (near) and it is being damaged. When these remaining wild cows have remained quiet as poor and miserable as an average agriculturalist of rural India was in 1948 or thereabouts. And the only reason for all this is the existence of the herd of wild cows. If these are removed I am certain that the field in at least ten neighbouring villages of Aherwar will go up by at least 50 per cent.

I further I am told that this is one of the several herds which are present in Bulandshahr of Kanpur district. These herds generally live in villages that lie between the Great Trunk Road and the river Ganges.

'I shall be extremely grateful if you would instruct your scheme of catching these wild cows on a previous date made at an early date by sending the red tape. You shall save the interests of thousands of lakhs of this province families very valuable. Truly hoping the province is light the field problem.'

There is no doubt, a much larger number of these wild cattle in the country than either the public or Government have any idea of. Any attempt to get a census of these animals through Government machinery, would be very lengthy and unsatisfactory. It is much better that the public should take up the matter by sending me accurate reports of all herds of wild cattle which have come to their notice. In order that this request for information should be widely spread, I appeal to all newspapers and journals in general, and particularly those published in Indian languages, to reproduce this article.

Communications should be sent to me at Ashram Poshakh P. O. Mehnesh, District, Dehradun (U. P.).

SHIRADHAN

THE WORLD PACIFIST MEETING

Members of the League are probably aware that, in December of this year, some fifty peace workers from all parts of the world are coming to India to meet with some of Gandhi's closest associates in the hope of gaining fresh light and fresh strength for the task of fighting against war.

When the plan for this meeting was first suggested it was hoped that the meeting would be with Gandhi himself, and he entered fully into the original plan and himself approved the original letter of invitation. After his death we all felt that he would have wished us to proceed with the plan and we have done so, though unfortunately an extra year's delay became necessary, to complete the plans.

Those who have accepted invitations are not, in most cases, men and women who are world famous. Not all are proved workers, and, as far as possible, we have tried to invite those who are in Gandhi's own phrase 100 per cent reliable: that is, men and women who will withstand the pressures of hatred and the temptation to resort to violence even under extreme provocation. A few are old friends, such as Richard Gregg and Margaret Reynolds, but most are coming to India for the first time in their lives.

In some quarters, doubts have been expressed of whether this is an appropriate time to invite peace stewards from overseas to visit India. Will they not be disappointed and disillusioned? I believe not. I do not think any thoughtful man in the West ever believed that all India had learnt the basic values of non-violence. Indian human nature, after all, is not so very different from human nature in other lands. But India did give birth to Gandhi, and he has left behind him many men and women who have been steeped in his non-violent teaching for a generation and who are still determined to be faithful to it. These are the men and women the western visitors hope to meet.

Just as I do not think the visitors from overseas will be coming with serious doubts about India, so I hope friends in India will not have illusions about their visitors, though to be quite frank, I think this is more likely. I am really astonished at the misconceptions that I find in the minds of important men about western pacifists.

Perhaps it would be useful if I refer to a few of these as they may help to prevent misunderstandings when the visitors arrive.

Perhaps the commonest misconception is that western Pacifism is purely negative and that it begins and ends with a refusal to participate in war. This is quite untrue. The Fellowship of Reconciliation, for example, is a body that incorporates the greater number of Christian pacifists, came into being during the first winter of the war of 1914. I attended the meeting at Cambridge that gave birth to it. The major emphasis in that meeting was on the

social implications of the issue. What right and sense of the goodness here, we to call ourselves pacifists, and to refuse to participate in war, if we accept without question a social system that leads to war? The eighteenth century American Quaker John Widdows, who did so much to arouse the conscience of his fellow members with regard to slavery had spoken much earlier to the same effect. His whole life was singularly like Gandhi's in many respects, especially the extraordinary courage that he showed in applying his convictions in his own life and in defying the conventions accepted by his good and pious neighbours.

In recent years a number of western pacifists have undertaken experiments, either on their own or in community with others in an attempt to break away from the acquisitive and competitive society in which they find themselves.

It is sometimes thought that many western pacifists forsake their Pacifism when their countries are involved in war. This is the last year some outstanding men including Bertrand Russell, Albert Einstein and José de la Sota abandoned the pacifist position. But it should not be forgotten that over 250 thousand in England and a similar number in America took the non-resistance when very unpleasant, of refusing to be conscripted was the armed forces—yet even at a time when England was in constant danger of invasion. Much as they detested the thought of England being overrun by Hitler's troops they were persuaded that even the most modest and brutal might must not be met by armed violence, and that whatever the immediate outcome of their refusal to defend the country that they loved their first duty was to witness to the spirit that can overcome all wars and strife.

Even more aggressive than these large numbers of pacifists in England and America where conscientious objection is to some extent recognized by law has been the barest witness of isolated men in some continental countries where refusal to fight in war that is liable to be punished by death.

The record of the western pacifists ought to be better known in India. It is not an unworthy one. But they would be the first to admit their failure to convince the world of the rightness and practicability of the way of non-violence. They came to India, eager to learn, but they will also have something to teach. I hope all those who take part in the winter's meetings will come as learners, for we have all to admit really that at the moment the majority of our neighbours deserve our non-violence or pacifism or whatever we call it as unpractical idealism. It will be time for any of us to declare 'We have found the truth that you seek' when we have really converted the world, or the part of it that we live in, to change its whole way of life.

WOLFE CRISPIN

LEAVE ME FORGET

RIN

Khadi in Various Aspects

(a)

Let us not sit wearing muslins that do not show but only expose the body (*Review of Times*, p. 37)

(b)

Would that before that, imperious was the necessity of nations which will continue for the purpose of giving their best to the world and of providing, not by brute force but without suffering the weaker nations or races of the world. Non-co-operation aims at nothing less than this revolution in the thought world. When a transformation can come only after the complete annihilation of the spinning-wheel India can become fit for delivering such a message when she has become great against temptation and therefore attacks from outside by becoming self-contained regarding her chief needs—food and clothing (*Ibid* p. 37)

(c)

Agriculture and hand-spinning are the two legs of the national body. They must be protected against consumption at any cost (*Ibid* p. 38)

(d)

[The destruction of foreign cloth] was its most economical use you could have made of it, even as destruction of plague-infected articles is their most economical and best use (*Ibid* p. 38)

LEAVE THE CONTROLS

When popular governments came into existence for the first time in the provinces, if they could not tackle the various problems satisfactorily, we consoled ourselves by thinking that they were still new and, given some time, they would set matters right and there would be no ground for grievances against them. But there is no sign of improvement and there is the same inefficiency and maladministration as before. There is neither simplicity nor human touch in dealing with the day to day affairs of the people. On behalf of governments, old consciences are still offered, but far from being full satisfactory, they shake the people's confidence in the governments. One of the principal causes for the defeat of the Congress in recent elections at some places is the increasing discontent of the masses with the present administration in the provinces. There is no end of controls, regulations, laws, ordinances, etc. and every second or third day amendments or additions are made thereto. It is next to impossible for the people to know exactly how the law stands on a particular day. Lawyers find it difficult to be up-to-date in their knowledge of these laws. Under these circumstances how can one expect from the ordinary man full and perfect obedience to law? The result is that simple people are harassed and puzzled.

It is commonly maintained that the food situation of the nation is grave and a subject of anxiety. In their attempts to lighten its gravity, the various governments have opened new and expensive departments and added to the load of the common man. But there is hardly any other department responsible to this in point of inefficiency and corruption.

Let us take the instance of Bombay. Hundreds of youngsters and women are employed in the rationing offices here. A considerable amount of public money is spent on them. But if we consider its usefulness, we would like to be forthwith close the department. This department besides being instrumental in wasting a great deal of food supply, is grossly corrupt and cause of black marketing. On complaints being made to the ministers and officers, we receive a reply that the moral standard of the whole population having gone down, there is no remedy. The reply is absurd for a responsible officer to give. Controls were supposed to have been needed because the moral standard of the people was not high enough to work for the good of all, and to voluntarily put a self-control on profits and selfish consumption. It is, therefore, the first duty of these departments to put an end to these evils. But here, the evils are defended and thus facilities are provided for their carrying.

Last year the (Bombay) Government distributed *no dal* from their ration shops. After some time, it found it difficult to procure it from the cultivators. The reason was that the rates which the Government had fixed for the purchase of *no dal* from the cultivators were lower than even those fixed for *chick-chick*. The result was that cultivators thought it convenient to give *no dal* instead of *chick-chick* to their animals and they actually did so. The attention of the Government was drawn to it but with no result. The Government kept *no dal* as a rationed article for several months, but it was unable to supply it to the public.

In Bombay for about last three years, *hara* is a rationed article, but it has never been sold at ration shops. What is the sense in declaring a thing as rationed article, if the Government is not able to supply it for years together? What is the moral justification for continuing controls over such articles? And last in the effect of these controls in their practical aspect? Those who break the law can get away regularly and black markets are in full swing. Those who are law-abiders are denied *hara*. A patient advised by a doctor to eat *hara* has no recourse but to go to the black market to procure it. He is unable to count his natural desire to get well and breaks the law. Can one judge him too severely?

A huge amount of money is spent after the "Grow More Food" Campaign, but no one pokes into it as to why nothing comes out of it. The real reason behind it is that the cultivators today are inclined to grow non-controlled foods

to get good prices and at the same time to be saved from the harassment of officers and law-lots with the lifting of the controls, the cultivators will turn to normal ways. In pre-control days, sugar was sold in Bombay at around two or three a paise and its sale was slow and, but now it is sold at Rs 2 a paise and its sale is in terms of thousands of bags. This indicates which way the mind of the cultivators is working.

To be frank, it is only the controls and regulations, which are at the root of scarcity of food etc. On account of controls, weighing, and daily attention to the quantity of food, every citizen tries to hoard as much as possible, though the food grain available under the rationing becomes unfit for human consumption after a few days. But on account of unstable quantities of food people consider it wise to hoard. Similar is the wastage done at the government palaces. There the qualification of officers is being measured in terms of university degrees only, resulting in enormous wastage of food on account of want of knowledge of food and its preservation. Aesthetics and sales of spoiled goods as well as their dumping into the sea are a sufficient testimony of these. This is not strange where the university education is the only criterion of a man's ability.

This state of affairs does not prevail in respect of food controls only. The same is the case with all controls. Let us take gold. How much is government spending over it as establishment charges? But the people have to stand in a queue for not less than half an hour in front of a machine for only a quarter of a year of gold.

Similar is the case of kerosene. In Bombay now-a-days kerosene is distributed in larger quantities than necessary. At the same time, in the fearful villages people have to stand to the black market to light a lamp during the night. From Bombay itself, under different names, either by rail or motor ferry, a good many tin and tanks are being sent out. For their own benefit, the officers connive at it and thus encourage illegal practices. The person occupying the ministerial post cannot go round personally and see for himself the details, but it passes beyond his comprehension if such illegitimate distribution regularly going on under his administration fails to draw his attention.

We hear the present ministers saying in and out of session that they are under a great pressure of work, but we generally see them in meetings, opening ceremonies, addresses, receptions, parties, luncheons, etc. They are generally found in one or another of such functions. People are this before their very eyes and so they are rather indifferent when they hear them complain that they are hard-worked.

Turning to controls, long years of their experience have taught us that the controls have not at all improved the conditions, and are a total failure. On the contrary they have added to the hardships of the people and created a great many evils.

These evils must be lifted. The need of freedom for common-man carries impetus to be lightened by cutting off the establishment charges of the various departments. When thus the situation has become control-free, the people will not resort to illegal ways and a truer life will return to man.

COMMON CITIZEN

(Translated from Gujarati)

HIS MOTHER MADE HIM

Mahatma Gandhi's glorious life had many facets of surpassing beauty. One of these was his profound regard for womanhood which was rooted in his love and reverence for his mother. The high esteem in which he held that woman of blessed memory is illustrated by the following incident which occurred when Mahatmaji was surveying the field for his future work in India after his triumphant return from South Africa.

In the early part of 1914 Gandhiji visited Hyderabad in the course of his tour of India. During his stay in that town he stayed at a house with his presence in response to my invitation. My mother who was then about 57 and was not interested in public affairs made excuses to Gandhiji from a short distance. His presence continued was sufficed with pure joy at that moment. He said: "Tell your mother when I see her I was reminded of my own mother." At that moment Gandhiji's thin face looked like a full-blown rose. Mother, through distress, understood the language of the heart quite well, and after his departure told me in Hindi that she saw spiritual radiance in his face.

It was because of her mother, who exercised such a potent influence in moulding his character that Bapu held women to be "the salt of God's creation" and looked upon every woman as his daughter, sister or mother according to her age. Next to his mother his dutiful wife contributed her share in moulding womanhood in the eyes of Mahatmaji who was a giant in the best sense of the word. His championship of woman's cause and his chivalrous attitude towards women in general was an eloquent tribute to his own mother and wife who led dedicated lives in their own way. Mahatmaji's affectionate and considerate way of dealing with the fair sex was fully reciprocated by them, for they felt the magic touch of his personality radiating from his eyes full of compassion for every humanity.

The truth of the saying "the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world" is borne out by the phenomenal career of Mahatmaji. By virtue of his unique womanhood which culminated in his martyrdom, and rigorous self-discipline inspired by the lofty example of his great mother Bapu has joined the galaxy of world teachers. We are much too near him in point of time to realise fully the grandeur of his sublime life, but future generations will see it as its proper perspective and marvel at the heights he had attained by his ascent of a high order.

Verily, "a noble mother must have bred no least a son." R. G. MURTHYCHAND

HARIJAN

October 2

1949

THE KHADI SPIRIT

(A. Gooding)

It would be wrong perhaps on any pretence if I did not say a few words showing how we can illustrate the spirit of Khadi in our daily life. In my humble opinion, we cannot better illustrate that spirit than by clothing ourselves with the 'khadi spirit'. Please note the distinction I am making. I am not saying that we can illustrate the spirit of Khadi by wearing khadi merely, but I say that we must have the 'khadi spirit'. Even a blackguard, even a prostitute should be expected to wear khadi since she or he the blackguard, must wear something even as there are the wheat and the rice in this country, in common with us but the 'khadi spirit' means that we must know the meaning that the wearing of khadi carries with it. Every time that we take our khadi garment early in the morning to wear for going out, we should remember that we are doing so in the name of Swarajswaraj and for the sake of the starving millions of India. If we have the 'khadi spirit' in us, we would surround ourselves with simplicity in every walk of life. The 'khadi spirit' means likable patience. For those who know anything about the production of khadi, know how patiently the spinners and the weavers have to toil at their trade and even as most we have patience whilst we are spinning 'the thread of Swara'. The 'khadi spirit' means also an equally likable faith. Even as the spinner, feeling sure as the spinning wheel has likable faith that the yarn he spins by itself will enough, put in the aggregate would be enough to clothe every human being in India, so must we have likable faith in truth and non-violence ultimately conquering every obstacle in our way.

The 'khadi spirit' means follow-doing with every human being on earth. It means a complete renunciation of everything that is Hindu in turn our fellow countrymen, and if we but cultivate that spirit amongst the millions of our countrymen what a land this India of ours would be! And the more I move about the country and the more I see the things for myself, the richer, the stronger is my faith growing in the capacity of the spinning wheel. If we try to reason out with our intellect the capacity of repeating of the mere name 'Khadi', our intellect will fail to satisfy our heart and yet I hope that there is not one single person in this audience who would consider that those who gave us the heritage of repeating those names were either fools or idiots. Even so I suggest to you that the khadi spirit has all the capacity that I have just now described to you.

But, then, if that name alone is what it is, I admit our countrymen do not attach to the expression of that spirit. It is almost even as Khadi became in our minds a being here, because it had behind it the untold masses of those who gave it to us, so it is with the khadi movement. It might have the same force of those who are behind it. Every minute of my time I am fully conscious of the fact that if those who have concerned their lives to khadi will not incessantly insist on purity of life, khadi is bound to sink in the course of our countrymen. I am well aware that khadi cannot compete with other articles of commerce on their own platform, on their own terms. There are advantages in a weapon unlike of its kind and not one of the ordinary weapons used by people so in khadi a unique article of commerce which will not, cannot, stand on terms common to other articles. But I know this also as certainly as I know that I am sitting here, that khadi is unique and it would outdistance every article in India today. You will, therefore, perhaps understand why I do not continue over all these khadi parties you have given me. I know that, if you had even a touch of the faith that I have in khadi you would not give your two hundreds and your two thousands out of your pocket but you would satisfy me till there is no money required for khadi.

(Young India, 22-9-27)

REDUCTION OF CURRENCY

The reader will find elsewhere an unusually long article entitled 'Currency and Finance', and the lay reader might feel embarrassed at its length. Those conversant with the subject will, I believe, regard it as good and even overdue. This note will help the general reader to understand the points discussed in the article.

Generally and in normal times the amount of paper currency which a sound government puts into circulation bears a reasonable proportion to the amount of silver and gold in its possession as also to silver and gold money. In times of war this proportion is not observed, and in order to find money to purchase from its own subjects materials needed for carrying on war and administration it prints over much paper money. Since it would not be possible for government to purchase materials from foreign countries by paying paper money, all silver and gold is spent in purchasing foreign things. The British Government of India acted in this respect even as more cautious was than it did in its own country. The result was that it printed notes worth several hundred crores of rupees.

It had done this though to a much smaller extent even in the first World War. But after the end of the War it withdrew all the paper rupees and brought the proportion between the paper currency of higher denomination and silver rupees to the pre-war level. This it did by not issuing any rupee notes which came into the Treasury in payment of taxes etc. from the

people, but by destroying them. Whatever interesting in small money it had to pay out were paid in form of silver rupees. The fundamental thing is not the silver, or the silver rupee as such, but a systematic withdrawal of one rupee notes from circulation. This had the effect of lowering the prices to almost pre-war level in a short time. That was done without any aid, so that the people in general did not even know how cheapness was brought about.

Shri K. P. Verma, who is a retired officer with a long experience of Treasury methods, has been urging for a long time that the same remedy should be employed again. But instead of taking the right step, artificial and inefficient methods have been employed to control high prices. His critic, who is a great financial expert, on the other hand, holds that while this could have been done some time ago, it cannot be done now. Shri Verma challenges this opinion and gives his reasons. The reader will now be able to read the article with interest.

Wardha, 21-9-49 K. C. MATHURAWALA

The Money Issue at a Glance

The August number of *The Journal of Education* in England referring to a statement of Mr. R. A. Butler concerns as follows:

Mr. R. A. Butler was making a considerable use of the expression which he said, 'The problem before the country and the Government was how that we should maintain priorities while education itself will could not do everything at once. The country was running into a corner and it was increasingly not to go into it with all nine up and some of them not properly stretched. Education authorities were attempting to do too much at once and through any grave fault of judgement, but because those who were responsible for the AEC put so large a burden on them.'

'This does not mean that there is any weakness in the desire to provide the maximum of educational opportunity. It does mean that inadequate attention is being given to putting first things first. Many things are left being done because too much attention is still being given to planning for a distant future without sufficient regard to present needs. The Government which states among others that one of the visible needs of the—'

The desperate situation about things educational described above exists almost similarly in our country as well. To take an instance, Bombay has too many cranes in the line. This has meant much worry and no solid work in actual practice. Financially it means waste of good money at such a hard time for the present. The word is the general sense of frustration which is visible all along among both the department and the teachers. This results into an apathy which dulls enthusiasm and slows initiative—the very two things which can really help us out of the desperate situation. The authorities may please take note of this.

11-9-49

RAMANUJAM DRAGAI

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CURRENCY AND FINANCE

The reader might remember that in an article *Combating Inflation and High Prices*, (The Nation, July 3, 1948), the writer, Shri K. P. Verma, suggested that following the method adopted at the close of World War I, the remedy lay in withdrawing from circulation Rs. 1 notes, the creation of that war. "The reform", he said "could be introduced as soon as the new silver rupee came into circulation. All that the Government of India have to do is to approximate to the ratio of the silver and paper currency the present leaving out of circulation the two rupee-note, as it obtained at the close of World War I." As Shri Verma (hereafter referred to as V) also expected along with this measure "vast economies and retrenchment in expenditure within three to six months of the introduction of the reform", he did not foresee any serious difficulty arising on account of possible fall in revenue receipts.

As the subject was too complicated, before publishing the article, I placed it before my usual financial adviser and published it along with his remark, which I adopted as my own, namely,

This is a bold suggestion. But its success rests upon the likelihood of the reduction of vast economies and retrenchment in expenditure are carried out by Government."

The article and my remark thereon brought a death's attack upon me. On the one hand, V protested that the success of his step did not depend upon retrenchment and economies, but that the effect of that step would be that

"while there is the measure of the introduction of the reform the Government would find themselves in a position to effect vast economies and retrenchment in expenditure and would thereby be able to more than make-up the possible fall in their revenue receipts. To put the idea in a decided form, the withdrawal of one-rupee notes from circulation (and later on if necessary of two-rupee notes) would have the effect of bringing down the prices of the necessities of life amazingly low of reducing the expenditures in part with their surplus from willingness of obtaining the disappearance of the general distress, decreased and dissipation of the general class political parties who are apparently looking on them of placing the Government as well as private employers in a position to effect progressive reduction in salaries and wages and the former is even disposed with their fortitude but must by savings control staff and also gradually and effectively to abolish the black market.

"Therefore to counter the complex nature of the measure proposed by me, it is evidently more easy that simultaneously with their introduction the Government should reduce their printing more than of my denunciation they should bring down the high percentage of profits allowed in the textile mills and wholesale and retail dealers to the level that obtained in 1939 and should arrange an open deal supply of iron and minerals etc. in our agricultural fields without charging any profits. If not, it has then not price.

"The above proposals will enable the Government to manage their affairs and ultimately the present desperate situation—an even achievement in itself, but for the real permanent and satisfactory amelioration of the economic situation as well as the

the money market and commercial banks of the country would make an investigation (should it ever come) into the fact that certain shareholders in the bank, I am sure, had favored Waterbury's Central Bank and expressed both in the press and orally.

(P. 44)

The second attack was against the main justification of V and it came from a very high financial authority of our country, whom I shall call A. F. The criticism was sent to me through a friend. It ran as follows:

"Mr. Waterbury's remedy for inflation is of a very unusual kind. One writes that he had explained this remedy a little more clearly. So far as I can make out he asks Government to withdraw all currency notes and to issue some other paper. If Government really repudiates all non-repudiable not even the strongest national Government will last a single day. Apparently, therefore, he wants every paper note to be cancelled for a silver paper. Was Mr. Waterbury thought about the enormous implications of this? The heavy a burden may be imposed on the taxpayer an amount of the large cost to the Treasury of the copper silver change and add to this the useless expense of carrying other paper instead of the light paper notes. One fails to say how this will ever inflation. The fundamental cause of inflation is the large expenses of money loans without any immediate return in the form of gold. How will money income debts to Government cancel to the payment remedy? How to Finance Authority that money does increase income of paper notes? If such a simple measure could have cured inflation, does who would the nation's currency holder must be reimbursed, bank or currency. Mr. Waterbury with his 'practical experience' claims that his remedy will 'cancel inflation.' But how can gold produce that the size of such inflation is long past. One would not have expected such leadership in the volume of so other a remedy as the *Monetarist*. (L.S. 45) (Gladstone's letter)

Naturally I had to forward it to V. It evoked a long reply. With his approval, I venture now his arguments below:

"The remedy suggested by me is plain, simple and very scientific, and as can be verified from the files of the Government of India Secretary. I reference my article by underlining the withdrawal of non-repudiable with their repudiation, the suggestion is agreeable in the name of the silver and paper currency as I obtained it, the close of the World War I with the agreement of the vast volume of non-repudiable by an equal amount of silver paper and after that repaying my article late in security, proceeds in Article 3.

"Now I will answer the two questions that P has posed for me. (vide letter in P's note) Inflation according to the Concise Oxford Dictionary means 'excessive increase of money, or by the issue of irredeemable legal-tender notes. It is a matter of record history that the British Government of India issued inflation for purposes of the last War by printing currency and non-repudiable in an unprecedented and unprecedented extent ever recorded to in the history of any currency in the world and caused thereby an unprecedented rise in the prices of all the necessities of life and by other kind of the most acute economic distress promoted their war effort, and as if this was not enough, in order to complete the process of requisition through requisitioning of the nation they withdrew every available silver paper and sold at 48.50 the silver in the American market. It is worthy of note that while the prices in the United Kingdom were not allowed to rise above 27 per cent in this country they were allowed to rise up to 1000 per cent and even above. The coal

prices, painted and non-renewing aspect of the open space, it is evident that inflation has a direct effect on prices and that the general economic distress resulting from high prices cannot be removed without forcing the issue of inflation, which has given birth to more (high prices). With due respect, I submit, therefore, that P's statement that the financial cause of inflation is the large expenses of money loans without any compensatory increase in the quantity of goods is a mere quibble which I may be allowed to say, falls even in the face of the above fact. But as long as the price of raw materials remains high, the price of goods cannot be reduced beyond a partial cancellation of the manufacturers and middlemen's profits. And this is exactly what the Government officials have, as far, amounted to. My answer to the first question is that the withdrawal of non-repudiable to start with and later on, if necessary, of non-repudiable as well as by printing as I want, the bubble of inflation, being down, the prices of raw materials including grain and cereals and incidentally of all finished products.

With regard to the second question, I have only to draw P's attention to the figure of the Government income Tax and other revenue receipts as well as to the increase in the salaries and allowances of Government as well as private employees which furnish the alternative source. But the play of the market is that neither the employer nor the employee is any the better for the increase. The reason for the unhappy state of affairs is that for each, the salaries and wages have never been determined as well clearly they could not be in proportion to the rise in prices and yet, when after strikes or various demands demand allowances and wages are increased a direct inflation is given to inflation and thus the vicious circle is kept going. Instead to try that people with fixed incomes and those whose incomes have not been increased in any proportion to the increase in prices—and the number of such people is legion—are not receive the worst off. In such a state of affairs no wonder of society except the industrial workers, who need not mind, when we consider matter as the money or a whole can not control since the struggle for existence becoming more and more acute with the passage of time generates anagony, strife, destruction and universal corruption until at last the society becomes desperate unless Government with full consciousness of the horror that it brings in its train.

"I proceed for me to describe the manner in which the reform was introduced by the Government of India after the end of World War I. At that time I used to be a Treasury Officer in C. P. A simple and unimpeachable order issued by the Government of India to all provincial Governments/Governors and passed on by them for compliance to all the Treasury and Refractory Officers after them directed that the consequences provided into the Treasury should not be released on any account, but should be sent periodically to the Treasury for the Government. It further directed that the silver paper should be issued to one of the exchange rate in and when required. Within three months of the order being in force I noticed that the price of silver fell which used to be 4 Rs. per pound before the War and which had gone up to 10 Rs. some days, by March as I was, to 12 Rs. and as the price of all Indian goods steadily rose, so. Thus was the bubble of inflation burst. Inflationary period, thus was the soaring price brought down with 2 and thus was the economic equilibrium restored without the Government of the day interfering with the inflationists or making drastic but vain, appeals to the workers and the people sense of patriotism, or being repugnant to the financial orthodoxy of any sort. In fact, as already said already was the

economic consequences produced the monetary problems and solution go just along with the conception of the needs of our industrialists. While we thought they would be a time the disappearance of their present war-profits, eventually reconverted themselves in their usual, wholesome lot, that kind of myopia misled me. The "monies" had been brought down. I admit that the influence of inflation of World War I has developed into a "hyperinflation" or a "hyperinflation" of World War II, has the remedy of "gold" though it sounds making of our money unimpaired, pure and disinterested, is still fooling us, as and it is but lagging for applied then. It also means the Government that in war they do not use it to cash and now the issue that will follow will involve them, and the whole country, in a most painful destination.

It might be argued that the withdrawal of our paper notes representing several hundred years of paper currency in circulation might lead to serious depression and unemployment. My answer is that the process of inflation being slow and steady—nothing serious need be apprehended as against serious happened when the remedy was tried previously. It can also be pointed out that the amount of silver coin in circulation in the whole of civilized lands before during the long after World War I, and if it receded, actually shows up to the year 1919 amounted only to twenty-four years and though the last world of non-convertible notes were printed and used for purposes of World War I, an upward trend followed their withdrawal, because of the agricultural nature of the Indian economy.

Four years have elapsed since the end of World War I, but the general economic situation which has gone on disintegrating in our hands has now become desperate. People in general may not know how the British Government of India behaved and how economic condition which a few months of the end of World War I but they want it for a fact that this was done. They are naturally wondering why our Government who are supposed to have and do better have failed to remedy it yet.

The letter which is summarized above was forwarded to F., who gave the following brief reply:

"As Verma is going much beyond his depth. What is required is to a simple remedy may have more serious consequences than realized by him. This question should have been considered at a time when the remedy might have been more practicable, but today, with rapidly growing inflation in the money market and with deflationary symptoms in India is a thing of the past, and one may soon be facing a definite recession. I cannot see any good in this correspondence appearing in the *European*. Mr. Verma might in place his views before the Government of India, but he must first consider the gravity of the situation. I suggest that you kindly enter this proposal in file." (JLH:48)

I must admit that having reacted to the intricacy of the subject, I was inclined to accept F.'s advice and drop the topic in the *European*. But V. could not stand it and he pursued the matter with me in a series of letters. Some of the points referred to by him being important, I realized that even in order to do him justice, it was necessary that his view should not be suppressed. He is by no means trying to speak on matters he does not understand. In his case an objective value. But it is not necessary to report the correspondence as full. It is enough to give a summary of the arguments. This has been done with his approval.

"From a point of F.'s letter dated 1948 it is clear that he does not challenge the correctness of my statement about the method employed by the British Government in the days of the World War I. In fact it may be taken that he admits the fact and states that this question should have been considered at a time when this remedy might have been more practicable.

In fact the above facts and those stated in my letter dated April 1948 are accurate— but today with rapidly growing inflation in the money market, and with deflationary symptoms in India is a thing of the past, and one may soon be facing a serious recession—amounting to defying the question.

Primarily he does not now think that my suggestion is as naive as he characterized it in his first letter, and desires not to correspond with the Government of the Reserve Bank, instead of discussing it to public. It means that there is something in it which does deserve to be thought over.

"As a matter of fact the idea of the withdrawal of non-convertible and non-redeemable did occur to Sir Chintaman Dhanoo, the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, with his opinion which was published in August 1944, but as he failed to mark the fundamental difference between unimpaired and industrial economies, he differed which was the first time brought to the fact with nothing effect by several Ministers, he did not recommend adoption of the measure, though that it might result in some unemployment.

It is difficult to the money market? I cannot see the object of arguing for purposes of industrial expansion of which we have heard as much in recent months. It does not require an argument of an expert to convince it is the British recommendation of the Government to limit the percentage of sterling loans—a recommendation which the Government of India have previously under the influence of their Agents, were accepted and referred only to continued Government. F. has not mentioned any of the cited deflationary symptoms, but, if it will say in all the names of the 'inflation in the money market', then his inference that inflation is a thing of the past is, in my best, a definite violence to the facts as also the universally accepted meaning of the word 'inflation'. Again F. remarks that V. is going much beyond his depth based on it apparently is on his observation, "what he considers to be a simple remedy may, have more serious consequences than realized by him." However only to more violence as it must have been from the day that the Government of India or 21 years ago did not have in fact any serious consequences. For on his basis of a nation would hold water for a moment in fact of his own admission that the question should have been considered much earlier. Certainly then the statement that he should reply in this, it was not important and this is responsible for all his views, and here it has become impracticable now."

"I am constrained to say that the most unfortunate and dangerous characteristic is that the Government of India have been thoroughly misinformed and misled by their advisers. With all deference to F. I must say that the fundamental cause of inflation is the large expenditure of money incomes, with no any commensurate increase in the quantity of goods. It should and a monetary device to dispose the fact that paper money has not been to reduce the amount of money in circulation.

"As to F.'s advice not to discuss this subject through the *European*, you will realize the necessity of this step, when I state that in long ago in September 1941 I brought the proposal to the notice of Atmaji Kishanji, the then President of the Congress and subsequently to the notice of Pandit and Master Pandit in my house of March and September, 1941.

it is more or less a total involvement of the State in itself, just as it is possible for me to do just simply. But I feel that it is also necessary to bring the process of enlightened public opinion to bear on our national emergency measures.

People Associated With Prime Minister is reported to have declared very recently that "the supreme principle that the present generation have laid is the economic recovery of the nation. I am not afraid of any external aggression but what worries me most is our internal weakness, particularly the economic one." Now, after this unqualified declaration by our Prime Minister, the work of the economists inside in my article of 24th must drive us all and surely and along with this substance of this correspondence between us and P. before them and only will the Government and the thinking public be enlightened but our government will also be put on the right path towards there and around in my 1947 article 15-7-48.

In conclusion let us repeat with all the emphasis of my argument that this is the final decision man stands on of the day, and the nation should not be delayed by such one trying to show off his own responsibility on the shoulders of another.

I do not think that I can add anything to Shri Verma's pleadings to the extent they refer to emergency measures.

Money has been made in modern life a juggler's act so that people, including ministers—are deterred from applying common sense to understand its manifestations and are thrown to the mercy of the wizards who have checked its running. As Elvira Gopal has said,

— "He who has the power to reach by means of debauch a falling market left to chaos or inflation, a rising market, has also the power just like a general on the parade grounds to command the other industrial activities with a fiat or a demand. I am ready to bet if upon equal with the limited power of the Central Bank of India to drive the merchants and employees to despair, to throw the workers into the streets, to bring all freight down to a stop so to the point till this week, and within a week stop, in hours later to start the markets from the world has been 1933."

The real and ultimate remedy has in adopting a true certificate of wealth and measure of value, and not the fabricated one. One can understand that an owner of land possesses something which can produce for him raw wealth in abundance with a handful of seeds without loss of land. But the owner of coins and notes possesses nothing which can both stay with the owner and produce for him a single note or coin like itself. The desire to possess land or grain exclusively is a natural one, even if selfish. The desire to hoard and possess money is an artificial one, and would not have been there but for the still more false characteristics given to it in the shape of legal tender, interest and non-depreciation by passage of time. Make a currency which wears even as rods made of hard steel do by the constant rounding of trunks over them and weather, and no one will want to hoard it. It is its false and artificial characteristics that has made it capable of being inflated and deflated at the controller's might will.

But how the world may get out of its tangle is a great problem. Whatever the solu-

tion is, can change in opinion. It will be agreed only when we have discussed all experts and also our own political and scholarly intelligence and finally instead our simple natural talents for the purpose. The remedy may be too simple so that when discussed, we shall wonder why we did not think of it before. P says with reference to V's suggestion, "if such a simple measure could have cured inflation, those who control the nation's currency policy must be unqualified fools or knaves." Mr Verma with his 'pastoral experience' claims that his remedy will 'work miracles'!" Whether Mr Verma's remedy can be effective or no, I shall not hazard an opinion upon. But I do apprehend that the middle part of the above quotation might be true. During the long period of war and after, immense wealth was destroyed, all silver and gold reserved, people have been burdened by unprecedented taxation and still is it not a wonder of wonders that we believe that we have too much money? Does a note represent a certificate of wealth possessed or of that lost? Suppose a person produces a note saying 'Certified that the bearer's house worth Rs. 25,000 has been burnt and reduced to ashes', would he be able to get anything against it? And yet the greater part of what we regard as money represents nothing but certificates of wealth that was destroyed or exported and lost for ever, and we hag them and carry them from house to house, for getting food and cloth like Kisa Gerdani of Buddha's story carried her dead child for getting a pinch of mustard seeds. True, all the notes are not certificates of destroyed property. But the two have got mixed. So the sooner the false certificates are withdrawn the better for all of us, and Shri K. P. Verma certainly suggests a remedy that he affirms was tried. The statement can be verified from governmental records.

E. C. MATHURWALA

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United Kingdom of Europe will be stimulated because control establishments are not adding anything to the productive activities of the nation.

Wagon space will be correctly utilized as goods will not be diverted to unwanted places or only for sterner purposes, etc.

Thefts of controlled articles from Government depots and railways also will decrease as there will not be any buyers or any programs on stolen articles.

Corruption which is actually adding to the cost to the consumer will disappear and thus money will naturally go into productive channels. Government can divert these resources to check out inefficiency and corruption and then on their nationalized undertakings like railways and can concentrate on nation-building activities like education, removal of bigger barriers starting new industries and reorganizing existing industries etc. If the cost of living comes down as a result of this public enterprise will be relieved of unproductive expenditures, there will be saving all round and our articles can easily find an export market and our people need not worry about export markets and restriction on exports. The public enterprise and the various industries will be saved of the depression and other allowances and the country's economy will gradually benefit by these measures.

Another benefit will be that the congestion in cities will disappear as black-marketeers will have no scope to flourish, and surplus labour employed in transport movement by retaining authorities will also have to go away, along with the bogus card-holders and the staff of the various control departments, who will vacate their official and residential quarters.

Partitions

Much has been made of Partition difficulties and Refugee problems. Here also there is much loose talk, but less of action. Partition has created difficulties as far as the supply of raw main raw material there is concerned, viz raw cotton and jute. But instead of taking steps or drawing all our attention to these two problems we have had any number of inter-dominion conferences with paper resolutions for inter-dominion trade, but actually both Governments have been trying to impose trade by loose regulations, customs barriers etc. We need not have induced Pakistan by counteracting their moves. Instead of that, we should have tried to secure supplies of raw cotton from other markets which were cheaper and where the markets were free and adopted measures to raise the area under cultivation of jute. If we had left our trade with Pakistan free from Government interference, we would have found that our trade balance would have been in our favour instead of adverse. Sanjay has recently drawn and a number of trade barriers are being imposed but it will be better if the trade is left completely free.

Refugee Problem

Resettlement of refugees, about 40 to 75 lakhs, is not such colossal problem as has been

made out. Those who were agriculturists or at least some of them were commonly located in the East Punjab where peasants had left. Other agriculturists should have been easily settled in the 'Goor More Land' campaigns by handing over suitable waste lands. Traders and businessmen should have been given loans and started on their feet without any hindrance. The question of artisans and educated middle-class men remains. Government could have surely billeted these people if necessary by an ordinance on the industrial concerns in India or given employments in their own new ventures. Bad tactics and inhumanistic methods which generally like to retain power and finance are really responsible for not solving this problem speedily.

I am sorry that I have written a very long article. But I was keen on pointing out that the present hardship of the people are mostly due to manipulation of control authorities. If you look at our present economic life you will find that practically every activity is under Government control whether business, trade, or manufacturing resembles like Food and Cloth Monopolies are bad even in normal times by private individuals or private corporations. But when these monopolies are State monopolies and where people can have no redress, they degenerate into brookism and such abuses as are intolerable. Public feeling against Congress Government on this point is very strong and if people are anti-Congress today, the Congress Ministers have to thank themselves for this. The houses of taxation both Central and Provincial is crushing the middle and lower classes of people, leave aside the higher capitalists or people having larger incomes. The Bihar Provincial Government has not spared even foodgrains and other necessities of life from their Sales Tax Act. These very Congress Ministers, in days gone by, raised a hue and cry against the levy of Sales Tax, but today they are levying tax on foodgrains with impunity. People really believe that Congressmen are keen on robbing their poor subjects by keeping these monopolies and power for as long a time as is possible.

My aim in writing this long article was also to point out that Government machinery has increased middlemen and increased the profits from the consumer. In normal times a producer and consumer can come in direct contact and avoid middlemen, but today they cannot do that and hence prices have a tendency to rise rather than decrease according to laws of supply and demand.

I have been a Congressman all these years but today if I am asked to vote for the Congress, I would feel like being between the devil and the deep sea as I may not give my vote to Socialists or Communists, also, because I do not believe in their 'isms'. As you have pointed out in your issue of June 15th, "none of these theories is simple, hard, laborious life: though one is called a Capitalist and the other a Communist, both

He is a great man, a great soul, and of men and women, he has chosen a people who are spiritual, who are in the process of becoming spiritual, who are being led away by the light.

(Continued)

"MOULDER OF THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD"

(The speaker is another reference from Mahatma Gandhi, which referred to in a previous article — L. G. M.)

What do you think of Mahatma Gandhi?

What do I think of Mahatma Gandhi? I think of the post-philosopher, emphatically; why I think, very highly of Gandhi. He is a great man — a great soul.

He today wields tremendous power over the thinking millions of India. What is real, the voice of his people.

The world of Gandhi's message, and the Hindu belief-systems enthusiastically. "In his life, his spiritual strength and moral authority. Many public men make mistakes for selfish reasons. It is a sort of investment that yields handsome dividends. Gandhi is altogether different. He is unique in his ability. His very life is another name for sacrifice. He is a sacrifice itself.

He wants no power, no position, no wealth, no name and no fame. Offer him the throne of all India he will refuse to sit on it, but will sell the jewels and distribute the money among the needy.

Give him all the money America possesses and he will certainly refuse to accept it, unless to be given away for a worthy cause for the uplift of humanity.

His soul is perpetually anxious to give and he expects absolutely nothing in return — not even thanks. This is no exaggeration, for I have seen him.

He came to our school at Solapur and lived with us for some time. His power of sacrifice became all the more appreciable, because it is wedded with his permanent fearlessness.

Empire and Mahatma, guns and bayonets, experiments and tortures, trials and injuries even death itself can never daunt the spirit of Gandhi.

He is a liberated soul. If anyone strangles me, I shall be crying for help, but if Gandhi were strangled I am sure he would not cry. He may laugh at his strangle, and if he has to die, he will die smiling.

The simplicity of life is childlike, his adherence to truth is unflinching, his love for mankind is generous and aggressive. He has what is known as the Christ spirit. The longer I know him the better I like him. It is needless for me to say that this great man is destined to play a prominent part in reshaping the future of the world.

Such a great man deserves to be better known in the world. Why don't you make him known, you are a world figure, I said.

How can I make him known? I am always compared to his discarded soul. And no truly great man has to be made great. They are great in their own glory, and when the world is ready, they become famous by dint of their own goodness. When the time comes Gandhi will be known, for the world needs him and his message of love, liberty and brotherhood.

The soul of the East has found a worthy symbol in Gandhi, for he is a most eloquently proving that man is essentially a spiritual being that he transcends the limit in the realm of the moral and the spiritual, and most particularly perhaps both body and soul in the atmosphere of hatred and perpetual smoke.

A few months ago he said that India would win (Swami) National Government within a year. It may not come to pass within the time indicated but he is sincere and he believes in it. It goes without saying that he will spare no pains, no resources and sacrifice to attain the end in view.

His South African fight, the moral fight of passive resistance extending over eight years was crowned with success. Truth may be crushed by brute force for a while, but it is sure to triumph in the long run.

What do you really think of the non-cooperation movement in India?

It is a great movement, indeed. It is a demand of ideas with physical violence. I have more faith in force of ideas than in physical force. It is fortunate that this movement is headed by a man like Gandhi whose whole life has made him a hero all over India. As long as he is at the helm I am not afraid of the ship, or doubtful of its safe arrival at the port of destination.

(Interview with Dr. Taper by an American correspondent)

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to their educational job and so, in their political disposition, as well as the basis of the latter's influence. (It was noted above it was the members themselves who, notwithstanding poverty, had worked to get an "old" lawyer transferred to their own group.)

The great difference in salaries, i.e., between the ICS and non-ICS men holding the same office, is certainly an anomaly. In the 1937 report, some of the Provincial Governments reduced their scales of pay considerably as far as members of the provincial services were concerned. They could not touch the ICS men. The result was that not only an ICS District Magistrate and non-ICS one had different standards of living, but even in the same district if a non-ICS District Magistrate was associated with an ICS or I.L.B. District Superintendant of Police or Civil Surgeon, the former though superior in office carried an inferior complex which stood in the way of discharging his duties. At that time the Congress had no power at the centre and so there was no remedy. But such a thing should not continue now.

Varsha (14-9-57) R. G. MATHURWALA

AN AMBIGUOUS MIDDLE

[The following article, though anonymously published in its form as students contribution of mine. Though in its very person be has, then its sentiment, its own claim to belong to the middle class, he speaks of—R. G. M.]

The phrase "middle classes" is in all places a flicking term but in India the confusion is further complicated by caste traditions. When any word is understood in more senses than one and it happens to be a word that goes into prepositions of importance, the ambiguity is not a slowness but a thing pregnant with serious error. Middle classes were referred to in a recent speech of Shri C. B. Birla at the East India Association in London, which was followed up by an editorial in the *Times*. These are the people, the article said, "who in India as in other countries customarily provide the bulk of 'investments', but who are now left hard.

Now this is easily understood in Great Britain owing to conditions and values therein prevailing. The middle classes there are people with middle incomes who command leisure by reason of their earnings, not people forced to leisure or unemployment by means supply of positions or talent. In India if one speaks of the lot of middle classes at a University meeting or within about it in the *Hindu* or the *Madras Times* or even in the English managed newspapers of Calcutta and Bombay, people of one think out of small investors but of those families who for generations have been devoted to reading, writing and arithmetic, who have supplied government clerks, petty officials, teachers and others of this category and who are total strangers to share-markets and investments, big or small. The main concern of the "middle classes" as understood in Indian parlance has for some decades past been how to meet the requirements by way of food, clothes, house-heat and school-

less of not only the maintenance of their family but also their own educational expenses. In terms of which the class tradition here, not now ended in securing a job as a petty official, teacher, journalist or clerk. They have no interest in how one even understands the purpose of the share-market or of stocks. The one characteristic of the "middle classes" in India is that every one aspires to a job of the character described above and on failing to secure it, becomes along with his wife and children a nomad recognized change on a relative who has secured such a job. The "middle classes" in India are those whose family tradition takes manual labour unless it also pertains of the character of a petty official such as an overseer in an enterprise or a superintendent over machanical workers.

The conditions described would show without further elaboration what little scope there is for these classes to seek or invent and why they are mostly in debt.¹ If we read in the *Hindu* or the *Madras Times* or the *Madras Times* that the middle classes are in a bad way it is about these people and has no reference to the small investors referred to in Shri Birla's lecture. It concerns the lot of those families and groups who have hitherto led an cultured education and politics and the bulk of whom are now terribly down and out owing to the run in the cost of living and the dominant class of peasants and other manual labourers. They write, speak and agitate and feel frustrated that the lot of their class has not been bettered after independence but has worsened. The divorce of culture from manual work is at once the distinguishing characteristic of this class as well as the root-cause of their trouble.

Class rules command little poor respect now but it still holds an unbroken grip over the minds and habits of men and women. No solution can be found for the adversity of the Indian middle classes in politics or administration but only in a re-adjustment, if not abandonment, of traditional notions and in the reform of education and educational methods. No great is the power of the traditional notions that any suggestion of abandoning them is regarded as amounting to equality and consequently is bitterly resisted. Be that as it may, one thing is clear, namely that these unfortunate people who are now but hard according to all impartial observations are not in any sense an inferior class. The small investors who form the bulk of share-market customers about whose earnings and investing capacity Shri C. B. Birla was concerned in his East India Association speech are quite a different category. The smaller fry among the commercial people who have been hit by control regulations in some extent may be worse off now than they were before but they are immeasurably better off than the "middle classes" whose lot is daily referred to in the Indian newspapers.

LEGISLATIVE ECONOMICS

Mr. K. P. Thomas' suggestions in his article published in this issue deserve to be seriously considered by the nation's legislators as well as the public. Mr. Thomas is not a posing politician-critic, nor is he a hit-long 'constructive worker.' Of Garding as deeply lost, as is that he cannot see anything good outside the Garding group. Indeed, he met Garding in person only once and that too on his day of absence. All his life he has been a government servant—as an associate, or revenue officer or a magistrate—and a student of finance. His faith in the Garding programme is therefore an blind devotion to a master.

His suggestion of withdrawal of currency notes of Rs. 1 and Rs. 2 must not be lightly dismissed. Of course they cannot be done without heavy economies in the public expenditure. He has suggested several posts and departments which can be abolished without any loss of efficiency. The argument often advanced that since independence the amount of work has considerably increased necessitating opening of new departments with their staffs is not quite correct. For everything said and done, it cannot be said that government services have more work to attend to than they had during the years of the last war. Mr. Thomas asks for reducing the personnel to the level reached during the war period. At present it is said to have become four times that number and on scales of pay much higher. That is altogether undesirable.

Several new posts have been created from clerical members. They are not served for efficient administration; rather some of them obstruct efficiency and honesty by their own influence and by the influence which can be exerted on them by friends and relatives. They include some ministerial posts also. These appointments are made more out of party considerations than for management of departments or ability of the appointees. It is most improper to throw their burden on the taxpayer.

The policy of providing salaries to legislators was adopted in the hope that they would do nothing but public work during the period of their office. They were expected to be constantly moving about in their constituencies and serving with and serving the people. The experience is that very few of them do anything of the type. Several are less available in their constituencies than in the capitals and more in hotels and other places of the capitals than in the legislative halls during the sessions. We have read more than once how business had to be suspended for want of a quorum in the assemblies. And yet the register of the day will show that most of them have been marked present and have drawn their full allowances for their nominal attendance. This shows the way in which the representatives discharge their duties in the politics. It proves at least if not more,

that a majority of them are a burden to the taxpayer, and their number must be severely cut down, if not to the prescribed five (of the members) to not more than 50 for the States and 150 for the Centre, and only such among them who are deserving and have no other means of income should be paid a very moderate salary.

Wardha, 28-9-40

K. S. MAHESHWALA

Neglected Waste of Wealth

I would like to share with the reader a bit of news which I got nearly 15 years ago from a Japanese agent under whose I then served. He was a purchaser of Indian cotton. Every one knows that during the cotton season, the ginning and pressing factories are all covered with great heaps of ginned or unginned cotton. Ginneries and cotton are also brought to cotton markets. On their way, in the markets and on the factory grounds, considerable cotton is thrown or negligently allowed to drop here there and everywhere. Some merchants appoint a person to follow the carts and pick up such droppings. How much he collects depends upon his regard for value and duty. Much is either eaten up by stray cattle or mixed up with dust and goes into the gutters or the town-drains. My employer gave me a vivid demonstration of the amount of wealth we wasted by our negligence. He employed under his personal supervision a few labourers to pick up all the cotton scattered everywhere in the factory compound, got it cleaned and weighed. It was found to be worth more than Rs. 300! He then gathered the factory staff and drew their attention to the great amount of wealth they wasted everyday thus impoverishing a country already so poor. "Remember the seeds of your political misdeeds! You must not waste your wealth, but must study the use of every little thing found in your country and employ technical means for turning it into a valuable article. A country is alive and prosperous only to the extent it makes itself useful and valuable."

These words, which I reproduce from memory have left an indelible impression upon my mind. I remember to have read somewhere to the following effect: "Wealth misplaced becomes lost; that is its proper place becomes wealth."

14-9-40

K. V. SETHURAM

(Translated from Malayalam)

Correction

In *Harjan* of 4 September 1940 (XII-21) on p. 216, second column, last paragraph in line 3 from bottom for *had* or *was* read *did* of *crash* and in line 12 from bottom for *lower* read *less*.

In *Harjan* of 11 September 1940 (XII-24) on p. 222 second column, third paragraph in line 22 for *per* for *on* read *my* for *for* or

HARIJAN

October 9

1949

CRITICISMS ON CONTROLS

I hope the authorities and the public have carefully read the various attacks that have recently appeared in the Harijan criticising controls. The contributions are from various classes. The writer of the series "Controls Re-considered" occupies a responsible position in trade and has first-hand experience of their working in a variety of trade articles and the rest are representatives of middle class readers, agriculturists, consumer public and others. Those published are only a few of the several letters I have received. It is possible that some of the arguments advanced by them might be weak and debatable or controversial, but they represent public opinion both well informed and studied as well as just popular and highly passionate. It is both urban and rural. I feel that the Government must respect public opinion and relieve the people of this burden which presses them like a heavy load crushing the toes.

Apart from physical hardships, it is a great and continuous strain on people's nerves, a great demoraliser and destroyer of all sense of self-respect.

It is gratifying news that a step has been taken to decentralise cloth to a certain extent. I hope it will be pursued with patience and diligence and temporary unavoidable fluctuations or according scarcity will not create a panic either in Government circles or the public. The public must refuse to buy if the prices do not go down sufficiently low. They must purchase economised and no one should they purchase anything at a higher than the fixed price or more than they need in a period of temporary shortages. The public must remember that the lifting of a control adversely affects a number of interests, and people should not be surprised if attempts are made by them to create appearances which show that decentralisation has failed in its purpose and must be scrapped. The game was successfully tried once and may be tried again. The public must also remember that the pre-control interests have better means of making their voice heard than the rest and that the decentralisation which is still very much guarded and hesitant has not been made in the interest of the consumer public, but that of "industry and trade" who have found themselves in a difficult and critical position. It is possible that if not more drastic a little less hardship on account of more cloth being exported, the people at home might be made to experience scarcity. A case will be then made out for reimposition of con-

trols and a new round of the decentralisation of the next period.

It is interesting to learn that the belief that a decentralising attitude must be exported to other countries is possible and that for home consumption we must encourage hand-spinning and hand-weaving as speedily and to as large an extent as possible. So if the people, particularly of villages, experience scarcity of mill-cloth let them not grumble but save the opportunity of throwing out mill-cloth from the village altogether. When village panchayats must try to free themselves from their dependence upon mills for either cloth or yarn. If village people grumble at the high price of mill-cloth and ask for returning to controls they will be acting against their own interest. Not until the village take to spinning and producing all their cloth and also all their food to maintaining their own grain banks and co-operative stores and to resorting to yarn economy will they know that *Purna Swaraj* has come to them.

One more important thing. It must also be understood that controls are the necessary law of life. No society can exist without controls. The new society self-controlled, and ordinary self-behaved people voluntarily obey social and ethical controls. Those who disregard self-control as well as social and ethical controls are sought to be controlled by law. But law is a crude and lifeless mechanism, which is successfully evaded by the crafty and robs only stray victims, but poisons the whole country by its experiences, distortions, weaknesses and ordered disorderliness. And therefore, if we want to control, to go we must exercise self-control over our selfish propensities and unscrupulously discharge our moral and social obligations as a disciplined and God-fearing people. Otherwise those responsible for good government cannot but first again and again compelled to pass new laws and impose new controls if they do not want the country to be deliberately thrown into chaos.

People must take part in production, must not accumulate and store more than they need, must not conceal their money and stores, must not consume more than necessary, must not waste, and must always remember that there are events of people in our country who do not know from year's end to year's end what it is to have two square meals in a day, and to have a full dress for wear and a decent mattress and blanket for rest. God used to be described fatherly as the Lord of the Fourteen Worlds with His home in the Eternal and Glorious Land of Bharu. Ragu has taught us to know Him differently. He is the unrepent description "Lord of Humanity dwelling in the little parish hut." When we eat and drink and enjoy our comforts let us remember to meet our fellow-men and respects to that temple.

Wardha, 12-9-49

E. D. MATHURWALA

RECONTROL—IN GANDHI'S WORDS

There. My purpose in quoting Gandhi on this subject is not for setting his great ideas in support of us, but for lifting the curtain. For I know that in such matters public opinion may be so confused while others stare. I have quoted him only in the event of the fundamental principle on which the subject rests and in the event there being no change. —E. G. M.]

Educative Value

The public should be educated to become self-reliant. Once they know that they had got to stand on their own legs it would definitely the atmosphere. It was well known that right took a longer toll of his than actual disease. He wanted them to shed all fear of calamity if they took the natural step of self-help. He was convinced that removal of food control would not result in a famine and deaths from starvation.

Finally, there was no reason why there should be shortage of cloth in India. India produced more cotton than she required for her wear. People should spin and weave themselves. He was therefore for the removal of cloth control too. That might result in increase of prices. He was told and he believed that if people starved from buying cloth for at the most six months, the situation was bound to result in a natural fall in prices. And he had suggested that in case of need in the meantime the people should produce their own khadi. He did not at the present stage bring in his belief in the use of khadi to the exclusion of any other cloth. Once the people began to produce their own food and cloth, it would change their entire outlook. Today, they had gained political independence only by following his advice they would gain economic independence also and that would be felt by every village. Then there would be no time or inclination left for fighting amongst themselves. It would result in elimination of other vices like drinking, gambling, etc. The people of India would gain in every sense of the word. God would also help them for He helped those who helped themselves. (Daily Duty, 12-10-47)

Limitations of the Civil Service

The Government was trying to spoon-feed the people. Instead of that the people should be thrown on their own resources. The Civil Service was used in carrying on work from their offices. The red tape and the lines controlled their activities. They had never come in contact with the peasants. They did not know them. He wanted they would be humble enough to recognize the change that had come over the people. Their activities should not be strangled by the controls. They should be allowed to be self-reliant. Democracy should not result in making them helpless. (Ibid. 17-12-48)

Control Breeds Evil

Control gives rise to black suppression of truth, economic ruin of the black market and to artificial scarcity. Above all, it hampers the people and deprives them of initiative. It makes the teaching of self-help they have been learning for a generation fruitless and unprofitable. This

is a beautiful statement. I think, however, that the black market is not to do with the economic change of population resulting in economic death. Economic and social changes are inevitable and creating these problems are the inevitable elements of change. The second statement of social exploitation is due to the fact that the economy is going spectacular.

The food control is one of the worst features of the last world war. Greater food production is probable because a few thousand acres of cropland and other food-buff communities outside. This material is expected to result in creating man-made scarcity and artificial shortages in spite of the many drawbacks. Self-help need be no export which we cannot export. We wish to. We would help the economic units of the world, if we do not export outside it to the India in the way of food.

I have seen during my life time covering two generations several God-men. I must have no recollection of an occasion when rationing was even thought of.

The artificial control of prices, the controls do not control anything. They, therefore, are free willingly to part with their own goods at prices much lower than they command in the open market. This makes the needs of the community. It does not require violence or civil war, systems based on their village life to make their economic system and even to prove the there is scarcity. (Ibid. 3-11-47)

Khadi Economics

He then referred to the control on cloth.

The submission was exceedingly simple. The Congress had readily supported the opinion he had held about khadi as a substitute for any multi-cloth scheme or policy.

It was therefore a most surprising thing for him (Gandhi) that now that they had created their own, nobody talked of khadi, nobody seemed to have any faith in the possibility of khadi and that they used themselves of nothing but multi-cloth for clothing needs. He had not the slightest doubt that khadi economics was the only sound economics for India. (Ibid. 9-11-47)

People's Voice

Hear the voice of the people be drawn to the voice of the people who claim to know all about the virtues of control? Would that all members who are drawn from the people and are of the people listened to the voice of the people rather than of the controllers of the red tape which they know did their infinite harm when they were in the wilderness! (Ibid. 13-11-47)

Meaning of Democracy

The object of the removal is not to lower the price of a pound of rice to return to normal life. Superintended control is bad any day. When this control is removed the nation will breathe free. It will have the right to make its own choice. The correct method of proceeding is

making mistakes and correcting them, is the proper way. Keep a child in cotton-wood and start it as tall as it. If you get let it develop into a robust man, you will expose his body to all weather, teaching him how to defy them. Precisely in the same manner a government worth the name has to show the nation how to face difficult bad weather and other hardships of life through its own collective effort, instead of its being artificially helped to live any how.

This considered, devoted means that the business of downright is transferred from the few members of the Government to the millions representing the nation. (Ibid., 8-13-47)

Deficit of Domestic

Any successful attempt at adding to their profit saving in domestic will deficit in purpose. (Ibid. 8-13-47)

DEVALUATION OF THE RUPEE.

Since the article "Currency and Finance" (published in the last issue) was written the Government of India has been obliged to devalue the rupee to a considerable extent following the devaluation of the pound by England. Already our rupee stood devalued to the very limit on account of our inability to check inflation and its further devaluation renders all the more necessary that the amount of currency in circulation should be reduced, if prices are not to be allowed to mount still higher up. The devaluation means that while we could formerly get goods worth 30 dollars against ours worth Rs. 100, now we shall be able to get worth only 20 dollars against the same quantity; or, in other words, we shall have to export goods worth nearly 140 rupees against imports worth 30 dollars. It is suggested that this will curb our export trade, but it must be borne in mind that we must increase our export of raw materials necessary for home consumption without further reducing the power of consumption of our people which must bring the prevailing discontent and dissatisfaction at once to boiling point. Our exports therefore must be confined largely to articles such as manganese ore, which we produce over and above our requirements. Nor in matters like asbestos and tin which we have been exporting at the sacrifice of our consumers, should we think of any further increase. Again, Pakistan's decision must compel us to curtail to a very considerable extent our exports of jute, raw-goods and cotton goods and what is worse, we may even long find our markets flooded with cheap British cloth—a fit retribution for our act of devaluing Mahatma's famous black scheme of 1946 to the sake of our silly craze for mechanized production of cloth. Nor may we seek to derive the consolation that devaluation will discourage the export of foreign grains. We doubt this will be so, but whether that itself will enable us to give sufficient food to every one of us is a big question depending upon various factors,—natural as well as human. No let us the latter factor is concerned, unless our policies become wiser and

our sense of social duty higher than hitherto the dearth of food might compel us to part with everything in order to obtain a meal. Here we have not followed Mahatma and his henchmen who take to attempt his counsel the greater will be the delay in making ourselves sufficiently as well as practically self-sufficient.

In the aspect of internal or international economy also, I am afraid we stand to lose a good deal. As a result of the devaluation, our Sterling Balance on the air-gilt-edged securities stand practically reduced by 70 per cent while our foreign loans as well as the cost of foreign machinery are augmented in the same proportion. We could have and can still reduce our losses on this account if we give up nervousness, abandon basic fabrication for machinery and our vanity to do everything on a big scale regardless of the disastrous effects of such action on our purse and the moral and material well-being of our people. Indeed by such action we are carving out our aspect dependence against the unqualified independence which Mahatma won for us with his tremendous suffering, sacrifice and active soul-force.

Our more effective remedy must be found, and I submit the following measures for urgent consideration and adoption:

(1) The reduction of currency for the withdrawal of one-rupee and two-rupee notes without any loss on sale. Here I do want to state for long if the public authorities in charge consider that it is better to incur an indulgence which must bring about the rupee's rate if not speedily controlled—I do declare that the withdrawal should be followed with drastic operations in repatriation. Hence the policy of—

(2) cancellation of the orders for metals and other machinery which we can do without, except parts needed for repairs or replacement.

(3) curbing down of all unnecessary and essential expenditure by withdrawing the salaries paid to Members of Council as well as Provincial officials the posts of Parliamentary Secretaries and their staffs, curtailing the salaries of District and Provincial Magistrates, their Secretaries and the new Secretarial appointments to the number that used to obtain under the British Government during the last war. Disposing with the entire Council staff as that in price alone was approaching half a dozen down to ordinary treasury as a result of the introduction of the currency reform and relinquishing that entering paper checks in the register of Ministers and Governors in regard to expenditure on their residences, motor cars, families, etc.

(4) amendment of the new Constitution Act by withdrawing the Upper Chamber altogether. To persons including the proposed number of legislators and considerable ruling down the scale of salaries granted Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 (except that that the Union Council should be less this number in her present condition) and

(5) share all of our really with us here, the removal of raw materials and the source from outside our without at the same time relinquishing our defence and considerable ruling down the scale of salaries granted Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 (except that that the Union Council should be less this number in her present condition) and

CLARIFICATION

I divided at the time of the Sevagram Campaign (1938) I along with other colleagues continued to both for working among the refugees and for it has been since then trying to work for them to the best of our ability. In pursuance of the same programme I paid a visit to the refugee camps at Kalvan and the Bombay suburbs last month and have promised to return to them whenever my presence was needed.

In the course of this work, since the position of the dias and I was responsible for me throughout it. Then we were displaced persons and their rehabilitation was also one of the same of their unfinished work. No doubt it came along with the work of refugees that was a very small part of what and expected to be finished in a short time. But owing to communal bitterness it took much longer than expected. The work is now almost but not entirely, over and we do not know how long the unfinished portion though very small might yet take.

My principal concern in executing this piece of work was to see that the Dias should do nothing which might create breach of the peace. I took particular care to place among them only tried workers with devotion for this type of work. It has been a great relief to me that on account of their contact, guidance and service nothing untoward happened at the hands of the Dias. Their efforts at also the general improvement in the communal atmosphere of the country have made it possible for the Dias to be rehabilitated.

I observed that the efforts were appreciated both by the local Hindus and Moslems and their former good relations were re-established. But one of the consequences (perhaps natural) has been that some Arya Samaj and Sanatan workers have felt agitated over it. The facts are that when during the disturbances Hindus in general had been compelled to leave their homes, there were some who out of fear, embraced Islam and were allowed to remain there. Some of these converts have been now that the program has improved began to resume their usual publicly. During the turbulent period they had not given up the names but offered it secretly. They recovered the nickname 'Muslims' by day and blasphemy by night. Now they have become 'Muslims' also by day. Even this is true not of all but of some of them only. Some have become Hindus for good the reason being that, after all there is not much difference between the local Hindus and Moslems in their habits of life. But the fact that some of them have returned to Islam has made some Hindu propagandists nervous and they have begun to complain that this return to Islam is due to the work done by us among the Dias. The Arya Samaj in particular have made propaganda about this matter and every branch of the Arya Samaj has been

making statements of protests similarly worded I have been accused by some of being a pro-Muslim worker. My workers and I are also being investigated in the subject of conversion, nervousness and reconversion. We are interested only in serving these distressed human beings and wish to render whatever assistance we can in relieving their hardships. We have been asked if we wanted to serve the distressed, who should we have chosen Muslims in particular? The question is based on a misunderstanding. Before taking up work among the Dias, we all had been serving the refugees. This work came to us accidentally in a compelling manner. Our other workers are still working among the refugees. We do not recognise any distinction of caste or creed in rendering our services to the distressed humanity.

I would like to make it clear to my friends of the Arya Samaj that whatever small differences there might be between them and me there is a great common factor between us two and that is our common faith in the Veda, therefore they should not entertain any misunderstanding about a collaborator. They must not assume that as a devotee of the Veda I would not do anything which is antagonistic to them.

MUSLIMS, 9-9-49

VYOMRA

(Translated from the Savitri)

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TWO ANNAS

OUR MOST PRECIOUS LEGACY

People complain that the Government is moving away from Gandhiji's ideals and is not taking sufficient interest in the programme of black and constructive work. Such criticism only betrays ignorance as to the meaning and significance of constructive work. Black and constructive work were conceived by Gandhiji essentially as a means for forging a non-violent nation for the service and emancipation of the toiling masses. As such, their function is not to seek or depend upon the patronage of the Government but to bring strength to its elbow and to put a brake upon it, should it stray away from the principles of truth and justice or the ideal of the service of the masses. In the last analysis, the true guarantee of popular freedom would be found not in any character of civil liberties or fundamental rights or any other constitutional device—certainly not in the police and military protection, but in the power of non-violence otherwise known as *satyagraha*, that the people might possess.

The weapon of *satyagraha* is the most precious legacy which Gandhiji has left us and we can forget or forsake it only at our peril. We must understand that constructive work is the means *par excellence* for the cultivation of non-violent mass discipline and organisation, which is the basis and foundation of *satyagraha*. Hence we take up black and constructive work as this legacy.

It is up to the constructive workers to show that constructive activity can be harnessed to provide an answer to the various problems that confront the country today as nothing else can. That needs different study, patient research and constant thinking. Constructive work that looks these problems and is taken up merely as a time-killing activity or as a sort of a ritual will have little value in terms of Gandhiji's ideal. It is for the constructive workers to take up the challenge. It will not help us to seek a false moral alibi for ourselves or work up a glow of victorious virtue within ourselves by rolling up the end losses or the government of the day. Take, for instance, shortages of cloth, food grains and other food stuffs. Can't a feasible programme be made up every one of us—especially those living in the villages, with slight-and disposal and over-seen making? Cannot every one of us relieve the strain on the supplies of imported

food to the extent even of a couple of pounds by substituting home-grown food stuffs for the foreign purchases? "Make a meal a week" drive embodies an admirable sentiment. But one must be forgiven if one feels sceptical about a programme which begins with and proceeds by words. Could not the drive be made more real by collecting the estimated needs and publishing figures of the collection made in each locality every week or fortnight?

Then, there is the growing problem of corruption, malpractices in Government offices, nation shops, temples, village shops and rehabilitation agencies. Traffic by gangs of prostitutes in sugar and even in spaces open to newly opened Government shops has given up its decorum. It could be checked unless every citizen knows of local people were alert and moved the authorities in an organised manner to take the necessary steps. But what calls for the quality of non-violence. Have we made a concerted effort to cultivate it in our own daily personal relations or in our dealings with other institutions, if we are conducting a constructive nation ourselves? It is no use complaining when it is open to us to make a beginning however small with ourselves straightaway. Each little act thus performed will show the way to the next.

Datta, 2-10-49

PTAKALAL

Insistence on Savings Certificates

It has been a day long since the Government made an earnest appeal to the people to invest their savings in National Savings Certificates. It should be an earnestly considered. Personally I do not like the institution of interest. But would our class take a revolutionary turn, that institution will stay. And if interest is to be made between investment for interest and hoarding, the former is certainly better than the latter. Hoarding is a dog-in-the-manger policy. Money is meant for circulating exchange. As its name indicates, it is currency, that is to say, it must always be running like a current. If it does not, it creates inflation. Those who are unable to invest their savings in any productive occupation of their own cannot do better than invest them in National Savings Certificates. It will help in bringing down prices, and also enable the Government to levy on the administrations without paying more money and enhancing costs. It is a way of reducing the volume of currency without loss to the investor.

Wardha, 2-10-49

K. C. B.

GANDHIJÍ AND HARIJAN UPLIFT

The subject matter of today's talk is the record of Gandhí's efforts towards Harijan uplift. To understand clearly the nature of this task, it will not be out of place to depict the real and true picture of the conditions of the Harijans in India before Gandhí undertook this as one of his life's missions.

The population of the Harijans in India is 60 millions consisting of 450 various communities. This number exceeds the number of great many nations in Asia and in Europe. The Harijans as they are situated are scattered throughout India. Socially they are lepers, economically they are worse than slaves, religiously they are denied the houses of God. All public amenities of life are denied to them. Services of doctors and lawyers are not made available to them in some places even their approach within the measured distance is a social crime.

The Harijans belong to the same culture of the Hindu community. They recognise the same sacred laws of the Hindus. They celebrate the same Hindu festivals, and yet a mere touch of these people is held to cause pollution. The orthodox Hindus treat this, as a sin and so the Harijans are forced to live in a state of isolation from the rest of the community. From this curse of untouchability nobody is saved, nobody is cured. It is branded permanently on the forehead of a Harijan even from his birth. However clean he may be, however wise he may be, once a Harijan is always a Harijan. Even Death the Leveler, is not strong enough to remove this curse. The funeral rites of the Harijans have to be carried through the veil of untouchability. The miseries of these unfortunate human beings are further aggravated by the fact that the people other than the Hindus such as Parsis and Christians observe untouchability through their religious teach their contrivance. This is the wretched and miserable lot of this sheet of humanity. It is really a wonder how they exist, only God above and Harijans below know it. This sort of hereditary untouchability of the followers of the same religion, of such a large mass of population, observed for centuries together is unparalleled in the history of the world. This type of untouchability among the Hindus stands in a class by itself.

In the earlier times Buddha and Mahaveer and later on the great saints like Rameshwara and Tukaram raised their voices against this social rejection but they were not heard. Brilliant men like Dr. Ambedkar tried in their own way to peep through this knotty problem but their attempts also fell short. But I would unhesitatingly say, with my conscience clear, that it was Gandhí and none else who with his persuasive speeches, powerful pen and untiring efforts succeeded in this task to a much greater extent of solving this age-old tyranny.

Gandhí, from his very childhood was conscious of this evil system of untouchability. For

the sympathy he had shown to the untouchables, particularly to the sweepers, he had to encounter opposition from the members of his family. Gandhí himself was a Hindu—and a Southern Hindu too—and he was proud to be called so. The Hinduism of Gandhí's conception, of the God of Sri Krishna, the *Upanishads*, the *Ugriyas* and the *Atahashtras*, taught him that all life was one and that at the eyes of God there was no superior and no inferior, and that man was high or low not by birth or the work he was called upon to do but by his own actions.

The so-called orthodox section of the Hindu religion believes that the origin of untouchability is found in the *Shastras*. But Gandhí was of the firm belief that untouchability as practiced today in Hinduism had no warrant in the Hindu *Shastras*. There was no such thing as untouchability attaching to birth and incapable of being cured by any penance or purification. Puritists did believe in untouchability attaching to sins and scrapitisms, but this was no peculiarity of Hinduism, it was common to all religions and was based upon sound hygienic principles. Gandhí's conviction was that the interpretation and practice of the present untouchability was contrary to all tenets of morality.

Gandhí was also alive to the fact that this practice of untouchability was leading to the destruction of the Hindu religion. He visualized that Hinduism was nearer to the virtue of courage and that the curbs of untouchability was taking up the vitality of Hinduism. If Hinduism had to live, untouchability must die. Hinduism died, if untouchability lived. So Gandhí advised the members of the Hindu religion that they must serve the Harijans in stone for the use they had perpetrated through centuries in observing untouchability. This service to the Harijans should not be a matter of bestowing patronage on them; they should go to the Harijans not as teachers or donors but as debtors going to their creditors to discharge their obligations. In order that untouchability should be wiped out earlier, Gandhí advocated that each Hindu family should allow a Harijan to live in the family as one of its members and should morally provide funds for the education of the Harijans.

The Harijans are Hindus and they are one and indivisible part of Hinduism. They are kins and kin. On this ground Gandhí opposed the move of separate electorates to the Harijans, for it would throw an apple of discord between the untouchables and the orthodox, and this would lead to a calamitous state of affairs for the Harijans in villages which are the strongholds of Hindu orthodoxy. Gandhí, therefore, stake his life against the Communal Award in 1932 when he was in Yerwda Jail and he came out successful through this ordeal.

The deliverance of 60 millions human beings from the aping tyranny will not be brought about by mere showy demonstrations. A solid

constructive programme on all fronts is needed. This requires concentrated energy of thousands of social workers actuated by the loftiest humanitarian principles. Immediately after the Poona Pact, an All-India Anti-Untouchability League with provincial units was formed in September 1932. Subsequently Gandhiji established it as the Harijan Sevak Sangh. Since its conception, all the units of the Harijan Sevak Sangh are trying their utmost to remove every vestige of untouchability by persuasion among caste Hindus and educating and helping the Harijans. Gandhiji was the fountain-head of inspiration to these social workers with whom service to the Harijans is service to humanity. India is deeply indebted to them.

In 1934 Mahatma toured throughout India and preached his message of the removal of untouchability. He delivered thousands of speeches, gave interviews and wrote articles. He went sleeping from door to door for this cause and collected a sum of Rs. 8 lacs. Even the harshest critics of India contributed to this fund and that counted with him the most. Since the word 'untouchable' evoked unpleasant associations of the past, Gandhiji substituted it by the word 'Harijan'. To reform public opinion, Gandhiji started his own paper under the name Harijan. To act up to his own preachings Gandhiji himself many times did the work of the Muzang and lived in Muzang colonies.

If the darkness of ignorance in which the Harijans had been groping for centuries is once removed, they will have proper perspective of the environment surrounding them. They will be conscious of their rights as human beings and will fight for them. They will be alive to the need of becoming free citizens by breaking through the bondage of Hindu orthodoxy. With this aim Gandhiji encouraged the opening of schools, hostels and schools for the Harijans and thus he kept the flame of knowledge constantly burning in the hearts of the Harijans.

Gandhiji conceived his co-workers that special facilities should be provided to the Harijans to bring them to the level of the rest and that all the doors of administration should be thrown open to them. It is due to Gandhiji that we are now in all parts of India the responsibility of administration being shouldered by Harijans equally with others. It was the declared policy of the Congress that the observance of untouchability would be treated as a crime in Swamy and this has now been adopted in the Constitution of India. It was at the inspiration from Gandhiji that all the provinces have now enacted Removal of Social Disabilities and Temple Entry Acts and have provided more and more funds for the various ameliorative measures for the Harijans.

The success of Gandhiji's efforts towards Harijan uplift can be measured by applying the test which Gandhiji himself had laid down.

"The untouchables should be made to feel that their shackles have been broken, that they are in no way inferior to their fellow citizens, that they are worshippers of the same God as other Hindu citizens and are entitled to the same rights and privileges as the latter are enjoying."

On applying the test we find now that education among the Harijans is fast spreading, political consciousness is widely awakening and they are increasingly sharing the administration of this country. All public amenities have now been made available to them and all temples are thrown open to them.

The path which leads to the abolition of untouchability is sufficiently lighted by Gandhiji and if we follow the same path, surely within a short span of time, untouchability will become a thing of the past. It is because of Gandhiji that we are in a position to solve this age-long tyranny. In the eyes of the Harijans, Gandhiji was all in all.

Mahatma often said that untouchability and himself were the two competitors in the field. It was the condition of his existence — he lives and untouchability goes; or untouchability lives and he goes. Gandhiji has gone but untouchability is no longer going to live. And the prophecy of Gandhiji that "it will be only out of the gates of untouchability that Hindians can revive and thus purified will become the vital and the vitalising force in the world" will I am sure, turn out true.

G. D. THAPPA

(Broadcast talk on 9-3-49)

Support for Animal Transport

Your article on "Animal Transport" secured me of a discussion with a prominent political worker and a deep student of public affairs of Bombay during our incarceration in 1942. He said:

"Having regard to the conditions of our country, we must maintain our system of bullock teams just as good order. It must be organised according to modern methods and assigned to carry out the work. For instance all transport of goods upto 10 miles must be made by bullock-carts. The type of cart, even, the load to be carried, the timely departure and arrival of carts and the rates should be regulated and their prices for cost and charge of materials fixed. This would be profitable to the country in more ways than one."

"I realised the truth of this at once, for, as aptly put by Shri Vinoba, India's civilisation is cow-centred. Our agriculture depends upon bullocks, both for their physical labour and supply of manure, the cart provides our citizens with a subsidiary occupation during the dry periods. And we need the cow also both for the bullocks and the milk, and the manure comes to both. Thus both the uses of this species are our multi-purpose assets."

10-9-48

S. T. MURTHA

(Translated from Marathi)

HARIJAN

October 16

1949

THE MORAL OF DEVALUATION

The devaluation of the rupee brings to light very clearly the pitifulness of the thing we call money. It is a certificate of wealth with no definite meaning, its value being controlled by a small group which is virtually the master of the destinies of all those nations which believe in industrialisation, foreign trade, high living and power through armaments. It shows how the Rs. 100 independence we have achieved in The U.S.A. and Great Britain came to some strange-ment about their monetary difficulties and decided that the piece of British paper which was passed on as equivalent to more than four dollars till yesterday night, was to be valued from this morning at less than three dollars and all other questions must adjust themselves accordingly. The common man does not understand why this decision taken by England with the U.S.A. should make Indian cotton, which was regarded worth Rs. 100 till yesterday should be worth only about Rs. 30 today and that a small machine which he expected to purchase at Rs. 100 till yesterday cannot be had today for less than Rs. 140. Nothing that he knows has happened to the stock of cotton or the machine to explain this sudden revolution in prices in two opposite directions.

But that is what has happened and might happen again and again as long as we have to trade through such false measure of value as money. If we cannot produce our own necessities and cannot reason related with what else and steady progress we can make with the help of our own resources but must turn ourselves with modern means of warfare and weapon exploitation of nature with the help of a foreign country a day might come when we might have to surrender not only our liberty but everything that we possess to obtain a little food and cloth, and may have to decide upon a planned scheme of not health and education of the masses but systematic destruction of our race. Capital and machine industries have no need for large populations and still less of caste—even as slaves. For a machine is a more efficient and cheaper slave than man or animal. The unrevoked action must therefore quit the globe.

This is what the money revolution is leading the world to. Indeed some experts—and we are governed by all sorts of experts these days—have confessed that this is the inevitable destiny of over-populated nations like India, China and even Russia. Wilhelm Voigt, a keen socialist and a powerful writer of the U.S.A. in his new well-known book, *Road to Survival* writes about India:

...Russia, China, India, backed up by their enormous resources would be a danger to the world peace. Therefore following the British with almost equal vigour, we must close down the Indian steel plants that hold the post-war production with its enormous losses. It appears probable that the Government will also restrict any considerable industrial development. This is a real step to be desired—and the United Nations has pushed machinery in present war to curtail the Indian population to bring within economic bounds. (Quoted below)

Even Russia he reports as over-populated and incapable of maintaining the "American standard of living" unless it adopts "a more realistic population policy."

It may not be wrong to read a little deep into this major event of devaluation. We spent during the last few years crises of rupees for purchasing grains at exorbitant prices. Experts doubt our capacity to become self-sufficient. Our population is reported to be always increasing in spite of famine, mass killings of an oppressed native class, infant mortality low longevity and abject poverty. The West is afraid that unless we severely reduce our population a time might come when it may be impossible for it to prevent our people from migrating to their countries in large numbers. This would lead to deterioration of their standard of living. So every means must be adopted to bring a pressure upon us to undertake measures to reduce our numbers. The South African policy is one way, the monetary pressure is another way of doing so.

This perhaps shows also the real issue between Russia and the West. Russia has admittedly a much simpler way of life and that is a challenge to the West, where, as in India, both harsh living and indulgence are allowed to reside together. Unlike India, the U.S.S.R. refuses to fall in line with the West and, therefore, is regarded as a 'menace' to 'civilisation'.

While the sudden and almost compulsory nature of the devaluatory step might leave a bad taste in the mouth, it must be realised that this was inevitable some day. Partly owing to inflation of the currency and partly on account of depleted stocks of goods our rupee, as we know in our every day experience is less than one-third of its former worth in our own markets. Therefore in a country where there is less inflation and sufficient goods it cannot continue to enjoy its former value. The devaluation, therefore, simply reveals to us our true situation. The way to restore the rupee to its former value is to reduce the volume of the currency, reduce right now the production and cut down expenditure.

The chief moral to my mind is that we must revise our notions about the standard of living and industrialisation and plan humbly and simply in a way which will suit our own resources. It is often urged that India cannot live in isolation—that the whole world is one. Quite so, but even then it cannot make itself one with the U.S.A. and other thinly populated and large-

Prayer is the last act of our daily routine. During working hours we do many acts of kindness and goodness. At the end of the day, we stand before Him and say: "Miserable and Unfortunate Lord! Thou knowest everything, even without our expressing them in so many words. But we feel a compulsion in speaking about Thee in our own language. So we pray, let us not take credit and feel proud of whatever good acts we have performed. Save us from pride and give us the wisdom to do acts without spotless. We might also have committed wrongs—some knowingly and others unknowingly. Forgive us for all these failings. Be merciful to us, do not mean that we should escape from the punishment for such acts. Be merciful to us for Thy punishment itself is forgiveness. But have mercy on us and guard us against committing such sins."

If we open our hearts before Him in this way, we would experience as if a wondrous beam of light entered us, our hearts and illuminated and strengthened our being. There is no source of energy in the world which, if we draw from it, does not decrease, except the one emanating from God, Who is within us. He is deeper than we can reach. Tamil has an excellent word for this, namely *Kadaval* which means "One that exists deep beyond our reach", the word *parameswar* also has the same meaning. And yet there is a way to reach Him. Our small words reach Him through their meaning. But every one can perceive and receive His love. A child does not know its mother's strength or knowledge, but it recognises her love which requires no training. Even an animal recognises affection. Where there is love there is God. Love is the highest word of God. In that way God is attainable though not through the act of the intellect. We do not aspire for His knowledge, we aspire for His love and mercy.

When we, old and young, men together in the market, we learn the lesson of humbleness, all our differences disappear. We must give up here the vain distinctions of high and low. The respectful relation between guru (teacher) and disciple—the regard and sense of the latter that the former (guru) is his guide and leader and himself an humble pupil, though quite proper in the class room, has to be forgotten in the presence of God where all people, high and low, bow before Him with the same humility.

Externally also, if we conduct our prayer in a proper manner, its sweetness will be to their enhanced. There is no limit to mental purity. It is not like a cloth which has a limit set upon its purity and if it is cleaned beyond that limit, it only wears. But mental purity can be developed to any extent and prayer is very useful in this.

We should attend the prayer with a pure eye and free heart. Let us not worry who attends the prayer and who does not. If we can only feel that God is present in our prayer, everything else will go well.

(Translated from Hindustani.)

MARCH ON STRAIGHT

The Constituent Assembly has decided that the State language shall be Hindi in the Devanagari script, but that its full implementation will not take place for at least fifteen years. During this period the administration will be carried on in English as at present. The papers report that the decision was received by the House with great applause and satisfaction. The members felt joy and relief at the unanimously agreed conclusion of a controversy which had become a serious source of contention among them.

I must confess, however, that the decision has not gladdened me, rather it has depressed me. It is not due to the fact that the Assembly did not decide upon Hindustani as the State language, but because even in Savra, we shall not carry on our administration in an Indian language but will be compelled to use a foreign language for at least fifteen years, and may be, even longer. Again and again I ask myself the question: "Did the members truly represent the aspirations of the people in coming in this decision?" And the only answer I get is, "No, they did not—they did not."

The man before the Assembly was not whether the subjects of North India or South India shall govern the country, but whether the people will be governed as quickly as possible in a language of the people or in English. This main issue, I repeat to observe, was side-tracked.

I have been receiving letters from my colleagues with regard to their policy hereafter. The authoritative decision can be made only by the Hindustani Preacher Board, which is convened towards the end of this month. Before giving my personal opinion, it would be best for me to reproduce here two letters, which Gandhi wrote to Shri Ram Parthasarthy (Secretary, Hindustani Preacher Sabha, Bombay):

"Heaven knows what is in store for us.

The old order completely giving place to new nothing is implied. Whatever is decided by the C.A., Hindustani with the two scripts remains for you and me" (22-3-47).

"Your letter. You will see what I spoke yesterday on Hindustani. You and I must work hard, even unto death for the purpose. Let us not lose heart." (25-7-47).

Thus Gandhi gave two years ago his lead to the leaders and workers of Hindustani. Personally, I cannot think of any course outside the clearest lead of Gandhi. This means that we "must work hard even unto death for the purpose. Let us not lose heart." Hence my personal appeal will be that we must continue to march on steadily in the propaganda of Hindustani. I strongly believe that wherever Hindi comes to be used as the State language, it will be in its Hindustani form only. And I have also no doubt that if we wish to establish a secular democratic government in our country and not that of a particular section or group of sections,

and to evolve an Indian culture, composed of the customs, traditions, literature, religions, etc. of all the sections of our large country, the knowledge of Hindustani in both the scripts will prove itself extremely valuable. A colonial and sectarian attitude is suicidal for a great country at nation.

We had struggled to bring *Devanagari*—*Romari*—in our country. We have now freedom from foreign rule, but we have not yet established *Devanagari*—our own rule. We have made the British quit, but the English language remains dominant. Our struggle is, therefore, not over. It has to be carried on diligently until we have established *Sanskrit*—the well-being of all.

It is said that Indian languages are not yet well enough developed for administrative purposes. We are unable to swallow this opinion of our learned representatives of the Constituent Assembly. The entire administration in the Baroda State was carried on in Gujarati till the other day. The late-arriving Sayajirao Gaekwad commenced it years ago. But since its merger in Bombay, the administration has begun to be carried on in English! The village officer could understand the orders of the Gaekwad, he cannot understand those of the Bombay Government, because the poor fellow does not know English. This is the first experience of *Baroda*!

And twenty-nine years ago, Gandhi formed the Gujarat Vidyalaya and brought about a successful revolution in imparting highest education through Gujarati. How can we—at least the people of Gujarat—forget these two great facts? There is no reason why what was possible in Gujarat cannot be done through other Indian languages. Indeed, Gandhi warned the country as far back as the 12th September, 1917 that if English was not quickly displaced, it would tend to become permanent. But our own leaders have lost self-confidence in the capacity of Indian languages for government! They feel puzzled how they would be able to administer the country, if they were not allowed to use English! They forget that ultimately every law and order has to reach the people in an Indian language. Why should it be not possible to make it directly in that very language?

However, that is the problem. In order to remove this difficulty, it is necessary for us to develop and propagate Hindustani so fully and widely that none should feel that Hindustani is not rich enough to enable him to express any idea exactly and fully.

And as I say with all the earnestness and emphasis in my power that English should be discontinued in our internal affairs, and the more it is done the better. Consequently my appeal to my colleagues can only be: "March on steadily with Hindustani in both the scripts."

Wardha,

AMRITHA T. KARNATAK

Dehra, 1-10-40

(Translated from the original in Hindustani.)

SWARAJ AND SWADESHI

It appears that a business firm of Bombay is organising a so-called "Indian Industrial Exhibition" in Ahmedabad, Hyderabad and other cities of India during the end and the mid season. It is proposed to hold it for a month or so in each of these cities by turns. All the three words of the designation are loosely used, for it is not to be entirely Indian, nor entirely industrial, nor only an Exhibition, but just a huge fair or sale—organised in the modern expensive style with considerable time and propaganda.

That business organisers should adopt various methods of attracting crowds of purchasers is hardly surprising, even if undesirable. But this firm goes a step further by disseminating wrong and harmful ideas among simple people. A paragraph in their prospectus runs thus:

"At the Indian Industrial Exhibition there will be no restriction on the display and/or sale of foreign goods or machine-made articles. It is our aim, first and foremost, to open up the foreign market to these commodities. It is here that necessary to counter display to Indian goods only."

The words italicised by me must be regarded reprehensible even in a business advertisement. They mean that this Exhibition is by way of protest against Congress *Swadeshi*. They also mean that *Swadeshi* is necessary only so long as there is no *Swaraaj*. Why are we the largest buyers on the foreign market, if that statement is true? Is it good for our country to be so? Let the people be not misled by such propaganda. It was the absence of the *Swadeshi* sentiment which ruined our country economically and subjected us to British domination politically. It took more than a generation to create that sentiment among the people to a moderate extent. And now within two years of the end of apparent foreign rule, these profit-seekers have begun preaching the doctrine of anti-*Swadeshi*.

It will be pertinent to relate here an incident heard from Gandhi more than once. It is said that the late King George V happened once to visit an Exhibition in England. His own American typewriter is now in the office of the Exhibition. This gave His Majesty a great shock and he so severely chastised the heads for this disregard of *Swadeshi*, that the office had quickly to replace American machines with British ones. England, a country enjoying freedom since centuries, cannot afford to neglect *Swadeshi*, and we are advised by this organiser that there is no necessity for India to restrict herself to her own manufactures, now that she is free! As if it was the British Government which was preventing us from purchasing foreign things!

I hope no Government minister or Congressman is encouraging this function.

Wardha, 1-10-40

K. G. KARNATAK

NAI TALIM FOR REFUGEES— FAIRFARAD CONFERENCE

A conference of constructive workers and the refugees at Fairfardah Camp to consider the proposals of *Mr. Tahir* for displaced children in Fairfardah and Bagpura Relief Camps was held on the 17th September, 1949 at the Fairfardah Relief Camp. It was attended among others by officers-in-charge of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, officials of Education and Health from Ministries, and prominent educational and social workers.

A Reception Committee for this conference had been formed from the members of the Camp representing the union districts in the North West Frontier Province. The proceedings began with prayers in Urdu and English by the children of the Camp and representatives of the Reception Committee, followed by a speech of welcome by the Secretary of the Reception Committee.

Opening the Conference Dr. Zakir Husain reviewed the circumstances under which the work of education among displaced children was entrusted to the Hindustani Talimi Sangh. He referred to the work already commenced at the Fairfardah Camp and said that *Mr. Tahir* was a new method of education through activity, which aimed at raising the boys and girls equal to if not higher than those who had the best education under the older systems. Education was as much the responsibility of the parents of the children as that of the teachers, but the refugees being placed in difficult circumstances, it became the responsibility of the State and society to educate these children. The country must give the best education to these children and he expressed the hope that the best educational and constructive workers would devote themselves to this task.

The objective of the work of *Mr. Tahir* in the Refugee Camps he said, was to solve the problems of both material and mental rehabilitation. The problem before them he continued was not merely the provision for physical necessities but the far greater problem of mental rehabilitation, which could only be done through love.

The educational work, Dr. Zakir Husain said, could only be successful with the co-operation of the Government, the non-official agencies of constructive work and, above all, the parents.

He then read a message from the Hon'ble Minister, *Shri Kalam Azad* Minister for Education Government of India, which ran as follows:

"I am very glad to learn that the Hindustani Talimi Sangh have undertaken the responsibility of providing basic education to children of displaced persons. Though some of the refugees have dropped their educational programmes on the advice of the Talimi Sangh (I), now you have not directly inter-

fered the education of these students. Your new concept is therefore, that of interest and provision to our future educational programmes.

Education through activity is a recognized principle throughout the world today. Constructive work further and adds that the activity must be socially significant. This is the essence of craft and that is why Basic Education is an interesting method to me of the present world.

I need hardly assure you that your work at Fairfardah will have my fullest sympathy and support. The Government of India are particularly interested in this development, especially in view of the Government's accepted policy of steadily doing up the predominantly academic character of much of our education in schools. Education is not merely a matter in which there can never be a final word and sympathy and cooperation are essential for the success of any scheme. I hope that the results of your work at Fairfardah will furnish us with valuable experience that will enable us to reshape our own national structure so as to make it creative and alive.

Shrimati Ashadevi, next addressing the conference, said that the task entrusted to the Hindustani Talimi Sangh was very great and the capacity of the Sangh was limited. Yet they were taking up the work with all humility because the education of the displaced children was the most urgent educational problem before the nation today. The response to the work already started, she said, inspired her with hope and she appealed for the co-operation of the parents of the children in this difficult task.

Others who addressed the conference were Prof. Hamayun Kuber, *Shrikrishna Kameshwari Mehta*, and *Shri Ramachandra Upadhyaya*, all of whom secured the expressions of their fullest sympathy and co-operation on behalf of themselves and also on behalf of the departments they represented.

The conference was then opened for discussion, in which the members of the Camp participated.

E. W. ARIFABIDDEEN
Secretary, Hindustani Talimi Sangh

SYNOPSIS

(Abridged)

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TWO ANNAS

RAILWAY TRAVELLING IN INDIA

(The following is a cutting from the Times of India of 1st October 1947 generated by first classpassenger class 2nd. There are perhaps some improvements to the one shown above that date. Due to a large extent, the picture is true even to this day. It is not from the experience related to 1947 & 1948. It is an article which I hope to publish in the next issue. — S. G. M.)

To the Editor of the Times of India

Sir

I have never been in India for over two years and a half after my return from South Africa. Over one quarter of that time I have passed on the Indian trains travelling third class by choice. I have travelled up north as far as Lahore, down south upto Transvaal, and down Karachi to Calcutta. Having resorted to third class travelling among other reasons for the purpose of studying the conditions under which this class of passengers travel, I have naturally made an critical observation as I could. I have fairly covered the majority of railway systems during this period. Now and then I have entered into correspondence with the management of the different railways about the defects that have come under my notice. But I think that the time has come when I should invite the Press and the Public to join in a crusade against a grievance which has too long remained unredressed though much of it is capable of redress without great difficulty.

On the 11th ultimo I looked at Bombay for Madras by the Mid train and paid Rs. 13-0. It was labelled to carry 22 passengers. There could only have seating accommodation. There were no bunks in this carriage whereon passengers could be with any degree of safety or comfort. There were two nights to be passed in this train before reaching Madras. If not more than 22 passengers found their way into my carriage before we reached Poona, it was because the ticket men kept the effect of lay. With the exception of two or three insistent passengers, all had to find their sleep being waked all the time. After reaching Baroda the pressure became unbearable. The mass of passengers could not be stayed. The fighters among us found the lack almost beyond them. The guards or other railway servants came in only to push in more passengers. A defiant Member of Council protested against this packing of passengers like sardines. In vain did he say that this was his 32nd night on the train. The guard retorted, 'Yes

and referred him to the management of the terminal. There were during this time as many as 25 passengers in the carriage during the greater part of it. Some lay on the floor in the midst of dirt and some had to keep standing. A fire fight was at one time avoided only by the intervention of some of the older passengers who did not want to add to the discomfort by an collision of tapers.

On the way, passengers got for tea — tinned water with filthy sugar and a whitish looking liquid uncoloured milk, which gave the water a muddy appearance. I can vouch for the appearance but I cite the testimony of the passengers as to the taste.

Not during the whole of the journey was the compartment once swept or cleaned. The result was that every time you walked on the floor or rather not your way through the passengers seated on the floor, you waded through dirt.

The closet was also not cleaned during the journey and there was no water in the water tank.

Refreshments sold to the passengers were dirty looking handed by dirtier hands, coming out of filthy receptacles, and weighed in equally untrustworthy scales. These were previously sampled by millions of flies. I asked some of the passengers who went in for these deliquescent to give their opinion. Many of them used choice expressions as to the quality, but were reluctant to state they were helpless in the matter, they had to take them as they came.

On reaching the station I heard that the alien would not take me unless I paid the fare he wanted. I protested and told him I would pay him the authorized fare. I had to turn over money before I could be taken. I simply told him he would have to pay me out or call the police.

The return journey was performed in better manner. The carriage was packed already and but for a friend's intervention I would not have been able to secure even a seat. My admission was certainly beyond the authorized number.

This compartment was constructed to carry 8 passengers but it had comfortably 12 in it. At one place an important railway servant swore at a protestant, threatened to strike him and looked the door over the passenger whom he had with difficulty squeezed in. To this compartment there was a closet, toilet as called. It

was designed for a European train but could hardly be used in any manner except as it had no seats and I was without tea or coffee large that it was positively dirty.

The compartment itself was not looking but was lying thick upon the wood work and I do not know that it had even soap or water.

This compartment had an exceptional assortment of passengers. There were three student Punjab Mahomedians two retired Travellers and two Mahomedian merchants who proved to be later. The merchants related the fact that they had to give to police money. One of the Punjab had already travelled three nights and was weary and fatigued. But he could not stretch himself. He said he had not the whole day at the Central Station watching passengers giving bribes to procure their tickets. Another said he had himself to pay Rs. 1 before he could get his ticket and his seat. These three men were bound for Lucknow and had still more nights of travel in store for them.

What I have described is not exceptional, but normal I have got down at Bikaner, Durgam, Sonapur, Chakradharpur, Patna, Amritsar and other junction stations, and been at the Moss Bricks attached to these stations. They are indescribable looking places where there is no order or cleanliness but utter confusion and terrible dirt and noise. Passengers have no benches or not enough to sit on. They squat on dirty floors and eat dirty food. They are permitted to throw the contents of their food and spit where they like, at how they like and smoke everywhere. The chests attached to these places dirty description. I have not the power adequately to describe them without committing a breach of the laws of decent speech. Distributing powder, ash or disgusting fluid are unknown. The army of men bawling about their wrongs against their use. But a third class traveller is dumb and helpless. He does not want to complain even though to go to these places may be to court death. I know passengers who had while they are travelling just in order to leave the misery of their life in the train. At Sonapur men having (what) were here come forth to warn the public and the authorities had yet to no purpose. At the Imperial Capital a certain third class looking office is a Black Hole fit only to be destroyed.

Is it any wonder that plague has become endemic in India? Any other result is impossible where passengers always leave some dirt where they go and take more on leaving.

On Indian trains about passengers smile with impunity in all corners irrespective of the presence of the law and irrespective of the points of non-sensibility. And notwithstanding a bylaw which prevents a passenger from smoking without the permission of his fellow in a compartment which is not allotted to smokers.

The existence of the awful war cannot be allowed to stand in the way of removal of this

general ill. It is not to be a warrant for tolerating dirt and disease-ridden. One could understand an extra stoppage of passenger traffic on a crisis like this, but never a continuation or continuation of insanitation and conditions that most undermine health and morality.

Compare the lot of the first class passengers with that of the third class. In the Indian case the first class fare is over five times as much as the third class fare. Does the third class passenger get one-fifth, even one tenth, of the comfort of his first class fellow? It is but simple justice to claim that relative proportions be observed between the cost and the comfort.

It is a known fact that the third class traffic rose for the ever increasing business of first and second class travelling. Surely a third class passenger is entitled at least to the bare necessities of life.

In regarding the third class passengers, opportunity of giving a splendid education to millions in civility, sanitation, decent domestic life, and cultivation of simple and clean habits is being lost. Instead of receiving an education in these matters third class passengers have their sense of decency and cleanliness blunted during their travelling experience.

Among the many suggestions that can be made for dealing with the evil here described, I would respectfully submit this. Let the people in high places the Prime Minister, the Commander-in-Chief, the Home Minister, the Imperial Commissioner and others who generally travel in railway classes, without previous warrant, go through the experience now and then of third class travelling. We would then see a considerable change in the conduct of third class travelling and uncomplaining millions will get some notion for the future they pay under the experience of being carried from place to place with the ordinary railway comforts.

Rajah Raj'17

M. K. DANDI

DEEDS OF JAIPUR

Shri Ramnath Maanraj Chavmer, Rajasthani Maan Panchayat, Jaipur who has been working amongst the Harijans of Jaipur for long months to the following effect.

"There are four lakh Harijans in the Jaipur State. The State authorities have chosen to apply the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act to this caste and have thus placed a large number of people under the operation of this cruel law. As has to be expected, since the application of this law their men and women can no longer be allowed free movement as a consequence of which they can do no business to earn their living. The use of a compass is denied to them, cycles, rickshaws or ponies are all equally prohibited. They are not allowed to keep a weapon without the previous permission of the police. Even a knife is a prohibited article. Whenever a theft occurs in any locality it is taken for granted that one of these people has committed it and their property is looted. They are searched and kept behind the bars without prosecution. As usual they are the victims of police exploitation and have to give bribes. They are heavily employed without remuneration by rich landlords to guard their houses

and property. In this way, even the right of living has been taken away from those people. Their air, their fields, their rivers and are contaminated to such an extent that they are no longer fit for human use.

On the occasion of a special *dhanda* on the 14th of April 1944, when nearly fifty to sixty thousand people had collected together to celebrate the birth day of the Independence of our country, the British tried out and there was some disturbance. The police opened fire without cause. Four persons were killed and six others seriously injured. An independent inquiry was set up by the Rajpoot *Wans* Government, but that Government refused even to let report that no action was taken on it. Since the British were supposed to be taking in the colonial office, they must have done so and it was not considered necessary to make any enquiry. Such things would appear preposterous, but for this contemptible Act which should be abolished without delay.

We are still waiting for the Commission which the Government of India promised to appoint for investigating the working of the Act with a view to abolishing it.

New Delhi

RAJESHWARI WANS

CAPACITY OF INDIAN LANGUAGES

On the occasion of a statement on the language of questions and answers in the Assembly, Shri K. S. Narayanaiah (Lepa) Speaker of the C. P. Legislative Assembly explained:

"Speaking strictly the constitutional position is that except under certain circumstances in the discussion of the *Spoken* English has no place and Hindi and Marathi are the languages to be used. The Constituent Assembly has, in Article 144 of the Constitution, somewhat modified the general position. But that is for the future."

Proceeding further he gave a discourse which he seems to be entitled by all those who are doubtful about the capacity of Indian languages. —[61]

It has been the universal desire of the honourable members of this House since this Assembly was constituted that our affairs should be conducted in Hindi and Marathi. Sometimes they expressed this desire of theirs in forceful manner. There is no doubt that at times they voiced the feelings of the general public of this Province as their representatives. It is common to them that the constitutional position and public opinion demand that we should resort to our own languages as soon as possible in place of English. If there is any hitch in this it is only the difficulties in our ways. And we must take into account these difficulties if we want to progress on more ground. We dare not close our eyes to them. The difficulties are of two kinds: one is regarding the vocabulary of our languages and the other is our own incompetence. I humbly but very strongly differ from those who think that our languages are incapable of becoming vehicles for carrying out such business as drafting of constitutions and making of laws requiring intricate and fine distinctions in the use of language. I do not admit that our languages

are incapable of this. This is a fully capable. There is no doubt that because of their duties they have not come into their own. It is not the fault of our languages. It is because these fields were the chief province of the English language and were absolutely denied to our languages. Our languages showed a remarkable strength and capacity in those spheres which were open to them. Since that sphere also is now open to our languages I have no doubt that in a very short time our languages will show their inherent capabilities in the fields of drafting constitutions and laws. Very soon they will perform all these functions correctly and accurately provided nobody comes in the way of their development.

More than the shortcomings of our languages are our own personal shortcomings. We are habituated to think in words and to speak in English and therefore we find a difficult even to conduct our ordinary business in our languages and when we fail to do that, we sometimes fault our language for our own languages. We have to change our attitude of mind and get habituated to the use of our languages.

* * *

I have no doubt that the time has come when we can safely leave our languages, Hindi and Marathi for the purpose of questions and answers and we may not reduce our steps. The honourable member has given us his argument that there is one honourable member who does not know Hindi and Marathi and knows only English.

In this House there are quite a lot of honourable members who have no knowledge of English at all and who know only Hindi or Marathi. As against one member not knowing Hindi and Marathi and knowing only English, we have a large number of members who do not know English. But that is not really the point. If every honourable member were conversant with English even then I think it is our clear duty that we should replace English by Hindi and Marathi in those fields where there is no risk.

But I find that a special love for English has recently grown in the minds of some of us. They say that if the English language goes we shall lose much. We shall not be able to conduct our affairs and our efficiency will deteriorate. The minds of some of these old days when some of the political leaders thought that we might aspire for betterment of the British Government but not for its replacement. That was in pre-1947 days. They used to say that how- ever would fall of the British rule ended. Thank God our Swamy and the end of the British rule have brought us such liberty. I am positive that no calamity would ever befall if the English language goes away and the hands of those people would be equally free.

CHANDRASEKHAR GUPTA

(Official translation of the original in Hindi)

HARIJAN

October 20

1949

IMPERIAL HOPE

When this note falls into the hands of the reader, India—particularly commercial India—will have just passed through the Dark Week. The sound of friendly gatherings and greetings may not have been yet complete. Whether the previous year had proved profitable or otherwise and whether the next one will prove blustery or unwhispery, during Dark Week we like to dream our best dreams for the future, and wish here as for our friends.

Life and hope are inseparable. It might even be said that hope is life. With hope gone, life itself is at least the door for a while. Even the pessimist, if he is carefully and consciously carrying on the functions of life and takes interest in any item of life, has at least some small rose of hope still firmly interlarded within. We have a chapter gone and

"Hope" has transiently hidden even in a million failures."

If we draw the balance-sheet of the past two or three years of the nation, the total of the success and failures of our hopes will be found to be inevitably great. Now these three are not exactly amenable in terms of money, some will claim that the total of success is greater than that of failures while others will assert otherwise. It is incapable of exact measurement. But we might look at the major items on either side. On the one side we have the great event of our political history, the liquidation of small states, the regrouping of the country into a few major units—a transformation portage without precedent throughout Indian history. We can also claim as our assets the great respect and prestige which our country has already secured among the World States; we have also the honour of presenting to the human race within a single generation not a few men and women of such supreme eminence as have graced civilization throughout the world—Gandhi, Tagore, Nehru, Patel, Nehru-Gandhi, Rajagopalan, Jinnah, Das, Nehru, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan and others. The moral value of all these events is incalculable.

On the other side, our habitation and house are also equally great and difficult of accurate assessment. Our foolish and wicked commercial spirit led us into killing thousands of innocent human beings, male, with hatred and remorselessness; they are still to be felt in life, as if this was not enough, the same wickedness led us into the perpetration of the foulest crime of parricide—nay, not merely parricide but the assassination of one to whom the whole world looked for guidance and light, the relations

between them and humanity, the two kinds of filial devotion of Man to his grandfatherly, the war as habitation, the maintenance and rehabilitation of the displaced people, the failure in Gujarat and Bihar, the extremely high prices realised even on an account of profiteering and black-marketing, the moral degradation of the Congress and the people, the indifference and contempt of the services and the like—all these are no huge habitation and house, the moral value of which is equally enormous.

Every family and every nation has its periods of good and evil, dark of joy and sorrow caused by better deaths, witness, marriage etc. Some of our miseries are the result of our own ignorance and folly, some are unavoidable with all our wisdom and foresight. A more hopeful and vigorous nation takes such evils without falling into despair because what is most important for the prosperity and development of a nation is its moral wealth. If we preserve that wealth of ours and keep it ever growing, the other trials and vicissitudes of life are transient and often even blessings in disguise.

May God guide us to our moral rehabilitation.

Wardha, 11-10-49. H. G. KARNATAK.

(Translated from Gujarati.)

IN HONOUR OF THAKURBAPS

Readers must have seen in the Press an appeal signed by thirty-two leading prominent citizens and writers for celebrating Hari Thakurbapsa's completion of 50 years on 29th November next.

Ten years ago when he completed seventy, his assistants in the Marjap Sevak Sangh, Delhi, conceived the idea of presenting a very small group of six or seven leading writers to Thakurbapsa to commemorate that occasion. They communicated their idea to Gandhiji. The simplicity of the figure almost gave him a shock. It must be severely discussed, he decided. The advocates of the idea were modest. Harijan reads and felt different about their capacity to collect a subscription of that amount. But Gandhiji offered his own assistance and deputed Mahadevia for collecting subscriptions. Gandhiji's influence, combined with Mahadevia's sweet persistence raised an amount of Rs. 117,000 within a few days. It became a successful celebration. Of course it is well known that under traditions set by Gandhiji, the presentation of a gift is nearly another method of raising a fund for a public cause. Nothing goes to the private purse of the honoured individual.

Between 1939 and 1946 there have been unprecedented rises and falls in the monetary condition of our country. We are in the middle of a heavy downward flow at present. In the signatures of the present appeal have altogether refrained from suggesting the presentation of a purse to Bapsa on his completion of 80 years.

Industrial system, unarmoured and uncontrolled, cannot become successful in these days. The wars of today are ideological and are fought in a wide sphere and, therefore, are not won purely by the strength of arms. In such wars, armed might needs to be supported by objective ideas and strength of character. In the recent war between Russia and Germany, the Russians fought with tenacity because they were motivated and inspired by an ideology. I do not say that in an armed fight only the ideology wins, because armed might is a blind force. Even then, in an ideological war fought on a wide scale, there is necessity for an inspiring ideology along with the strength of arms. If our soldiers possess love of humanity and universal feeling—and that is called *ahimsa* (non-violence)—their progress will be greatly enhanced and strengthened. It will therefore be beneficial—I would say it is even necessary—to our soldiers to carry non violence on their lips. As I said in the beginning, we are built of the body and spirit and therefore, in every one of our dealings, we have to keep this odium or duality—whatever you may call it. On the one hand we feed our body every day and on the other we train ourselves to feed above it. It is also odd that we believe in the mortality of our body and at the same time feed it regularly with various food. But this odium is such that it will one day become a happy combination.

In this respect, Pandit Nehru's speech, it will be realised, was an expression of his pure and simple heart. Some people of late accuse Pandit Nehru of hypocrisy on account of such contradictions, but, whatever his other failings, he is completely free from this failing. I need not speak in his defence; my object today is only to explain an idea.

Wardha

TIRUCHI.

NATAL PRO-TAX

(Natal Chintamani Gandhi has discovered from his old records a typed copy of the following article contributed by Gandhi personally to one or more Indian newspapers in Nov. 1902. There are one or two obvious typing mistakes which I have indicated in parentheses. The purpose of reproducing the article at this date in the *Worker* is primarily to draw the attention of colleagues from being lost. Incidentally, it throws light on the South African question as well as on Gandhi's faith in British Imperialism in 1902. —A. G. R.)

The Imperial war is passing just now throughout the British dominions. There will be general rejoicings wherever the Union Jack is flying at the time of the cessation. At such a time peace and goodwill unto all British subjects should be the desire of every one owning the sovereignty of Edward VII. There can be no doubt that true independence cannot be, unless there is democracy and toleration among all classes of British subjects. Let us see then how the Colony of Natal, which prides itself on being the most (next to British Colony in South Africa, propose to render assistance in restoring imperial brotherhood and in spreading peace and

goodwill unto all. The "Times of India" has done excellent service by drawing the attention of the public to the policy of intolerance sought to be perpetrated by the Natal Government upon the British Indian settlers in that far land. To understand thoroughly the gravity of the situation, it is necessary to know the history of Indian immigration in Natal.

As early as 1802, the Colony found after several experiments that it could not "stand on its legs" unless it imported Indian labour in order to develop its agricultural resources. The callous of the soil, *skilful* in number, were found to be too hard to work. The climate was too trying for the White men to do much outdoor work. Where, therefore the "life of the Colony hung in the balance", the Indian Government were approached to help it out of its difficulty. All kinds of inducement were offered to the first Indian settlers and a continual stream of emigrants flowed into the Colony from India. Later on when doubts were entertained with reference to the stability of introducing the Indian element into the Colony, a Commission was appointed to consider the whole question and one of the Commissioners, Mr. Sanders, thus reports his opinion:

Indian immigration brought prosperity, peace and people were no longer excited to prove to their protest that a colony could do better. Now that the high gates for such labour are kept up prosperity and peace of town prosper in which the natives share. Our country grows as do those of other Colonies that the introduction of coloured labour which develops and opens out the Indian possibilities of the soil and its unexploited areas open out in the same time numerous otherwise fields for the profitable employment of white workers. If we look back to 1890 we shall find that the current opinion of Indian labour resulted in an immediate stop of restriction. But a few years have shown that it would be impossible immediately derive from the restriction and yet another change a fresh growth of coloured Indian immigrants has caused its effect, and up again must the restriction. Besides the their right to sell their own land and labour, children, commodities and other industries.

The present Premier of the Colony has informed us only lately that a stoppage of Indian immigration would paralyse the industry. The Indian labourer then is absolutely indispensable to the welfare of the Colony. As in 1892, so in 1890 it was India which came to the rescue in its need. Without Indian labour in 1892, it would have become bankrupt. If its legislators have given us correct information, in 1890, as the whole world knows, without an Indian army the capital and its port would have been in the lion's hands.

As a reward for all these services, the Natal Parliament has passed a bill imposing an annual tax of £2 on the children of coloured Indians (males 12 years, females 15) unless on attaining the statutory majority, they would either depart themselves from the Colony, or is true at its expense. What a poor relief? or rather what a series of adventures during their stay in the Colony. It may be particularly remarked

think this measure means to keep the world's sympathy and aid for people everywhere—men, women and children, the unfortunate—anywhere besides of these Indians on the part of the Indianised men become criminal offenders which under ordinary conditions can only be dealt with cruelly.

It is painful to recall the fact that it was Lord Byles who paved the way for the imposition of a poll-tax on the children of the immigrants by consenting to a levy of the tax on the parents but we have no hesitation in saying that the parents' liability to pay the tax cannot justify a similar imposition upon the children, for the former at any rate are presumed to know the conditions under which they go to Natal, — and, therefore may say if they choose to accept very onerous conditions, it is their look-out. But are the children presumed to know any such conditions? That they are born of such parents, is no doubt a misfortune and a serious mistake. Unfortunately they cannot help themselves. The parents again know what indentured labour is like. Look what India is, but the same cannot be said of their children born in the Colony. To expect them after they have perhaps several years' education and have their work in the Colony, either to go to India or to accept a state described by the late Sir W. W. Hunter as that of anti-slavery is a mockery.

Evidently the Colony wants to get all it can out of the poor Indians and to avoid the consequences of the introduction of Indian labour. A more straightforward course to adopt would be if they would not have the Indians as far as to do away with Indian labour altogether—an attitude which would be at once intelligent, satisfactory and unexceptionable. We have no desire to force our countrymen on them, but it is nothing but fair to expect a just and British treatment for those who are invited to the Colony and if it is impossible for the Indian Government to secure for the natives a fair treatment and if the Colony would not of its own accord stop the state-regulated importation of Indian labour, it is clearly the duty of the Indian Government to help it to do so. We have repeatedly a material and strong Treaty in Lord Curzon and we doubt not that His Excellency would not allow the contemplated injustice to be perpetrated. May we not also appeal to the silver-tongued people in the Colony itself? We are that one member at least of the Natal Parliament, Mr. Marston, would have no share to do with the bill, the un-British character of which he showed in forcible language. We are sure there must be many who think like Mr. Marston. Why would they not all speak out like him and break down the corresponding prejudice against the poor British Indians? In the meanwhile, however, we have a right to look upon Mr. Chamberlain to exercise his great and powerful influence with the Government on the side of justice and humanity.

Bagdad, 22-5-1932

R. K. CHATTERJI

LEAKAGE OF INFORMATION

It is a society based on love, non-robbery and self-discipline there is no need for secrecy or war. But even there discretion has to be used in disclosing confidential matters. But in one based on the strength of law and regulations, standard chapters of policy must be carefully guarded and any leakage is attended with grave consequences to the well being of the people.

In John Barlow has just told us that the intention of the United Kingdom to devalue the pound was so carefully concealed that even the Government's Finance Ministers had no riding about it.

In India it is often different. The information regarding the devaluation of the rupee was announced in some flagrant papers earlier than elsewhere. The modified form in which it was announced created a panic among the people. The form in which it was announced was that the rupee was devalued to 14 at 7 p. I wondered how this value was arrived at. It appeared that some reporter with a touch for arithmetic was first to obtain privately from the Sec. interest information that the rupee was devalued by 5 cents from 20 cents to 25 cents. Not knowing what 'cents' exactly referred to, he imagined that the rupee was devalued by 5 per cent. Since 5 per cent would come to 12 p. roughly, he announced that the rupee was devalued to 14 at 7 p. The effect of this among the villagers and even semi-literate traders may be imagined.

Similarly, papers are able at times to announce works about the intended changes in policy. Traders are pre-warned if controls are to be imposed or withdrawn and they get sufficient time to so manoeuvre that they profit by the changes both ways. The latest instance is of sugar. Even traders of Wardha come to know days before the freezing order that sugar was likely to be controlled and sales less than the open market price were likely to be announced. They therefore restricted their own purchases to just their daily sales although at the time they were in a position to keep greater stocks. What the traders came to know could not have remained concealed from their suppliers and producers. On the other hand, Government imposed control without any stock in their own hands. Thus too was pretty well known to the date. This shows what havoc, leakage of information causes in the life of the people.

It is well known that some of the big industrialists and bankers have very close contacts with ministers and the Secretariats and they fully exploit the information which they manage to receive in advance to their own advantage and to the detriment of the public. Ministers and Government servants should have a greater sense of responsibility to the State and the public than what prevails.

Wardha, 7-10-32

R. G. MATHURPALA

RETRENCHMENT IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

We have a good deal of talk about retrenchment and cut in the expenditures of Government. As one with first-hand experience of the department in the Bombay Province I offer a few suggestions calculated to bring about not less than 10 per cent to 15 per cent of savings in the normal expenditures of the Provincial Governments.

Revenue is the biggest department that can be tackled first. If a review is made of a number of gazetted and higher subordinate posts which have been created in recent years nearly 50 per cent of them will be found to be superfluous and unnecessary. Some each of the Departments like Supply, Rural Development and Revenue is under the administration of the Collector (Deputy Commissioner) and is managed by responsible gazetted officers, there would be no need for a Personal Assistant for the Collector. There are head clerks and clerks besides the Supply Officers, Forest Officers etc. to assist the Collectors in the Administration of the District and as the posts of Personal Assistants to the Collectors can be abolished without any loss of efficiency.

Then, in recent years, there have been a number of Head Karkuns and A. A. Karkuns appointed in all subordinate Revenue Offices there is hardly any real need for all them. In a Member's Chamberlain's office, one will find a greater number of Head Karkuns than the clerks under them. The creation of higher posts without looking to the real need has resulted in a number of junior clerks, with half 2 to 4 years' service getting promoted as Head Karkuns. As soon as these young clerks are promoted, they assume the functions of merely supervising over the work done by the clerks under them without themselves doing much. The clerks, who are all recruits of yesterday or the day before are quite raw and inexperienced and can do very little of useful work. The machinery has thus become very brittle and is waiting a stage when a break down is round the corner. The remedy is to strengthen the uppermost posts of Head Karkuns by 50 per cent of the present strength, so as to bring back the experienced hands to clerical grades, where they will be able to turn out better work with a considerably reduced staff. If efficiency is to be brought back, it has to be either paid by higher grade posts created during the last four years require to be reduced.

Improper distribution of work, among the several members of the office is another disease that has paralyzed the administration of the present day. If the heads of offices take a little more interest and see that the members working in their offices get sufficient work, properly and evenly distributed this disease can be effectively cured.

The 1938-39 affairs described above count as a lesson, except in other Departments also, such as Industries, Agriculture, Co-operative and Forests. The mere appointment of a Commissioner will help the details of the problem will not fully be tackled. That would only mean continuously doing in a matter which is all pending in view. Indeed a direction should be sent to all Heads of Departments asking for statistics of new higher posts created during the past years and urge to cut them down to the minimum requirement should be taken by the Honorable Ministers of Government.

— ANONYMOUS —

Evolution of Responsibility

A correspondent, who gave his name but not the address, describes in detail the various methods employed by businessmen for surreptitiously evading the income-tax, the Sales-tax and black-market profits through what are known as house transfer schemes and other transactions. These are methods, he says, whereby every amount is apparently accounted for, and yet payment of taxes amounting to scores of rupees a year is avoided and balances successfully concealed. He pretends to give the information in public interest and desires stringent measures and special methods for catching these people, but is, apparently, afraid of being traced out.

What he describes may be, I believe, of quite true. But it has no value, since he himself is unable to take the risk as the trouble of helping the law. And correspondents of this type are not few. They complain of corruption, bribery, ill-treatment by police, black market, etc. but no-one would pursue the matter himself. They themselves have no leisure or time for it. Every one wants Government to invest and catch every misdeed by instituting special classes of C.I.D. and by passing more and more severe laws for punishing the offenders.

That is not the way public life can be corrected and ruled. It is the people themselves who have to obey the law in their own person first and choose those who, to their knowledge, break it. The best of governments cannot do anything without full public co-operation.

Wentworth 2-13-46

A. G. M.

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TWO ANNAS

NOTES

Reader's Birthday

Somewhere I thought that there was still a month between this day and the Reader's birthday and would have missed taking note of it even today but for a telegram from the editor of another paper. It is only seven years ago that we have begun to celebrate his birthday publicly, and I understood that October thirty-first has been fixed on the basis of a school certificate. He and his family did not care to keep a record of his date of birth and the makers of the *Amrohtsman Almanac* assumed that the correct date ought to be the 17th of October, that is a fortnight earlier, to enable the planets to testify to his greatness. It is in keeping with Gandhi's personality that he has attained greatness without allowing the planets to testify to it. The country will celebrate his birthday on the thirty-first and for ever confuse astrologers. Equally he does not need the testimony of the *Harjan* for showing his greatness. This paper is more for them than mine and must only speak in a subdued manner in praise of him.

He comes into the seventy-fiftieth year. There is much yet for him to do for the country, much that he alone can get right. But his advancing age and falling health are a cause of deep anxiety to the nation. The nation would rather wish that it were possible for him to get younger in age and more vigorous in health year after year and there were some sort of mechanism whereby every birthday could be regarded as making him a year younger.

May God enable him to fulfil the expectations of the people.

Wardha, 28-10-48

Ban on Fairs

"Congressmen will not be permitted to resort to 'hunger strikes' as 'intimidation' means often irritate the Government or the post-faction Congress organisations without the previous permission of the Council of the D. P. F. C. C., according to a decision of the Council which has concluded its two day session. Mr. Parashuraman Dasgupta presided."

"The Council reviewed about one score of last year's reports by Congressmen during the year two of which were in regard against 'corruption' in the Congress organisations. The Council condemned the action of these Congressmen and told them that, as Congressmen should resort to hunger strikes without the previous sanction of the Council." — P. V. I.

I do think that fasts are often very hastily undertaken and with a wrong mental attitude and motives. Fast is the last weapon of a Satyagrahi, and it speaks of no harbouring of

hatred towards the wrong-doer. But with all that, it must be noticed that no Satyagrahi can ever apply for permission to be allowed to go on fast, also no organisation assumes to keep out adoption of violent methods at least within its own organisation, if not with others, could remain steady if fast is entirely banned. No Satyagrahi would also be scared away by the ban if he is convinced that it is the only remedy left, he would not care to remain in the organisation with that restriction.

A fast even if wrongly and maliciously undertaken, is to the last instance violence against oneself. Simply because a man has gone on fast, the organisation (or persons) against which it is undertaken need not take notice of it, if its own conscience is clear. If the organisation is right on its side, the hunger-strike will succeed or later discover that he cannot justifiably keep it on, and will relent. If, however, the fast is just and proper, the opponent organisation must thank itself if it is compelled to surrender. If it does not wish to do so, it can only allow the Satyagrahi to die.

Consequently, while it may be proper for an organisation on a review of cases of fasts to censure improper ones, in my opinion, the Council has over-stepped its limits in asking hunger-strikers to apply to it for permission to go on fast. Can a Council ever give such permission? Why should it, therefore, burden its files and agenda by asking for such applications? The resolution reads curious to this extent:

Wardha, 17-10-48

English is H. Maghi Be

This is to show up those who are dejected at the prospect of English ceasing for position in Government education, for fifteen years more. The protagonists of that language might consent to shorten its duration if for no other reason than getting English representations of the following sample. This is bound to happen as the pressure of that language as well as its study under first class teachers is likely to decrease. These illustrations are taken from a single letter but I get similar ones more often and the strange thing is that often the writers are from Hindi and Gujarati provinces. I could easily write to me in their mother tongue.

Be kind enough to spare a room in your edition of paper for the translation of the message in your language."

"Spare all their resources (the) for the sake of their hungry babies (children)."

latter is, nevertheless, your other two accounts. In fact, the State, through these writers as their special charge, whose well-being is to be guarded, excludes from land for future to pay the rental which has become exorbitant since at 1/3rd or 1/4th of the produce ought not to be allowed, unless there is evidence of fraudulent intentions against the landlord. It was on this principle that the Congress had insisted that lands which had been forfeited for non-payment of assessments on account of failure of crops in floods and for fighting inequitable increase of assessment in Barodi must be returned to their original tenants. The right of even the Government to ultimate ownership over land was disputed much more noticeable is that of the absentee landlord. All land belongs to God, and the man who actually tills it on the behalf must not be dispossessed of it as long as he is willing to do so. —K. A. W.]

HARIJAN

October 26

1948

GANDHI'S CONCEPTION OF SWARAJ (BY M. E. Qasbi)

The following question, which I have expanded a little without changing its spirit, was put to me the other day at a meeting of workers at Vile Park (Bombay):

"You say that the theory of your conception will give equal justice to the poor and the peasant, it will protect both and safeguard the interests of both. Is not this contradictory? Just look at the landlord and the employee, the master of the house and his servant. Sir, between me and the peasant, the rich man and the poorer, 'between the rich and you, you make a difference.' The middle between the 'barren' and the 'barren' seems to be doing an else prohibited thing. It seems that it is impossible for a person to be happy without suffering hardship on another. It appears to be the law of nature. You wish to alter the law of nature. Is it not an attempt to walk on walking your sword against the air?"

There is a good question and is possibly troubling many a mind. Let us consider it.

If there ever was something like Swaraj in the world, it should be possible to remove it. I believe that it did exist one day. Once Swaraj means a parichay (the council of all). God dwells in the parichay because it represents public opinion. When the public opinion is free and untrammelled it is truthful. A State built upon public opinion is the Swaraj for that area. We come across such relations even at present at some places. Some headmen send their servants in their simplicity and in working for their welfare. It is not that every king exploits his people. During our travels, I have come across both good and bad people. Every employer is not a heartless fellow. It is true that I have not seen several instances of rich men who behave as trustees or friends of the poor.

I shall also state (still) there is much scope for further improvement in the first that I have seen. But this is an experience gained in the atmosphere of a false rule. So, there need be no wonder if there is only one good Pithavara in London. The point is that if there is one, you can expect to have many. When exceptions multiply, they become the rule. So this is my opinion as to what is possible. I know, however, that the questioner will not be satisfied with this answer.

The effort to bring into operation what is possible is *Swaj rule*. *Swaj* is just a just administration in language (age of truth), *Swaj* (Shreevaaj) *Swaraj*, people's government. In such government, the ruler will be the protector, trustee and friend of the people. The difference between his life and that of the humble peasant will not be the difference between heaven and earth as at present. There would be the sense of proportion between his palace and the peasant's hut. The difference between their respective meals would also be very small. Both of them will have pure water and air. The poor will get the food they need. The ruler will not eat the proverbial African dishes but will be satisfied with rice. If the poor takes his food in earthen or wooden vessels, the ruler may take it in plates of brass. But the ruler cannot use silver and gold vessels without exploiting the poor. The poor will get the necessary clothing, the ruler may have more, but the difference in quality must not be such as to cause jealousy. The children of the ruler and the peasant will learn in the same primary school. The former will not regard himself as the patron or benefactor of the people. He will not regard his services to his people as an obligation conferred upon them. There is no place for ceremonial obligations in the performance of one's duties. It is the duty of the ruler to serve his people.

What I have said about the ruler applies to all owners of wealth. Just as it is the duty of the ruler to be the trustee and friend of the people, so that of the latter is not to be jealous of the former. The poor man must know that in a great extent poverty is due to his own faults and short-comings. So while the poor man must strive to improve his conditions, he must not hate the ruler and wish his destruction. He must work for the ruler's reform. He must not want rulership for himself but remain content by earning his own wealth. The condition of mutual respect and help in the living of my conception.

In my opinion in order to attain this *Swaj*, it is necessary to bring about radical reforms in the training of both the ruler and the ruled. Both the exploited and the exploiters are groping in the dark. Both have lost their way. The condition of neither is tolerable. But it is difficult for the ruler and the rich to realize this. But I believe that if one party realises the truth, the other will also have to do so, and as I have

chose the street of the poor. It is not possible for all to be rulers. But every one can merge himself in the all. If the poor realise their rights and along with it their duties, we can have our Swaraj today. This realisation cannot come as speedily through other methods as through Satyagraha. We have seen that with our own eyes during the last twelve months. To the extent we took to corrupt methods in the prosecution of that Satyagraha, we have obstructed the way to Swaraj.

Satyagraha is the greatest means of educating the public and strengthening the people. Satyagraha also means self-participation. To the extent we can only talk of self-participation. It will take time to produce any effect upon them. The poor are always in search of a guide. They know their own pains but not the remedy. So they are willing to try whatever remedy is shown to them. In this situation, if they get a true friend, they do not leave him and follow his instructions to the best of their capacity. As in a way, the poor man is a soldier. Swaraj is also attained through him. He has to know his strength, and having known it, to use it with restraint. When this happens, you may take it that the swaraj of my conception has been attained. When the people have attained that strength they would be able to resist successfully both the foreign as well as the indigenous government.

The duty of the workers therefore, is to serve the people. It can be done only through truth and non-violence. To the extent the means are unpure the progress of the people will be obstructed.

In the meantime if the ruler and the moneyed class will understand the spirit of the age, they will relinquish their private ownership of wealth and the ability to produce wealth and voluntarily make themselves trustees of the same. And since a trustee has also the right to earn his living, they would use that wealth for themselves only in a limited manner and to the extent of their wants. If they do not do so, the deadly struggle between the ruler and the ruled and the rich and the poor must inevitably go on. In the hope that Satyagraha would be able to check the advance of its poison, people like me have dedicated their all to that weapon.

Transcribed from the original Marathi text (1943) under the caption of The Prince and the Peasant.

To Harijan-Workers of Hyderabad

We are glad to inform the residents of Hyderabad (Deccan) town and state that they will now be able to pay their subscriptions for our three papers: the Harijan (English), the Harijanvarta (Hindi) and the Harijanbandha (Gujarati) in Hyderabad itself. We have authorised Shri Ramakrishna Das, Manager, Varanasi, Sarvodaya Trust, Sakinagar, Hyderabad to accept subscriptions and send receipts on our behalf.

GANDHIJI'S ASSASSIN

The last judicial act in Gandhi murder case has been performed resulting in the sentence of death upon Nathuram Godse (by whose hands Gandhiji's life was brought to a close) and another accomplice named Apte. The Judges have regarded the latter as the brain working behind the crime and equally guilty with Godse. If the latter alone had to be tried, inasmuch as he was caught immediately and had also confessed his crime, the case was simple and the trial would have been finished long since. But since the police considered that it had enough material which showed that the act was the result of a conspiracy in which several others were also involved in the investigation and the hearing in the two Courts and the Privy Council together took up about a year and three quarters since the event.

Even before the trial had commenced, believers in non-violence and pacifism in India and abroad began to send letters or articles in the Harijan as well as, I believe, to prominent leaders urging that death penalty must not be imposed upon Godse, who was until the trial had concluded the only culprit known to the public. Some of Gandhiji's sons and son-like associates also gave expression to similar sentiments. But as the case was not pacific, it was not possible to discuss the matter publicly. Now that all judicial proceedings are over, I am free to write.

That even after losing in a very heartless and shocking manner their dearest and most respected Bapa, has some and some like associates disciples and adherents should be moved by feelings of vengeance towards one who in a personal way, was guilty of the greatest wrong against them, demonstrates to the religious-minded people the sublimation and balance which Gandhiji's teachings had brought about in the sentiments of his followers. It is possible that politically-minded people might regard this as a marked and weak sentimentality. There would have been nothing unusual or abnormal if they had been moved by feelings of utmost hatred against the assassin and with a desire to even lynch him if there was an opportunity. Indeed, there might be some even now, who might be subject to feelings of that nature. These feelings are not abnormal. What a question is the capacity to retain the balance of mind and restrain the emotions in the midst of greatest provocation. And it is difficult for a nation to get a greater provocation than the assassination of one who was their country's prophet and greatest redeemer and guide. But he was also, in reality as possible Truth and Non-violence in a viable form and that apart trampled over the ordinary passions of those living in mental slavery with him, and made it impossible for feelings of hatred and revenge to get control over their noble sentiments. This might truly be deemed as Mahatma Gandhi's last — Victory of Mahatma Gandhi.

Governments of the world, including that of our own country, are of course constituted on a different principle. Death for death is the principal method of revenge and the only thing which condonation has brought about is that the revenge is not taken directly by the friends of the victim but by the State to which the victim belongs. As a general rule death is avenged by death. It is only in exceptional cases in which Government shows clemency towards a murderer and commutes the death sentence to a lighter one. Such cases generally have some factors which in spite of the murders set are sufficient to create a sense of sympathy for the culprit. When there are no such softening features (as in the present case), governments do not generally interfere. The immediate issue before us is whether this is a proper case for the Government of India, as it is constituted in exercise of prerogative of clemency in favour of India.

I think that it will be unanimously accepted that so far as Gandhi's personal moral attitude was concerned, it may be safely assumed that he had granted free pardon to his murderer without his asking for it and without a moment's hesitation. That was one of the greatest expressions of his life, and the manner in which he met his death and the description which Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and others gave of his final expression after death shows that he may be taken to have achieved that success over the natural sexual instinct. If this murder had been the personal act of a man who was cowardly or otherwise personally aggrieved against Gandhi, the case might have stood on a different level. Even then the loss to the world would have been equally great. But having regard to the known attitude of Gandhi himself endorsed by the spirit of forgiveness of Gandhi's own relatives and disciples, the Government, whatever its own limitations in regard to the acceptance and application of non-violence, might have been moved to honour a petition of mercy presented by the assassin or his friends.

But this murder of the apostle of non-violence is not the personal and private act of an unvindictive individual. The assassin represented a political school of thought. Even if the particular conspiracy for which the various accused were tried was not moved to substantially as the prosecution would have wished, it could not be assumed that this school regarded Gandhi as a stumbling-block to its own political aspirations.

Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at if the Government which has not yet abolished capital punishment and consequently almost every day hangs in one or another of its jails even private murderers and commutes the prerogative of mercy only under exceptional circumstances, finds it difficult to discover any reason for showing clemency towards a person, whose act has no redeeming feature in

it. The man himself is unrepentant and does not want any clemency for himself. Can the Government go out of its own way to prevent the law from taking its course? And if it does, can it hang any other person, therefore? No, as a crime, it is difficult to conceive of a more heinous act than that perpetrated by Gandhi's assassin. It would amount to abolition of the death penalty without changing the law.

Speculations have been made as to what Gandhi would have asked Government to deal with his assassin. Some of his associates hold that he would certainly have asked the Government not to hang his assassin. Others, who have lived and worked with Gandhi as intimately as others, definitely think he would not have interfered with the discretion of Government, in spite of his own free pardon. He would not have said that 'for my sake' or 'for my personal satisfaction, please do not hang this murderer'. Such views are possible and I for one would not like to speculate on the matter. In giving my view here I express, therefore, my own way of thinking.

On grounds of pure principle I feel that in hanging Mahatma Gandhi's assassin, there is something which positively takes away from the glory of the Mahatma and the dignity of his country. Hence the granting of life to the murderer of its most beloved and most honoured Master even without his asking would be an act of unearned grace. But it is an act which only a Government inspired by Gandhi might dream of doing.

But it is likely to be interpreted by others as an act of timidity and incapacity to govern. It is also attended with grave risks, and it can be taken only by those who are accustomed, when they have been convinced of a principle to act upon it unflinchingly regardless of consequences and risks, or with preparedness to carry out the logical consequences of such a step. 'Practical' people, — and politicians too, unless if they are not practical people, — accustomed to apply prudential considerations to the latest acts cannot easily reverse their gear and dare to act upon an abnormally high moral principle particularly when it is beset with danger. They would respond to a moral principle, but cannot do what they feel would amount to falling a victim to it. In the present case the logical consequence of committing the sentence would be abolition of the death penalty altogether. For if that is not done, it would mean that in India it is only the murder of a non-violent Mahatma which is not pardonable with death. Thus is an inconsistency which again only Gandhi, a Mahatma that he was, could have had the boldness of perpetrating. He was capable of saying that he would allow other murderers to be hanged, but not his own or of a non-violent Mahatma. But the Indian Government cannot claim to be a Mahatma-government. Hence it would be difficult to find fault with the

Indian Government: if it takes a political and prudential view of Godse's case, and refuses to exercise its prerogative. The way and circumstances in which the crime was perpetrated and celebrated is unfortunately so very wicked and heinous that there is no redeeming feature to arrest an ordinary worldly man's sympathy for the assassin.

However, there is another and a philosophical aspect of the murder also. I believe that every one of us is responsible for Gandhi's death. By every one I include also those who were his close associates and not merely Congressmen, Bheem Mahabharata, Vinoba Bhave and others. For some time before his death, many people often thought that Gandhi's life mission had ended. There were some who had even advised him to retire. That when his life really came to a sudden end, some of us felt the shock to be too great and like a thing which was never dreamt of, only aware that the person thought was not seriously and wisely contemplated. They wished a thing to happen but were not prepared for its consequences. But the thought of the spirit is even more powerful than the accidental shot of a gun, and it is no use saying that one never intended its frustration. The mode of frustration, if not also as definitely unaccounted, may take any form. Thus thought about Gandhi's departure from several minds collected and concentrated itself in Godse, and made him the instrument of its execution. He became the assassin because he had tried to himself for it for a long time. But we must confess that we all had a share in the shots which Godse's hands fired. Whether Godse himself is repentant or not, we at least must regret. Repentance apart, Godse will suffer what punishment the Government gives him as we are suffering the punishment of being helpless and dependent now, as a group of blind men, would feel after having killed the only eyed man among them. That is God-given punishment to us as the sentence passed on the assassin is man-given. The actual sin in either case will be washed away only when each of us as also Godse, repents for himself. Godse's personal repentance may or may not come. But his sin as representative of an immoral and wicked ideology and teaching. It perverts a person into seeing righteousness in sin and contra. This sin will be washed only by the legislation of that ideology. His emotion or commutation into a lighter penalty cannot do it. It is an independent and fundamental thing. Consequently, Godse and Apte too, will be regarded as just a physical medium of a thousand minds. If, therefore they or their friends petition for mercy, I would be glad if the Government could see its way to consider it favourably. But I must confess that the circumstances are so complicated and intricate that I cannot find fault with it if it refuses to do so.

It is necessary to say a word about Apte. If Godse's sentence is commuted, Apte, I believe, would necessarily receive the same clemency. But his case can be treated even apart from that of Godse. I feel that Apte should not be put on an equal level with Godse. There is still a class of people who will put up Godse as a hero and a martyr. It is a pervene mentality but it is there. It does not seem proper that Apte should get the same respect as Godse. Like Shripad and Narayan Godse has made a name which will live as long as Gandhi's. Apte's name need not be added to it. Let him live his natural span of life and allow believers in Providence to pray for the transformation of his character and ideas.

Before closing, I must say a word about the activities of some of the office-bearers of the Hindu Mahasabha. They certainly do not believe in the creed of non-violence. They hold that Gandhian non-violence is not supported by the *dharma* of the Vedic Hindu religion. They regarded Gandhi as an enemy of the Hindu and had laid all sorts of base charges against him. They have proclaimed now that they had nothing to do with Gandhi's murder and that it was Godse's individual sin. They do not believe in the elevation of the death penalty and if they came to power they would not condone the murder of a leader of the Hindu Mahasabha. Still one can understand their making to the Government a petition for mercy towards the convicted persons. But one of the office-bearers approached workers of Congress and Vardha and drained of them that having regard to Gandhi's principles, they should move the Government to commute the sentence of death and to ask for Godse's transfer to Vardha or Nagpur to bring about a change in his views. Evidently, the representative's own views did not need any alteration. If Godse and his sympathisers have vision enough, they would see that before Godse's bullets pierced Gandhi's heart, they pierced also the *dharma* and the Truth in Hindu religion. The first pierced the heart of the *dharma*, the second of the Truth in Hinduism and the third of Gandhi. Thus hypocrisy would have otherwise been impossible.

Vardha, 17-10-48. K. C. MANGRUKA.

644 Persian Manuscripts

Sheddehach Anantabhadur Sarkhan writes to say that the four Persian manuscripts noted below written in the handwriting of his grandfather were presented by him to Gandhi in 1938. But on account of political uncertainties, Gandhi had returned them to him for safe custody. He has now under the advice of Mahomed Akid Esham Amd presented them to the Central National Library at New Delhi, and scholars interested in the subject can study them now at that place.

1 volume of *Nadhi-daman*

1 volume of *Shripad-stut*

K. C. M.

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

EDITOR: B. C. MANJUNATHA

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TWO ANNAS

THE FORTHCOMING FAIRPLAY MEETING

Readers are aware of the proposed World Fairplay Meeting in December next partly at Gandhinagar and partly at Sonapur. It will be a small assembly not of rich or political magnates, but of people who have worked and suffered for the cause of peace and abolition of War, and have been working for building up a non-violent social order singly or in collaboration of fellowships. They come from various parts of the world. The hardships and persecutions which we even experienced suffered pale into insignificance before what some of them had to undergo during the two World Wars. For instance, take the story of Heinrich Knechtel, which has just appeared in several papers. He was a German teacher and also edited a pacifist newspaper before Hitler had come into power. Then, long before the second World War had broken, he had to escape to Spain in order to avoid persecution by the Nazis. There, too, in the Spanish Civil War fought, as the majority of the German Council in Spain, he was imprisoned by Franco's government and sentenced to 30 years imprisonment. The wife and four children were expelled from Spain and had to return to Germany. In order to avoid being separated from the children who would have been taken away from her to be brought up as Nazis the husband had advised the wife that she should take a divorce on reaching Germany. This was granted. After the end of the War, he could return to Germany and then he remarried her after four years. This teacher is one of the victims at the next Conference. There are others with similar experiences.

A batch has already started by steamer. It includes among others our old friends Richard Gregg (author of *The Power of Non-violence*, *A Gospel for Non-violence*, *Economics of Character*, etc.) and Reginald Reynolds. Both of them had been in India and lived with Gandhi at Sabarmati. It was through Reginald Reynolds that Gandhi had delivered his famous letter to Lord Irwin (now Halifax) before starting the Salt Satyagraha.

Most of these readers are poor men, living and working among common people as teachers or social workers, men or less like our own workers of the Charika Sangh, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Advaan Sangh, Taluk Sangh or the old Gandhi Seva Sangh. They do not earn enough

to meet their travelling expenses, let a coffee each day, and have to be helped by friends or some funds.

They wanted to hold a conference in India while Gandhi was still alive so that they could receive Gandhi's guidance in the cause of World Peace. Gandhi encouraged the idea but wanted them to wait till India gained independence. Unfortunately, Gandhi was not allowed to return to independence long. The promoters did not like it, a right to abandon the idea of the conference on account of Gandhi's death. I was one of those who felt doubtful about the usefulness of the conference without Gandhi. What have we got to offer by way of guidance to these foreign workers who have met of these suffered far more terrible than we have for the sake of their conscience? If they come here to seek guidance from us, we are not competent to that. But the line on which the promoters and victims thought was different. We all are workers now, they said, we neither come to teach you nor to get guidance from you, but just to exchange our thoughts and experiences with yours, and see if our individual deliberation will bring some light to us all. I had no answer to this plea.

But it requires funds to hold a conference even of a couple of hundred people about a quarter of whom are to come from various countries of the world and to stay and move about in our country for a month or less. The estimate of expenses is Rs. 25 lakhs. The organisers have hitherto tried to collect the money by approaching a few moneyed people in the hope that that way was easier. But it seems that the appeal to them has not been very successful. Somewhere the Fairplay Meeting also does not find favour in industrial circles. The result is that not more than Rs. 50,000 have so far been collected and perhaps a large part of it has been already spent. The cause of the middle classes and the masses. It is one of the aims of the constructive programme and like all other aims needs the support of the ordinary people. Small donations of hundreds of people with their lives, less or even ones will support the movement better than a lakh from a single patron.

If readers interested in the cause of Peace and sympathizing with the idea of this meeting,

help of 500 small automobiles. The signs carried and greatly informed. The address in which all donations are to be made is: Trustees, World Labor Meeting, 1 Indian Wood Street, Calcutta.

March 25, 1949

K. K. MUKHERJEE

PROBLEM OF DISPLACED HARIJANS

As a result of the tragic events which followed the partition, the Harijans of the Punjab, the N. W. F. Province and have passed through a terrible time. I had a first-hand experience of their plight when I attended a discussion of some groups from Malwa, Montgomery and Lahore districts in April 1946. They had been oppressed in so many ways by caste Hindus. Yet they looked to the Indian Government for the sake of Hindustan, the religion of their birth, from which they would not be weaned by the temptations offered by proselytism.

Parties of the country found the Harijans as the worst sufferers on either side of divided India. Less of them had migrated from the West Punjab, Sind and the N. W. F. Province. Less more were evicted from their homes than the main races. They fell into the Indian Government's hands almost completely.

The Government of India, under the leadership of the late Mahatma Gandhi, attached a section, namely the Harijan Section, to the Ministry of (Hindu and) Rehabilitation, to look after the relief and rehabilitation of the Harijan refugees now called "evicted persons." Fortunately, Shriji Ramdas Narayan, who was for long closely associated with Mahatma Gandhi in his India-wide Harijan uplift work, was appointed the Honorary Head of the Harijan Section. Shriji Ramdas Narayan, a member of the Servants of People's Society, who had acted as the Secretary of the Sind Harijan Sevak Sangh for many years, was appointed the Honorary Director of the Section. The Harijan Section spread a net-work of social workers and its efforts in different parts of India. I worked first as a social worker and then as an officer in the Section and thereby came into close touch with the Harijans, whether displaced persons or others, in many provinces and States of India. 15,000 agricultural Harijan refugees were settled on land in Gang Canal Colony, Bharu. Thousands of Harijans were rehabilitated on land in Jangarh, Cutch, Agner, Brown, Madga Union, Bombay, etc. Multi-purpose and other co-operative societies were formed by the displaced Harijans in almost every place under the guidance of social workers of the Harijan Section. Thousands were secured employment as laborers on construction works or as sweepers and also admitted in training centres as apprentices. Colonies were constructed for them at Ahmedabad, Jangarh and Benaulder.

A colony consisting of 500 quarters was built by the Government of India through the Harijan Section in Rural Bagh. When 500 quar-

ters were constructed they were inhabited by displaced Harijans, who formed themselves into a multi-purpose co-operative society. The opening ceremony of the colony was performed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, on the 15th February. The Harijans, more than 10,000 of whom had gathered, were heartened to hear the Prime Minister declare that the Government's aim was to put an end to the disabilities suffered by the Harijans. He aptly criticised the idea that some kinds of work were higher or lower than others. Pandit Nehru advised the Harijans to take to industry in addition to agriculture.

But, as emphasized by Shriji Ramdas Narayan in his address, much more was yet to be done for the displaced Harijans. Whereas 25,000 Harijans were evacuated from the West Punjab, 1,50,000 from Sind and 50,000 from Bhawalpur and the N. W. F. P., there were still 50,000 Harijans in the West Punjab, about 1 lakh in Sind and a few thousands in Bhawalpur and the N. W. F. Province. Less of displaced Harijans are yet to be rehabilitated on land and in industrial and other occupations. The problem is of enormous dimensions and has to be tackled both by Government and well-known public bodies like the All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh, which has been associated with the work of rehabilitation of displaced Harijans from 1 June, 1946 in place of the old Harijan Section.

Unconquered has been and continues to be the bark of Hindutva. Mahatma Gandhi was keenly conscious of this when he said, "Hindutva is an unconquered land." He did not merely say these hopeful words, but he did all that a leader of his eminence and foresight could do to remove this blot from the surface of India. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said in the course of the above-quoted speech that "something had to be done to make up for centuries of social tyranny to which they (the Harijans) had been subjected." In the course of centuries the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Banerjays and other great leaders of thought had defiled untouchability, but the evil continued to sap the vitality of Hindu society. It is now left to the leaders of Free India to purge this evil from the face of Free India. Legislation has been enacted in this behalf. It is right that these laws are enforced by the Central and Provincial Governments where the caste Hindus may not break the prohibition of the disabilities of the Harijans. The removal of social disabilities of the Harijans cannot and must not wait any longer in Free India, the leading nation of the East, which stands for equality, peace and freedom.

It is gratifying to note that the social barriers that have existed between the caste Hindus and the Harijans are disappearing day by day. The share in which the dominant, the chakras and other Harijans lead a dirty, segregated existence have to be cleared. In the above mentioned Harijan Colony of Delhi, modern

cameramen like flash-cameras became with beams and underground draughts have been provided. The resident Harijans are learning to be cleaner and more. They flock to the Adult Education Centre opened by the Delhi Municipal Corporation in the Colony where they participate in many social activities. They have formed themselves into a multi-purpose co-operative society in which they have pooled their resources and through which they secure better profits for their produce. The fact that social workers mostly caste Hindus live among them in the quarters takes away from them any feeling of segregation which they might have had before. The need of the day is that more and more such colonies must be started everywhere for the Harijans side by side with a systematic clearance of slums in the suburbs of towns inhabited by them.

There is a mushroom growth of Harijan Sevak (Uplift) Organisations which all under one banner or the other. These are petty rivalries among these bodies. These must cease. What is proper is that they should act in the closest fashion with the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh which is so ably organised at its Delhi headquarters by Shri A. V. Thakkar, General Secretary, and Shri Nath Ramdas Nehru, Vice-President of the Sangh, ever since 1938. They have dedicated their lives to the service of the Harijans in the wake of Mahatma Gandhi. The well known attributes of power like these and Acharya Vinoba Bhave and so many others dedicated to the service of the Harijans make me believe that the men of caste conscious Hindus are being stirred for in some measure by the example of services of these selfless servants of society. It was due to the labours of Shri Vinoba Bhave that the Harijans of Bharat were able to make their dream to enter and worship in the Lakshmi Temple of Bharat.

In a changing India Harijans must feel confident of better future. They and their students and educated young men are receiving special consideration from the Government and this will be done till their disabilities are entirely removed. Then no more of these protective measures will be needed or desired by them. The dream of Gandhi who called himself a Harijan and chose the title of his paper accordingly will be realised in the not distant future.

Srinivas Theer

Bee-keeping Training Class

The Village Industries Committee, Bombay will start a Bee-keeping Class at Mahabaleshwar from 1st December 1949. Those who desire to join the class should apply to the undersigned for details with two-anna postage stamp.

Form 22 14/49

S. D. KANTH

Regional Officer,

Village Industries Committee,

Maharashtra Region, Poona 2.

UNITY OF MAN

Among the many fundamental contributions towards uplift made to uplift mankind, not the least is the conferring of a unique dignity on man.

For ages honour and status were the attributes of men of wealth and circumstances. The lowest among men, if he came by material possessions, by hook or by crook, no questions were asked but was accorded that rank in society. Poverty, were conferred decorations, were showered and all knees bowed to such.

Under the influence of such ideals slave economy flourished. Work was looked down upon while indolence held sway. In a society founded on such valuations, man was not honoured for what he was but for the fortune he wore on his head or for the garland of skulls round his neck, or for the barbaric splendour of the resplendent robes or the glamour and luxury of his dwelling place. Imperatives of all kinds have their origin in such ideals. Even in our land today there are persons, who hold such superstitious and ignominious ideal for maintaining dignity. Where such valuations prevail, work is at a discount, the work labour for the well-being of the mighty.

With the advent of the machine-age, man lost his position even as a worker. He yielded place to the machine. His purpose in life was to tend machines. In a land suffering from shortage of labour, something had to be done to make such work honourable. Hence arose the movement in the U.S.A. to dignify labour. The man had no attribute of his own but his capacity to produce material things.

It fell to Gandhi to discover that work had two aspects—its power to develop man and afford an outlet for the exuberance of his personality. Work did not confer dignity on the device stage. Nor were material possessions requisite to afford honour and status. A new code of values was the result. Under this, work was respected according to the worker's character and personality. No wrong could be the nobler of professions and the pursuit of law the nearest of manual vocation, according to the motives of the actors. This code conferred dignity on men himself apart from his environment, birth or material circumstances. So that even the poorest in the land can enjoy a status equal to that of the highest provided the needed character and personality were present, thus bringing about an equality of status in the class, colour-caste ridden world. This is indeed true democracy that endorses in every human being a free dom that politics cannot give and a status no wealth can buy. May we all attain such position through our service to the needy and low of this land.

J. C. KEMALAPPA

GUARANTEES TO SERVICES

[The following are important portions of the speech of Sir Siraj-ud-Daulah Khan in the Constituent Assembly on the question of Guarantees to the Services.—(24)]

I am distressed that a senior Member like Mr Ananthaswamy Ayyangar, a responsible Member of this House, who is the Deputy Speaker of the Assembly, considers and expresses the opinion that the members of the Services were carrying on a very difficult administration for the last two, three years and at the same time harboured the feeling that they are owners of our country. If that is so, it was too business and the business of these people who think on these lines to move first a resolution to dispose with them and run the administration in vacuum—for there is no substitute of which he has thought of, except Congressmen or the Congress workers. I feel very sad that the very instruments from whom we have to take work we have been continuously quarreling with. If that is so, we are not doing service to the country. We are doing great disservice. Now, he made a point that this guarantee should not have been given. What was he doing all this while? To those people who think on those lines I say, this was not done in secret. No arrangement that was made with the British Government was done in secret, not done by an individual but by the representatives, by all the duly recognised representatives of the nation. When Mr Henderson came here to settle this question of the Services, he had long discussions with me. I had long negotiations and it was then a joint Government of the Muslims and the non-Muslims. It was an all-India Government at that time and those negotiations resulted in certain resolutions which were placed before the Cabinet—it was a joint Cabinet at the time—and they were accepted by them. Then those resolutions were sent to Parliament and they were accepted there. Many of the Europeans who were in the Services here have left now, but when the negotiations were going on, I told them to leave the case of Indians to us, that we shall deal with them as we demand just that they will treat us and we will trust them, and finally they agreed on certain conditions. Now I wish to point out that hardly anybody raised any objection to the arrangements that we were making at that time, but if they had suspected us, then there was plenty of scope at that time for them to come out and get better terms from outside agencies. Even now, if you are not willing to keep them, find out your substitute and many of them will go, the best of them will go. I wish to assure you that I have worked with them during this difficult period—I am speaking with a sense of heavy responsibility—and I must confess that in point of patriotism, in point of loyalty, in point of sincerity and in point of ability, you cannot have a substitute. They are as good as

ourselves and to speak in disparaging terms in this House, in public and to criticize them in this manner is doing disservice to yourselves and to the country. That is my considered opinion.

Now I will give you another series of facts which will confirm you why guarantees were given. You had seen what was happening in the Punjab. In the five districts where law was being brought, five British Officers were in power and nothing could be done. I tried to get the District Magistrate of Gujran transferred, I could not succeed, and the British officer there arrested leading Congressmen when they were out at work and put them in jail as hostages. He had the cheek to write on the application presented to him by the President of the Bar Association there to the effect that those were innocent and they should not be arrested and that they should be released immediately, that those people were being kept as hostages? That is the way he was doing his business. I was shocked and I went to Gujran. I saw him coming on the way and I asked him, "Have you arrested people as hostages?" He said, "No, who told you?" Fortunately, I had the document with me on which he had made that endorsement, and I showed him the endorsement. He asked, "How did you get this?" I said, "That is not the question. Is this your endorsement or not?" After that I tried hard. I wrote to the then Governor of the Punjab, I pleaded with the Viceroy, but I found it difficult to remove him and you know the havoc that was played in Gujran and those other districts. It was not in the Punjab alone, in other places also many such things were done. It was a time of touch and go and we would have lost India. Then we insisted that we had come to a stage when power must be transferred immediately, whatever happened, and then we decided to resign. It was at that time that Lord Mountbatten came. I gave you the inner history which nobody knows. I agreed to Partition as a last resort, when we had reached a stage when we would have lost all. We had ten or six members of the Government, the Muslim League members—they had already established themselves as Muslims who had come to partition the country. At that stage we agreed to Partition, we decided that Partition could be agreed upon on the terms that the Punjab should be partitioned—they wanted the whole of it—that Bengal should be partitioned—they wanted Calcutta and the whole of it. Mr Jinnah did not want a truncated Pakistan, but he had to swallow it. We said that those two provinces should be partitioned. I made a further condition that in two months' time power should be transferred and an Act should be passed by Parliament at that time, if it was guaranteed that the British Government would not interfere with the question of the Indian States. We said we will deal with that question later if it is so, you take no sides. Let parliamentary

the most important thing in the world to us. Will you please? You do not interfere. Will that settle our problem? The Princes are concerned we shall deal with them. On these conditions we agreed to partition and on these conditions the Bill in Parliament was passed in two months agreed to by all the three parties. Show me any isolated in the history of the British Parliament when such a Bill was passed in two months. But this was done. It gave birth to this Parliament. You now say, why did the leaders give these guarantees? In order to allow you to have an opportunity to attack the leaders on this very point. What else? You are responsible members of the Parliament of a huge country. The Leader of this Parliament has been invited to America, the highest honour that could be done to him. He is treated with great respect. They are giving him all honours. You have say, why did the leaders give these assurances? Think of the past. Why do you forget it? Have you read your own recent history?

I do not defend the black-sheep, they may be there. But are there not many honest people among them? But what is the language that you are using? I wish to record in this House that of during the last two or three years, most of the members of the Services had not behaved patriotically and with loyalty, the Union would have collapsed. Ask Dr. John Mathai. He is working for the last fortnight with them on the economic question. You may ask his opinion. You will find what he says about the Services. You ask the Premier of all provinces. Is there any Province in any province who is prepared to work without the Services? He will immediately bring. He cannot manage. We had a small nucleus of a broken Service. With that bit of Service we have carried on a very difficult task. And if a responsible man speaks in this House about these Services, he has to decide whether he has a substitute to propose and let him take the responsibility. This is not a Congress platform. It is said that we promised Rs. 500 for the Ministers in the Karachi resolution. There is a long distance between Karachi and Delhi today. It is a different thing. You want Rs. 45 a day free of income-tax. What is the use of talking about Rs. 500 today? It is very wrong.

But I am prepared to admit that if the Indian Government is to be run today on the basis of Gandhian philosophy without an army I am prepared to change the whole thing. You are today spending 155 to 170 crores of rupees per year on the Army. Are you going to change that set-up? Tomorrow the whole of India will be run over from one end to the other, if you have not got a strong Army.

The Police which was broken has been brought to its proper level and is functioning fairly efficiently. The Heads of Departments of the Police in every province are covered under

the guarantee. Are you going to change that? Are you going to put your Congress members as captains? What is it that you propose to do?

I am grieved to find that in a Parliament of this kind Members, senior Members, speak in this strain. I would refer you to the Indian Independence Act which gave birth to this Parliament and you find that the guarantees have been included there. When the Indian Independence Act was to be passed in Parliament the draft was sent here. The leaders of the nation were called for, the Cabinet was there, the Congress President was there, your President was there and your Leader today was there. Mahatma Gandhi was also present. Every sentence was scrutinised and the draft was approved. After that it was passed in Parliament. Now, those guarantees were circulated before that to the provinces. All provinces agreed it was also agreed to incorporate them into the Constituent Assembly's new constitution. That is one part of the guarantee. Have you read that history? Or you do not care for the recent history after you began to make history? If you do that, then I tell you we have a dark future. Learn to stand upon your pledged word and also as a man of experience I tell you, do not quarrel with the instruments with which you want to work. It is a bad workman who quarrels with his tools. Take work from them. Every man wants some sort of encouragement. Nobody wants to put in work when everyday he is criticised and ridiculed in public. Nobody will give you work like that. So, once and for all, decide whether you want that Service or not. If you have done with it and decide not to have the Service at all, even in spite of my pledged word, I will take the Services with me and go. The nation has changed its mind.

Then you make up your mind to prepare for a substitute. We have already a substitute. We have started a training school here in India, we have laid the cadre proposals for which have been approved by Poynettes—you know all that.

If you want an efficient all-India Service, I advise you to allow the Services to open their mouth freely. If you are a Premier, it would be your duty to allow your Secretary, or Chief Secretary or other Services working under you, to express their opinion without fear or favour. But I see a tendency today that in several provinces the Services are set upon and told: "No, you are servantsmen you must carry out our orders." The Union will go—you will not have a united India if you have not a good all-India Service which has the independence to speak out its mind, which has a sense of security that you will stand by your word and that after all there is the Parliament, of which we can be proud, where their rights and privileges are secure.

I have seen people who express their opinion about this Service as they used to talk in old fashion when 50 or 60 per cent were the British element who dominated the Service and our members of the Service had hardly any freedom to express their opinion and they were not independent. Today, my Secretary can write a note opposed to my views. I have given that freedom to all my Secretaries. I have told them, "If you do not give your honest opinion for the fear that it will displease your Minister, please then you had better go. I will bring another Secretary. I will soon be displeased over a frank expression of opinion. That is what the Ministers were doing with the Ministers. We are now sharing the responsibility. You have agreed to share responsibility. Many of them with whom I have worked, I have no hesitation in saying that they are as patriotic, as loyal and as anxious as myself. Those who think that Indians were involved in giving these guarantees they do not know their mind, they do not know what would have happened. They do not even now know. Yet we have difficult times ahead. We are talking here under security kept in very difficult circumstances. These people are the instruments. Henceforth there and I see nothing but a picture of chaos all over the country. I have difficulty because we have gravity of men. Provokes also called and they ask for more men. We have appointed a Special Commission to recruit about three hundred to four hundred men. They have just been selected. They are not selected from the LGS cadre. They have no experience. But yet we want instruments. They will learn from these people.

Now what is it that you want to do? You decide. My advice to you is all members of the Parliament should support the Service except where any individual member of the Service may be misbehaving or erring in his duty or committing a deviation of his duties. Then bring it to my notice. I will spare nobody, whoever he is. But if these service people are giving you full value of their services and more then try to learn to appreciate them. Forget the past. We fought the Britishers for so many years. I was their bittermost enemy and they regarded me as such but I am very thank and they consider me to be their sincere friend. What did Gandhi teach us? You are talking of Gandhian ideology and Gandhian philosophy and Gandhian way of administration. Very good. But you come out of the jail and then say, "These men put me in jail. Let me take revenge." That is not Gandhian way. It is going far away from that. Therefore, let God's will, let us understand where we are. Today, if you want to take anything from the Service, you touch their heart, but don't take a date and say, "Who is to give you guarantee? We are a Supreme Parliament." Have you supremacy for this kind of thing—no go behind your words? That supremacy will go down in a few days if you do that. That is

my appeal to you and sincere appeal to you. You remember that and carry that to the provinces also and to the Congressmen also who are working outside. That is the way of administration. Otherwise, it will go down. And when the country is stabilised and when it is strong enough, then if you want to make any change it would not be difficult for the service people to be persuaded. If the Princes could be persuaded to give up their kingdoms, how would it be otherwise with the Services who are our own people, whose children will be also serving with us, and who have laboured all day and night for the country. They are men who prefer honour, dignity, prestige and deserve the affection of the people. Very few people would like to serve only to be considered as menials of the country. So don't speak in those terms and I appeal to you to consider my word and give your judgment.

CONSTITUTION OF STATES

(The following are parts of the speech of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in the Constituent Assembly on September 11 on the above subject.) —S.S.J.

The amendments which are now being proposed concerning the provision of the Constitution applicable to the States, embody the results of the bloodless revolution which within a remarkably short period has transformed the internal and external set-up of the States. The fact that the new Constitution specifies only seven States in Part III of Schedule I is an index to the phenomenal progress made by the policy of integration, pursued by the Government of India. By integrating big and odd States into suitable units and by the complete elimination of numerous odd states, the Indian democracy has won a great victory of which the Princes and the people of India alike should be proud. This is an achievement which should be reckoned to the credit of any nation or people at any phase of history.

As a result of the policy of integration and democratisation of States pursued by the Government of India since December 1947 the process of what might be described as 'unification' of States has been greatly accelerated. Two important developments in this direction have been the extension of the legislative authority of the Dominion over the States and the federal financial integration of the States. The States had originally retained in respect of these subjects of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications only. With the formation of the Union the legislative power of the Dominion Parliament was extended in respect of the Union of States to all matters specified in the Federal and Concurrent Lists except those relating to taxation. The content of the agreement of the State of Mysore was also likewise extended.

The gap in the financial field has now been filled by the arrangements which have been

aggregated with the States on the basis of the recommendations made by the Indian States Finance Enquiry Committee. The fundamental basis of this scheme is that federal financial integration of the States is a necessary consequence of the basic conception underlying the new Constitution of the Union of India—that of Provinces and States as equal partners. The scheme, therefore, is based upon complete equality between the Provinces and States in the following aspects:

(1) The Central Government should perform the same functions and exercise the same powers in States as in Provinces.

(2) The Central Government should function through its own executive representatives in States as in Provinces.

(3) There should be uniformity and equality in the basis of contributions to Central resources from Provinces and States.

(4) There should be equality of treatment as between Provinces and States in the matters of revenue services rendered by the Central Government, and as regards the sharing of divisible Federal State grants-in-aid, subsidies and all other forms of financial and technical assistance.

These far-reaching changes in our fiscal structure are being introduced with the full concurrence of the States.

These important developments enabled us to review the position of the States under the new Constitution, and to observe from it all vestiges of anomalies and disparities which found their way into the new Constitution as a legacy from the past.

When the Comenents establishing the various Unions of States were entered into, it was contemplated that the Constitutions of the various Unions would be framed by their respective Constituent Assemblies within the framework of the Comenents and the Constitution of India. These provisions were made in the Unions at a time when we were still working under the shadow of the theory, that the assumption by the Constituent Assembly of India of the constitution-making authority in respect of the States would constitute an infringement of the autonomy of the States. As, however, the States came closer to the Centre, it was realised that the idea of separate Constitutions being framed by the different Constituent Assemblies of the Indian Union was a legacy from the Rulers' policy and that in a people's polity there was no scope for perpetuated constitutional patterns. We therefore discarded this matter with the Premiers of the various Unions and decided with their concurrence that the Constitution of the States should also form an integral part of the Constitution of India. The readiness with which the legislatures of the three States in which such bodies are functioning at present—Mysore, Travancore and Cochin Union and Madras—have accepted this procedure bears testimony to the wish of the people of the States to achieve the separatist results of the past.

It was deemed expedient to expedite a scheme necessary to rectify a number of the provisions of the Constitution in so far as they related to the States. The amendments we are proposing have been examined by the Constitutions making bodies of Mysore, Madras and Travancore and Cochin Union.

Unfortunately we have no properly constituted legislatures in the rest of the States, nor will it be possible to have legislatures constituted in them before the Constitution of India emerges in its final form. We have, therefore, no option but to make the Constitution operative in these States on the basis of its acceptance by the Ruler or the Raghawathi as the case may be, who will no doubt consult their Councils of Ministers.

The legislatures of these States, when constituted under the new Constitution, may propose amendments to the Constitution. I wish to assure the people of these States that any recommendations made by their first legislatures would receive our earnest consideration. In the meantime I have no doubt that the Constitution framed by this House, where all the States except one are duly represented, will be acceptable to them.

In view of the special problems with which the Government of Madras and Kathiawar is faced we have made a special provision for the continuance of the constitutional relationship of the State with the Union on the existing basis. In the case of Hyderabad State the acceptance of the Constitution will be subject to ratification by the people of the State.

I am sure the House will note with gratification the important fact that unlike the scheme of 1930, our new Constitution is not an alliance between democracies and dynasties, but a real Union of the Indian people built on the basic concept of the sovereignty of the people. It removes all barriers between the people of the States and the people of the Provinces and achieves for the first time the objective of a strong democratic India built on the true foundation of a co-operative enterprise on the part of the people of the Provinces and States alike.

As the House is acquainted with details of developments affecting the States it is not necessary for me to refer to the House the various amendments which have been tabled. There are two or three matters, however, about which I should like to make a few observations.

The States, as we inherited them, were in varying stages of development. In most cases the advance had to be made from the starting point of pure autocracy. Starting regard to the magnitude of the task which confronted the Governments of the Unions in the transitional period and to the fact that neither the Services inherited by them nor the political organisations, as they existed there, were in a position to

understand that the Government of India is not administering the various provinces in name of the Government of India but the administration came into operation in these kingdoms on Rajpranishad and the Council of Ministers which in the course of their functions to state the general control of the Government of India and comply with the instructions issued by that Government from time to time. The stress of the transitional phase is likely to continue for some years. We are ourselves most anxious that the people of these States should shoulder their full responsibilities. However, we cannot ignore the fact that while the administrative organisations and political institutions are to be found in most of the States in a relatively less developed state, the problems relating to the integration of the States and the change-over from an autocratic to a democratic order are such as to test the mettle of long-established administrations and experienced leaders of people. We have, therefore, found it necessary first in the interest of the growth of democratic institutions in these States no less than the requirements of administrative efficiency, the Government of India should exercise general supervision over the Governments of the States till such time as it may be necessary.

It is natural that a provision of this nature which treats States in Part III differently from Part I States should cause some misgivings. I wish to assure the Hon'ble Members representing these States and through them the people of these States that the provision involves no erosion of any Government. It merely provides for contingencies which, in view of the present conditions, are more likely to arise in Part III States than in the States of other categories. We do not wish to interfere with the day-to-day administration of any of the States. We are ourselves most anxious that the people of the States should learn by experience. This Article is essentially in the nature of a safety valve to obviate measures to drastic remedies such as the provisions for the breakdown of the constitutional machinery. It is quite obvious that in this matter the States e.g. Mysore and Travancore and Cochin Union where democratic institutions have been functioning for a long time and where Governments responsible to the legislatures are in office, have to be treated differently from States not conforming to these standards. In all these cases our control will be exercised in varying degrees according to the requirements of each case. The Provision in the Article gives us the necessary discretion to deal with each case on its merits.

Another matter about which I would like to remove misgivings is the proposed amendment to Article 5. This amendment places the States in Part III on the same footing as the States in Part I in respect of territorial readjustments. The Constituent Assembly of Mysore recommended to us that the Article as already adopted

by the House, which provides for prior consent of Part III States before any proposals affecting their territories are placed before the House, should remain unaltered. We have not found it possible to agree to the suggestion for the simple reason that in such matters there should be no differentiation between Part I and Part III States. I, however, take this opportunity of assuring the representatives of Mysore State that whether the Article provides for consultation or consent of the legislature of the affected State the wishes of the people cannot be ignored either by the Central Government or legislative body. After all, we are a democracy, the main sanction behind us is the will of the people and we cannot act in disregard of public opinion.

I now come to the proposed Article 267A in respect of which some explanation is necessary. The Government of India have guaranteed to the Rulers of Merged and Integrated States payment of privy purses as fixed under the terms of the various Contracts and Agreements of Merger. Article 267A gives constitutional recognition to these guarantees and provides for the expenditure being charged on the Central Treasury subject to such recoveries as may be made from time to time from the Princes and States in respect of these payments.

I shall first deal with the financial aspect of these arrangements. In the past, in most of the States there was no distinction between the expenditure on the administration and the Ruler's privy purses. Even where the Ruler's privy purses had been fixed no effective steps were taken to ensure that the expenditure expected to be covered by the privy purses was not, directly or indirectly charged on the estimates of the State. Large amounts, therefore, were spent on the Ruler and on the members of the ruling families. This expenditure has been estimated to exceed twenty crores of rupees per year.

All the agreements of merger and Contracts now provide for the fixation of the Ruler's privy purses which are intended to cover all the expenses of the Ruler and their families including the expenses of their residences, marriages and other ceremonies etc. The privy purses guaranteed under these agreements are less than the percentage for the Decree States under the award given by Dr. Rajendra-prasad, Shri Bhabhanagar Das and Dr. Purushottam Das, which is calculated on the basis of 15 per cent on the first lakh of average annual revenue of the State concerned, ten per cent on the next four lakhs and seven and a half per cent above five lakhs subject to a maximum of ten lakhs. The maximum figure of ten lakhs has been exceeded only in the case of the major States which had been recognised as viable and the amount fixed in such cases are payable during their life-time only. The total annual privy purses commitments so far made amount to about four and a half crores of rupees. When the amounts

guaranteed to the new Indian States, then the total and necessarily reduced amount of central expenditure in respect of privy-purses will amount to less than that done to rajputs.

Under the terms of the Covenants and the agreements entered into by the Indian privy-purses are payable to the Rulers out of the revenues of the States concerned and payments have so far been made accordingly. During the course of the discussions with the Indian States Financial Enquiry Committee, it was urged by most of the States that the liability for paying privy-purses of Rulers should be taken over by the Centre on the ground that—

(a) privy-purses have been paid by the Centre
(b) privy-purses are pointed to future and

(c) similar payments are not made by the Provinces.

Apart from these considerations, the position has definitely changed since the execution of the Covenants. In the first place, so far as the merged States are concerned, with their total extinction under the new Constitution of India, an separate entities the basis of liability for privy-purse payments guaranteed to the Rulers of the States will undergo a change. In that the States from the revenue of which privy-purses are payable, would cease to exist. Secondly, the term "revenues of the State" has now to be viewed in the context of the federal financial integration of the States. This integration involves a two-fold process: one, of 'functional' partition of the present separate State Governments, and the other of 'manager' of the partitioned 'federal' portions of the State Governments with the present Central Government. It follows, therefore, that when the federal financial integration becomes effective, the liability in respect of privy-purse payments should strictly speaking be shared on an equitable basis by the functional successors to the Governments of merged and integrated States that is the Central Government on the one hand and the Governments of Provinces and States on the other. Having regard to all these factors we have decided that the best course would be that these payments should constitute a charge on the Central revenues, but that, at the same time, provision should be made for the recovery of such contributions from the Governments of the States during such transitional period and in such amounts as may be considered appropriate. These recoveries are to be made in accordance with the scheme for financial integration of the States.

I have already stated that the privy-purse settlements made by us will reduce the burden of the expenditure on the Rulers to at least one-fourth of the previous figure. Besides the States have benefited very considerably from the process of integration in the form of cash balances inherited by them from the Rulers. Thus, for instance, the Parganahs of Madhya

Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and other leading States large sums of money. Central Government reluctant to cover a large settlement we paid privy-purses of the British Rulers governed this Union. So far as the revenues, in the part of the burden by the Centre is concerned we must remember that this arrangement flows as a consequence of the financial integration of the States, which will have an effect of lasting character on the economy of this country. The fiscal unification of India will patch up the disruptive rents in the economy of India which rendered effective implementation of economic policies in the Provinces impossible. Thus, for instance in the matter of income-tax evasion alone which has been a serious matter in recent years the gains from federal financial integration will prove very substantial. From the financial point of view, therefore, the arrangements we have made are going to benefit very materially the economy of this country.

I shall now come to the political and moral aspect of these settlements. In order to view the payments guaranteed by us in their correct perspective we have to remember that they are linked with the economic developments affecting the most vital interests of this country. These guarantees form part of the historic settlements which embrace in them the consummation of the great ideal of prophetic political and economic unification of India an ideal which for centuries remained a distant dream and which appeared as remote and as difficult of attainment as ever even after the advent of Indian independence.

History necessary is presently short. Starting in October 1940 we are apt to forget the magnitude of the problem which confronted us in August 1947. As the Honorable Ministers are aware the second stage of settlement, say was a part of the Plan announced on June 3 1947, which was accepted by the Congress. We agreed to this arrangement in the same manner as we agreed to the partition of India. We accepted it because we had no option to act otherwise. While there was recognition in the various announcements of the British Government of the fundamental fact that each State should link up its future with that Dominion with which it was prophetically designated, the Indian independence Act released the States from all their obligations to the British Crown. In their various authoritative pronouncements the British spokesmen recognised that with the lapse of paramountcy, technically and legally the States would become independent. They even conceded that theoretically the States were free to link their future with whatever Dominion they liked although in saying so, they referred to certain geographical considerations, which could not be avoided. The situation was indeed fraught with considerable possibilities of

disruption, for some of the Rulers did wish to exercise their so-called right to declare independence and others to join the neighbouring Dominions. If the Rulers had exercised their right in such an unpatriotic manner, they would have found considerable support from influential elements hostile to the interests of this country.

It was against this unpromising background that the Government of India visited the Rulers of the States in rounds on three subjects of Defence, External Affairs and Communications. At the time the proposal was put forward to the Rulers, an assurance was given to them that they would retain the status quo except for alterations on these subjects. It had been made clear to them that the settlement did not also imply any financial liability on the part of the States and that there was no intention either to touch on the internal autonomy or the sovereignty of the States or to limit their discretion in respect of their acceptance of the new Constitution of India. Their contentment had to be borne in mind when the States Ministry, approached the Rulers for the integration of their States. There was nothing to compel or induce the Rulers to renge the identity of their States. Any use of force would have not only been against our professed principles but would have also caused serious repercussions. If the Rulers had elected to stay put, they would have continued to draw the heavy civil lists which they were drawing before and in a large number of cases they could have continued to even unrestricted use of the State resources. The conditions which we could offer to them as good as good for nothing with their ruling powers was to guarantee to them privy purses and certain privileges on a reasonable and defined basis. The privy-purse settlements are therefore in the nature of consideration for the surrender by the Rulers of all their ruling powers and also for the dissolution of the States as separate units. We could do well to remember that the British Government spent enormous amounts in respect of the Mahadva settlements alone. We are ourselves honouring the commitments of the British Government in respect of the persons of these Rulers who helped them in consolidating their Empire. Need we civil them at the end— I purposely use the word civil—now we have paid for the bloodless revolution which has effected the freedom of millions of our people.

The equity for march and trouble on the part of the Rulers if the settlement with them would not have been reached on a negotiated basis was far greater than could be imagined at this stage. Let us do justice to facts, let us place ourselves in their position and then assess the value of their sacrifice. The Rulers have now discharged their part of the obligation by transferring all ruling powers and by agreeing

to the integration of their States. The main part of our obligation under these agreements is to ensure that the guarantees given by us in respect of privy purses are fully implemented. Our failure to do so would be a breach of faith and seriously prejudice the stabilisation of the new order.

In reminding the various provisions concerning the States to the House I would ask the Honourable Members to view them as a consolidated overall settlement of a gigantic problem. A particular provision isolated from its context may give a wholly erroneous impression. Some of us might find fault with what might appear as relics of the previous autocratic set-up. I wish to assure Honourable Members that autocracy in the States has gone and has gone for good. Let us not get impatient with any particular term which might remind us of the past. The keys in which the Rulers find recognition in the new Constitution of India, in no way impair the democratic set-up of the nation. The Rulers have made an honourable exit. It now remains for the people to fill the breach and to derive full benefit from the new order.

I take the liberty to remind the House that at the Haripur Session the Congress in 1936 defined its objective in respect of the States as follows:

"The Congress stands for the same political, social and economic freedom in the States as in the rest of India and considers the States as integral parts of India which cannot be separated. The Paras Sovereign or complete independence, which is the objective of the Congress is for the whole of India, inclusive of the States, for the integrity and unity of India must be maintained in freedom as it has been maintained in subjection. The only kind of federation that can be acceptable to the Congress is one in which the States participate as free units, enjoying the same measure of democratic freedom as the rest of India."

I am sure the House will agree with me when I say that the provisions which we are now placing before the House embody in their full achievement of that objective.

A Request

I was reading to my students Our Time a Treat by Mahadevi Devi from Young India 1934. In the second paragraph he writes, "How much the more and the better than knowest so much the more especially shall thou therefore be judged."

I shall be obliged if any of your readers will be so good as to inform me where this quotation is taken from.

B. K. BHAKTACHARYA
Assistant, B. J. High School,
Gobindpur, Calcutta (West India).

THE BANSAI' ANGRISH

On October 2, Shrimati Ramaswami Satyawada was invited by the Bansa (a powerful Tribal) Maha Sabha, Delhi, to preside over Gandhi's birth celebration in Andhra Maheshwaram Colony, popularly known as Bansa Nagar. The Bansa Maha Sabha is an organisation recently formed by the residents of the colony with the object of doing welfare work in the colony. It has done some useful work during the short period of its existence. Shrimati Ramaswami was shown round the various activities of the Sabha including a manual labour-squad, a pre-lease class, a football team and their newly-opened dispensary. The colony was remarkably neat and tidy. The dispensary building has been put up by the free labour of the Bansa themselves. They had been able to secure the free services of a competent and qualified doctor Dr Vinodchandra in their charitable dispensary. That was all good work which the Sabha has done in a short period.

But of all the scenes of celebrations the welcome speech given by an educated Bansa lady on behalf of all the residents of the colony was most touching. In her sweet but firm voice she said, "We can understand why the foreigner kept us in slavery. But what we cannot understand is why does the Congress or Pandit Jawaharlal or Sardar Patel continue to keep us in bondage? The country has achieved independence but we continue to work as slaves." Very pointedly she again asked "When Balasahib Kher can grant freedom to 15 lakh Criminal Tribes people living in Bansa, why is Sardar Patel afraid to remove the shackles of a few thousand Criminal Tribes people living in Delhi Province?" In an indignant tone she continued, "To classify the whole Bansa Tribes and other tribes as Criminal is a great cruelty, a huge barbarity, an absolute outlandishness and a terrible sin. We wonder who is to be held responsible for this sin?" She quoted the following passage from the speech of the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru delivered on 15-10-30 at Nagpur (Andhra):

"I am aware of the monstrous provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act which constitutes a negation of Civil Liberty. Wide publicity should be given to its working and an attempt made to have the Act removed from the statute book. No tribe could be classed as Criminal as such and the whole principle was out of consonance with all civilized principles of criminal justice and treatment of offenders."

She asked "Pandit Jawaharlal because the Prime Minister on 15th August, 1942. Two long years have since rolled by. What has he been able to do for us so far? We are informed that a committee has just been appointed to re-organize the possibility of repealing or modifying the Criminal Tribes Act of 1924." In her anguish, she cried out, "God alone knows what

the committee, committee and how long it would take to complete these investigations." She continued her speech with a positive statement that besetted of a great Truth, "Not a" as all Bansa are unendingly call Shrimati Ramaswami Nehru, "we are also human beings. God dwells in our hearts too. We also can become great provided opportunity is given to us for our growth. We implore you to help us in creating favourable surroundings conducive to our growth."

Shrimati Ramaswami was touched by this outspoken but pathetic appeal of these poor people and gave them an assurance that she would do her best to get the abominable Act repealed. She assured the Bansa that the Congress Government was equally interested in the repeal of this Act and in the welfare of the Criminal Tribes and it would not be long before this Act would be repealed and they would all breathe as free men.

At the end of the function a Bansa School-master asked her permission to speak a few words. He informed the audience that of all most troops in Delhi, the Criminal Tribes scout troop had topped the list in earning a special certificate of merit for having shown excellent spirit of service and hard work. To dub such fine young men as criminals was an act of criminality he said.

Could not the Act be repealed without reference to any committee? Cannot Delhi follow the example of Bombay and Madras?

Yes, Delhi. **REHMAN KHAN/SHAH**
Working Secretary, Disabled Veterans
Rehabilitation Board

Is This the Dawn At Last?

The report of the Governor's Commission among other things, recommends growing raw materials as against food crops and establishing an Export Promotion Department. The last, presumably to enable us to secure Dollar Exchange for the requirements of industrialists. The type of economy they recommend is already gaining ground. India produces about 75 million pounds of American Virginia Cigarette tobacco, valued at about Rs 5000000 covering about 500000 acres of good irrigated soil. Besides this, sugar cane, long-staple cotton and groundnuts are driving out food crops.

Pandit Nehru gave expression to many ideas at various times. Addressing a public meeting at Poona he is reported to have said,

"The freedom we achieved two years ago would be meaningless unless we attained economic self-sufficiency. For that we must begin to produce at least our essential requirements in our own country." May we heartily hope that wisdom has begun to dawn on him after his Government was charged to develop the ropes?

All this reveals an awful lack of a definite policy at the top. How long will the country drift like this?

-J. B. R.

their appetite so that they roam out with them. They are daily patted and sprayed and talked to by Belah, the adrian queen, who at least every day and they seem to love. You can easily by the look but even by the usual custom of her there's footstep. These skeletons died away to die on the streets infected and covered with disease and injury were heal under such loving care and affection and unless too aged come in condition. Then they are grazed and promoted to the dry salvage season, where they get better feeding and concentration, and then they come to live and even thrive. A small museum is attached to the infirmary—a vital and indispensable complement to a public center.

At the Dry Salvage Station cows are served with selected ones and saved for till they calve again. Owners who usually neglect their cows woefully during dry period both in respect of feeding and breeding are induced to entrust them for long looked after here on easy terms. At the time of my visit the section contained 183 heads as against 202 in the infirmary. The former included sixty or eight pairs of draught bullocks, who's work on the lands in the Agriculture Section and six dockhays maintained for mass transport. All scrub and wild lands and maize save those selected as breeding ones are treated by the pasture business method.

A startling feature of the Settlement's activities is the catching and taming of wild bulls that abound in their jungles. They form one of the species of wild animals that inhabit Taiti including tigers, leopards, boars, bears and wild elephants, not to speak of monkeys, jackals, etc. I had no opportunity to witness any operation of catching one or more of these wild bulls, but from what I heard about it, it must be quite an exciting experience, no less thrilling than what we read about Spanish bull fights in Mexico, minus its fatalities. The men who do the job come from Maithara side. They are no police-men, but by dint of sheer pluck and agility make themselves adepts in the art of catching wild bulls. I suppose it is a job tougher than that of hunting wild boars. While the spectators ride elephants or run on foot shouting words of encouragement and cheer, the pursuers chase the bull on horse-back from both sides till the animal is exhausted and panting. They then close on him and before the exhausted bull has time to kick or charge catch him by the tail which is so pulled as to floor the animal. Sometimes by sheer agility and presence of mind, one of the pursuers holds the charging bull by the horns while the other, within the twinkling of an eye, follows him with his rope or even with a long cord or lasso cloth and brings him down. Hinges are then brought in and he is tied up to the nearest tree. The adventure often costs much pursuit and even injury to the pursuers. The bull is soon domesticated and tamed under shelter, care and ample timely feeding is strengthening, castrated and broken for the plough or

sold to the neighboring cultivated land for tought purposes on easy terms.

The first slice of 353 acres out of the 411 acres of jungle land is already cleared of weed and shrubs, and has been tractor-ploughed for the first operation, to be permanently worked by bullocks in future. On 350 acres stand numerous Kham crops of chert (yam), ginger, sweet beans, etc. About 50 acres were damaged by floods and 40 remain fallow. A second sowing of wheat, barley, peas, oats, oil-seeds and dried crops including vegetables will be taken on the whole acreage during the coming cold season. The area knows no drought or famine. A small little river called the Kawahe River in the center of the reclaimed lands.

The U. P. Government maintains a unit of seven officials, eight subordinate staff and 34 permanent men to work the three sections, the Dry Salvage, the Infirmary and the Land Reclamation, besides engaging casual labour according to need. The annual budget both recurring and non-recurring, is a little over Rs.1,00,000 while gross estimated income is Rs.20,000 approximately for the current year, which gives promise of a bright future.

Another adjoining slice of 500 acres of the jungle is in the offing for immediate reclamation. When this is done, Belah proposes to found, on planned village model, one or two settlements or clusters of Hawan agricultural families with the necessary contingent of village artisans. They will be allotted economic holdings in land and will engage detachments in cattle improvement or pursue village crafts on co-operative lines. They will be initiated in the working of the co-operative principle and enjoy all the amenities of a co-operative life. Belah has also a further programme of reclaiming 5,000 to 6,000 acres of the jungle area in view. The Government would no doubt be more than justified in pooling these resources in money, material and talent in reclaiming other Taiti areas in the Province on the same basis as here and regenerating the cow and her progeny besides implementing the present 'grow share' drive and bringing food and comfort to thousands of human families.

I cannot help mentioning here, incidentally the vast lands, orchards, buildings, and other properties often developed and fully equipped with buildings, wells, water ways and staff, but lying waste and totally neglected under religious and charitable trusts, which are, alas! hotbeds of abuse and corruption and are virtually personal properties of Mahants or of so-called trustees or committees. Even a master survey of investigation into the administration or management of these charities by Government with the help of uncorrupt officials or non-official men of integrity would result in shocking revelations. And every land and prominent man who has anything to do with public affairs knows this. But who should tell the cat?

Every functionary of the Government or member of popular bodies, official or non-official seems to be concerned only with his job or voting his vote or with retaining his place in the public and has little time to loan into other affairs or is not interested in creating new opposition. Let the sleeping dog lie seems to be the working motto. The initiative must come from him but I am afraid nothing is going to come in this direction till the Provincial Government take courage in both these hands and take the initiative. The problem is more understandable than, say, the abolition of Zamindari inasmuch as these are desirable trust properties vested in the trustees for good management and are not under personal ownership.

The I. P. Government very rightly and wisely backs Mirabehn's efforts and maintains a staff for full administration and supervision of the operations on the settlement in all its sections—Agricultural, Cattle Salvage, Infirmary, Tannery, etc., Mirabehn's role being somewhat of an Honorary Adviser Major to the Government of the Assistant Engineer and Admision taker all rolled into one. I congratulate Shri Pantaji's Government on having secured for their whop so eminent a missionary as Mirabehn in their programme of rural reconstruction and development.

So Sahay's Pathshala promises to be one of the foremost model colonies in co-operative farming and cattle breeding—the two vital basic industries of the country. I congratulate and salute my sister Mirabehn.

Bombay Dec. 4-10 '48

SWAMI ANAND

NOTES

'Save More Food' Campaign

The following sent on behalf of the Bombay Suburban District Congress Committee is a commendable activity.

"Grow More Food" slogan does not tell. Turn thy eye and observe the 'Save More Food' is the best slogan to help the country's food problem. Hence on behalf of our District Congress a 'Save Food' Campaign has been started. In this drive, a form has been presented in consultation with the Controller of Food Supply Department. In this form, an individual or individual desires to spend their spare of rice or prefer to take exchange food in other. This movement will help in their trips.

(1) These forms are to be submitted to the Controller of Food, who in turn shall make suitable kindred arrangements to see that eating free-goods shall not find its way to black market.

(2) A suitable survey of food saved shall be started.

(3) A movement of this type may work psychologically on the minds of people to save food.

At present, these forms are sent to each Suburban Congress in order to be used in rural co-op committees. They are also sent to the Principals of

Government and Local Boards in the Suburban District.

Shri B. D. Desai, Secretary to the scheme and vice-president of S. B. D. has offered to hand out to the Government 25 to 30 Russell pounds of rice grown in his field. He sends in 100 2000 sq. yards. Everything bought in Bombay all the food etc. sent to the markets have decided not to draw rice on their stock-rooms.

Wardha Dec. 19

R. G. M.

Literary Competition

Literary competitions both in English as well as in Saurashtra giving prizes of Rs. 300, Rs. 200 and Rs. 100 in English and Rs. 200, Rs. 300 and Rs. 150 in Saurashtra for the first three best entries in each section, are invited on the names and on acceptance of most migration of Hindu, Jain, and. The competitors should confine, substantiated as far as possible with authentic facts and figures, illustrations, and quotations from reliable records, the immediate and remote causes of their migration from India, the expediency and probability of returning back, their plans for effective and quick rehabilitation and suggestions for the preservation of their distinct character and culture including language, held sacred to the present changed environments.

30th November 1948 is the last date for acceptance of contributions. For further particulars apply to the undersigned.

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY KARNATAK GASTRI)

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12 PAGES

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TWO ANNAS

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL'S SIXTIETH

The reader will get this news almost on the eve of Pandit Jawaharlal's birthday. He completed sixty years on the 14th. His popularity and his achievements need no narration in words.

If we have able exceptional personalities like Gandhiji, Jawaharlal, Subhashchandra and many others who showed exceptional powers of leadership from an early age, the completion of the fifth or sixtieth year should not normally be regarded as an occasion for public celebration. But it has become so in our country of short-lived people. If the general expectation of life were about eighty, the fifth and sixtieth birthdays would not be regarded as of greater importance than the twentieth or thirtieth even in case of a public worker, and would at most be celebrated privately in the circle of family and personal friends. For a person perfectly healthy in body and mind, sixty years should really be the commencement of the period when his fully developed intellectual and organisational capacities begin to bring forth their best fruits. Indeed, in the opinion of George Bernard Shaw, a person is not fit for doing real serious acts of life before sixty. When Gandhiji's seventieth birthday was celebrated on a great scale, he is reported to have expressed surprise that seventieth birthday was regarded as a fit occasion for public celebration. Gandhiji was just growing, in Shaw's opinion.

But among our people with short lives, the decade after fifty is regarded as entry into the "harvest" of life and few people are expected to cross it over safely and successfully. So, if a man can show some public work to his credit before fifty, he and his friends get impatient to commemorate his fiftieth birthday as a golden day. And perhaps, he attains sixty, not much hope is entertained about his being able to reach seventy, and so the sixtieth birthday becomes a "diamond" day. Moreover the general expectation is that even if persons live longer, most people lose their mental health after sixty. Far from giving their best after that age, they show complete intellectual breakdown. There is a saying which means "ship means acidity".

Indeed, there are indications of the poverty and physical and mental breakdown of our people at a certain stage. Since few many hope to continue their development after sixty, a few who

do so become objects of envy, congratulations. If we were perfectly healthy, the sixtieth year would have the same importance in our mental perfection, as the twentieth in our physical one. It must mark the beginning of even a last intellectual output. That age should not be an occasion for public celebration.

Of course, as I have said above, that would be still some exceptions like Pandit Jawaharlal. That even in his case I hope and pray, that his significance in the years to come might prove a much more precious one to enable all his personal achievements look like small waters. And may he live to full hundred years, far wishing harmony.

Varadha, 22.10.49

S. S. NARAYANAS

CONFLICTING IDEOLOGIES

The Working Committee's ruling that R.S.S. members can join the Congress organisation, may be quite in order constitutionally. It appears from press reports, that the ruling was given as a reference by the Rajya Sabha. I do not know what led that body to make the reference. Shri Gokulnarain avoiding to give a direct answer, having approached the Congress with any such proposal, is, in the absence of any explanation, I would assume, as if a motion in the Congress itself has occurred that members of the R.S.S. should join the Congress organisation.

It is a strange turn of events, though not surprising. The public held and still hold the R.S.S. as a body whose ideology is the worst of that of the Hindu Mahasabha. The essential features of that ideology, as understood by the public and as put down in the latest manifestoes, are:

(a) total rejection of Hindu orthodoxy

(b) the establishment of a State in which the traditional Hindu culture of life should predominate as of right.

(c) non-recognition (that is say rejection) of the doctrine of non-violence as preached by Gandhiji and yet claiming that it is inherent for Indians.

So far as I am aware, the R.S.S. has not said that this public belief about its objects is incorrect. It can be said to the credit of Shri Gokulnarain and the R.S.S. that on ideological essentials they have always maintained a consistent position, and whatever other secret methods the R.S.S. men might have been suspected of employing or of having theory to explain, they have not concealed or changed their beliefs. On all these four points, Gandhiji and all those who

accepted as an ideological position. It is unclear if and how far the Government is going to go in at least very modified and limited form. Gooding was a member of the Congress and said that that is the kind of an attitude he wanted to see. Some of the members of the Congress think in terms of a compromise and by a gradual step and more economic measures. Members of the House National Assembly are inclined towards other ideological thought but have not yet taken any firm line. They are not sure of at least taking it official and consistent or be used not have any compromise. The Government has a different ideology, but in the Congress, according to some of them, all have ideal Congressmen who did not change their ideology. It appears as an expression of a certain ideological strategy. Gooding at least has been very frank in a few months before his death.

And a number of people in the majority of the Congress are ideological. It is a matter of view since that themselves and others in fact at least should have the place of freedom. At the time the Government would expect that the R S S had a kind of Hindu-Mahatma thing, and in the manifestation in Gooding and he had a different approach to the State itself. There was the reason for thinking that he had a different kind of leaders and workers in place as a new kind. The response was fully understood by public opinion and indeed will cause a new kind of action against the R S S members in some parts of the country provided Government action itself at the time of Gooding's death.

After a year or so the case was lifted and the Chief and other did not were released. The Chief was only authorized politician of the R S S declared that he had no representation for the case. He was asked and objects as before the fact the only points conceded by him being the framing of a constitution as a form which the Government could not regard as objectionable and regarding the country's flag along with the sun.

Important detention of persons without any offence proved against them is never desirable, whatever be the government which does it. And so release of the detainees was just and proper if the Government could not prosecute them for any definite offence. Though released the Prime Minister said a few days ago did not seem to be disappointed about that body and said that the Government would watch them. The public of course is friendly but suspicious about them and makes no distinction between them and the Hindu Mahasabha. If public opinion is based on groundless prejudice it is for the R S S to remove that prejudice by reliable declarations and acts. There are no furthering.

Under these circumstances the Working Committee's resolution assumes great significance. It means that either the Congress has no particular cultural ideology of its own and is in-

different about some designs or members accept and work for it or that either an cultural ideology is accepted or accept that of the R S S.

If it is the former, I suggested that the Congress might find itself faced with further divisions in a leading to further actions or group formations. For at the stage, through which India is passing at present every cultural ideology carries with it a definite political, social and economic outlook and programme or also methods of work.

I said that the turn of events was strange but not surprising. According to my own feeling the reason is that even before the Gandhian Movement in its earlier the Congress began to move towards the Hindu Mahasabha ideology and has been definitely going towards it ever since.

It is noted that the R S S is an extreme nationalist disciplined army of young men with a fervent and burning zeal for Hindutva. That it is capable of giving a fight to the Congress and Socialists¹⁾ and that the suspension of its cooperation will strengthen the Congress and be helpful to the Government. It is also so long as concealed—if ever it was—that in the opinion of general legislation the non-violence philosophy of Gooding is not a practical proposition. It is not a mere question of having up to date armed forces for defending the country against outside attack. But even the maintenance of law and order and suppression of acts of violence is not possible without resorting to strong and similar measures along with the Hindu policy laws. In these Congress or constructive workers who have, under the influence of Gandhian teaching, lost the capacity of giving hard blows on an occasion cannot be very helpful to those who want to run a government. The R S S is believed to be better suited for the practical man's philosophy.

On the economic and social side also the R S S is not known to have any theories inconsistent with industrialisation, centralisation, and the present order built upon class, caste and sex distinctions with their various privileges and types of work arrangements, rank, prestige, etc. Some of the provincial Governments have partly under Gandhian influence and partly under the influence of Western ideas gone very far in matters of social reforms, such as prohibition, temple entry, Harijan equality, manugamy, divorce etc. These reforms have become embarrassing enough. Their implementation is actively opposed by the public. Several Congressmen without meaning to be opposed to these reforms would wish that not such and should be shown to set up to them. The R S S people with neither profundity nor liberalism has about them, would be able to express their views more effectively than old Congressmen can, and might help the latter to come out of the dilemma created by

HARIJAN

November 13

1942

BE REALISTS

Replying to the innumerable messages of good wishes in the evening South Indian Radio Vellore. Most First heard the following statement. On 11/11/42 — (50)

Messages of good wishes and sentiments of love and affection which kind friends from far and near have sent me on my birthday have moved me beyond words. The year that has gone had many serious moments for me personally as well as for my countrymen. Through all I was sustained by the deep attachment, loyalty and devotion which my countrymen have always extended to me. For all this and for the goodwill and consideration which I have received from one and all of them I am deeply grateful.

It is a source of great personal regret to me that my health does not now permit me to maintain those personal contacts which need to be such an important part of my being. It is now left, given to me to continue these as far as possible by correspondence within the limits which work and health permit me. I hope therefore that kind friends will not take it amiss if I am unable to reply to these communications of greetings and good wishes personally. I should only like to say that all these have touched me deeply and my only regret is that I may deserve such an abundance of love, loyalty, trust and confidence.

In my speech at Delhi yesterday I emphasised the need for united effort, restraint and a harmonious understanding of my problems and difficulties. I repeat these words today and I should like once more to appeal to my countrymen to realise the true critical nature and extent of the times through which we are passing. I at least appoint the blame where it lies.

Let us postpone mutual backslings and fault-finding until we can afford that posture. These things will not avail us. They will only prevent us from action, positive and constructive, which is the need of the hour.

Whether in political or in economic matters let us face the issues as reality, as men of responsibility and of practical outlook. If we do so we shall soon learn to distinguish between what is helpful and what is unhelpful for our immediate purpose.

I have no doubt that if we conduct ourselves as practical men as those interested in, and concerned almost solely with the problems of every day life as those to whom what matters in practical results rather than theoretical debates, we shall see through our problems and difficulties much quicker and much more effectively than if we engaged ourselves in perpetual wrangles

about rights and wrongs of one principle or another or of different "isms".

This is the only message that I should like to give to my countrymen today and I hope each one of them will be able to appreciate the bearing of this message on the concrete problems of the moment which affect us all directly and indirectly.

As for myself, the way is long and time is fleeting. The task which I shall have to render accounts to the Master is, at my age, not very distant. Kind and generous Providence gave me an opportunity during the last three years to serve my countrymen in the field of practical politics. I have done so to the best of my ability and the usual generosity of contemporaries has tried to match the verdict of history.

Should I be so fortunate as to get that verdict in my favour it would only be the reflected glory of the love and devotion and the trust and confidence which I have been able to command from all those with whom I has been such a pleasure and privilege to work. May God grant that within such time as is still deemed for me, I continue to have at my disposal all this fund of affection, goodwill and support and what is more that I may succeed in deserving it all.

NON-VIOLENT STRENGTH AND CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

Let me therefore reiterate what I have said so often. The best preparation for, and even the expression of, non-violence lies in the determined pursuit of the constructive programme. Any one who believes that without the backbone of the constructive programme he will show non-violent strength when the testing time comes will fail miserably. It will take the attempt of a starving warrior to match his physical strength against a fully fed and pampered soldier, he foredoomed to failure. He who has no belief in the constructive programme has in my opinion no concrete feeling for the starved millions. He who is devoid of that feeling cannot fight non-violently. In actual practice the expression of my non-violence has kept exact pace with that of my identification with starved humanity. I am still far from the non-violence of my conception, for am I not still far away from the identification of my conception with dumb humanity?

M. K. GANDHI

(Harcovs 12-4-42 *Non-violent Resistance*)

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PEACE THROUGH MORAL FORCE

The following is the full text, as reported by P. T. I. Hazare, of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's speech at the time of accepting the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws conferred upon him by the Columbia U. S. & J. University on 12th October last.

After the preliminary formalities were over, Professor Albert Jacobs read the following citation:

"Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, foremost champion of the great spirit of Indian freedom, a dominant leader of his people along the thorny path of liberation, was courage and wisdom of policies of a re-born nation, renewed interpreter of the aspirations of a great race, his intellectual leadership has combined a profound knowledge of the West with the great heritage and enduring traditions of the East; a champion of under-privileged peoples, his devotion to the noble ideals of universal peace and understanding have won for him the respect and admiration of all mankind."

General Eisenhower, presenting the scroll to Pandit Nehru said:

"I gladly admit you to the degree of Doctor of Laws honoris causa in this University and confer upon you all the rights and privileges which attach thereto."

Pandit Nehru's Speech

Mr. President, I am deeply grateful to this great University and to you. So far the honour you have done me in inviting me today and in conferring the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. It is an honour to be associated with this University and with the many men of learning and wisdom after truth of this University and I shall treasure it. To have that signal honour conferred upon me by one who has played such a distinguished part both in war and peace adds to its value.

Need for Clear Objectives

I have come to you not so much in my capacity of Prime Minister of a great country or as a politician, but rather as an humble worker after truth and as one who has continuously struggled to find a way, not always with success, to fit action to the objectives and ideals that I have held. That process is always difficult but becomes increasingly so in this world of conflict and passion today. Politicians have to deal with day-to-day problems and they seek immediate remedies. Philosophers think of ultimate objectives and are apt to lose touch with the day-to-day world and its problems. Neither approach appears to be adequate by itself. It is possible to combine these two approaches and function after the manner of Plato.

You, Sir, have had the experience of the role of a great man of action and also of that of a philosopher as the head of this University and should be able to help us to answer the question in this world of incessant and feverish activity when have little time to think and much less to

conceive [imagine] the ultimate, and not as Plato said, even in the greatest of us, I am, I am, say nothing, only, what our objectives are!

It is worth the peaceful atmosphere of this occasion, peaceful systems can be adequately conceived. I mean, when the young men and women of this University today and on whom the future of this problem will fall to decide, learn to have clear objectives and standards or values, that there is any hope for the next generation. The past generation produced some great men but as a generation it led the world repeatedly to disaster. Two World Wars are the gains that has been paid for the lack of vision on man's part in this generation. It is a terrible price and the tragedy of it is that even after that price was paid, we have not purchased real peace nor a cessation of conflict, and an even deeper tragedy is that mankind does not profit by its experience and continues the same way which led previously to disaster.

We have had wars and we have had a victory yet what is victory and how do we measure it? A war is fought usually to gain certain objectives. The defeat of the enemy is not in itself an objective, but rather the removal of an obstruction towards the attainment of the objective. If these objectives are not attained, then that victory over the enemy brings only negative relief and indeed a partial victory. We have seen however that the aim is what is almost useless to defeat the enemy, and that the other end and objects are our own salvation. The world has been that the victory obtained by defeating the enemy has only been a very partial one and has not solved the real problem, or if it has solved the immediate problem, it has at the same time given rise to many others sometimes worse problems. Therefore, it becomes necessary to have the real objective clear in our minds at all times whether in war or in peace, and always to aim at achieving those objectives.

Relationship Between Ends and Means

I think also that there is always a close and intimate relationship between the end we aim at and the means adopted to attain it. Even if the end is right, if the means are wrong, that will vitiate the end or divert it into a wrong direction. Means and ends are thus intimately and inseparably connected and cannot be separated. That indeed has been the lesson of old taught us by many great men in the past but unfortunately it is seldom remembered.

I am venturing to place some of these ideas before you not because they are novel but because they have impressed themselves upon me in the course of my life which has been spent in alternating periods of momentary activity and conflict and enforced leisure. The great leader of my country, Mahatma Gandhi, under whose inspiration and sheltering care I grew up, always laid stress on moral values and warned us never to subordinate means to ends. We are not

Letter to the Editor: The Social Revolution

[illegible]

I would not presume to offer advice to other and less-developed nations in any way that might suggest the your consideration that there is some lesson in India's physical revolution which might be applied to the larger problems of the world today. That revolution represented in a physical form and not necessarily in the art of man's destiny and that the physical is playing a struggle and the way of the triumph over the pernicious influences of a history where is the important part that physical form has played. But it also shows in that we each have our individuality, the most basic of the world and it is attempted to come, it does so in its part. Today the problem faces us all in its intensity because the struggle in a physical form has to be played in a world of technology. And the triumph over this form is not a triumph only in the material sense that man's ingenuity has entered in man's existence. I do believe in man's ability to master a struggle, but there is a lesson in it, so men, this situation and, under the, problem that faces us. I realize this is a situation in man who has to deal with physical, other, other, other and cannot act in terms of a world, truth. The victory is always limited. Sometimes, being truth is man's truth and it always is in hope in view and as far as possible, it should influence our action. Otherwise we get caught up in a vicious circle of evil when our evil action leads to another.

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India is a very old country with a great past. But it is a new country also with new hopes and dreams. Since August 15, 1947 she has been in a position to pursue her own foreign policy. She was limited by the realism of a situation which she could not ignore or ever ignore. But even so, she could not forget the lesson of her great leader. In the family of nations, she was a newcomer and could not on Russia there greatly to begin with. But she had a certain advantage. She had great potential resources, with which to increase her power and

Her husband, a well-known lawyer, is the best of husbands, but her mother-in-law, who by her own choice is a traditionalist, is not. Even so, her former rulers have been so benevolent that these ladies have left the family of exiles with no propensities or emotions ready to be aroused and be victorious. In addition, and to compound her foreign policy in terms of unqualified self-interest, but at the same time, she brought to it a sense of her situation.

Thus we have tried to combine education with national service. The main objectives of this policy are the pursuit of peace, not through argument with any major Power or group of Powers but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue; the education of subject peoples; the maintenance of freedom both national and individual; the elimination of racial discrimination; and the elimination of want, disease and ignorance which afflict the greater part of the world's population.

I am asked frequently why Israel does not align herself with a particular nation or group of nations and are told that because we have refrained from doing so we are sitting on the fence.

The question and the comment are really understandable because at times of crisis, it is not unimportant for those who are involved in it, deeply, in regard either objectively or subjectively, to express, albeit slightly negative, views on even friendly But I should like to make it clear that the policy India has sought to pursue is not a negative and neutral policy. It is a positive and vital policy. Peace is not only an absolute necessity for us in India in order to progress and develop, but it is also of paramount importance to the world. Peace is that peace to be preserved, not by banding to aggression, not by compromising with evil or injustice, but also not by refusing of all compromise for war.

Results and Error Categories

Aggression has to be met, for it endangers peace. At the same time, the lesson of the last war has to be remembered. Marshaling the world into two hostile camps precipitates the conflict which it seeks to avoid. It produces also a terrible fear. That fear darkens men's minds and leads them into wrong courses. There is perhaps nothing so bad and so dangerous as living in fear. As a great President of the United States said, "There is nothing really to fear except fear itself."

Our problem, therefore, becomes one of increasing and unreservedly putting on and to this fear. That will not happen if all the world takes sides and talks of war. War becomes almost certain then. We are a member of the family of nations and we have no wish to share any of the obligations and burdens of that member, others.

We have accepted fully the obligations of membership of the United Nations and intend

"We all know what is offered to all, it will be a full employment and raising of all persons to a general standard of life, common humanity. That man is not here on a wilder thinking but on a common sense—on a the problems that affect us all and on an action I venture to place it before you."

"PRODUCE MORE, SPEND LESS AND WASTE NOTHING"

I produce more and less and waste nothing, is the cry of the entire class in India. Unfulfilled India is the nation in the South of the 14 years that it has taken in the development of light on the condition of the country. India is a nation in the 14 years. The speech is a masterpiece of logic. —[24]

The love and affection with which you have welcomed me have delighted me and the kind words full of love and wisdom in which my colleagues have expressed themselves have played a heavy role in the way of my speech. I do not know what to say. My brother Rajen, before me said that I am a man of few words. There is a principle underlying it. At the evening party, I have the constraint of little speech is not the learned. When all when one speaks, one must not do it. If we cannot do so it will bring harm to the man who speaks as well as to others. I therefore open my lips only when the time comes and when there is an occasion for it. I therefore there is no occasion I just cannot bring myself to say anything.

The prices which you have raised and the things which you have showed on the stage have led me to have longer and more the same. The very thing has just now closed was a small one. It was not the old school for me but I do not care for it. When all the body is made of dust and it will return to dust. When the time comes, no matter, will and not but when I was more worried about were the troubles which have our country. Day and night, I thought of them and was deeply concerned about them. But the next year is going to be even more critical. To find your way out you will have to work on your hands and feet. You will have to find ways, as though you are walking over the edge of a sword. One false step and you will get crushed in disaster. After all India remains for me. Seventy-four years is a long period and a ripe old age for a man in India. When your feelings and sentiments are so strong and your wishes so honest, I feel encouraged to live but I shall prove that I prove worthy of your love, trust and confidence.

"We ask, first is to strengthen the hands of our leader who is now carrying the country's burden on his own hands. I shall do as long as there is breath in me and I have the strength. He is enhancing our prestige in foreign countries with all his might. Our prestige is high because of Gandhi's life and martyrdom. The way he lived collected the admiration of the whole world, but the way he died awakened the world to his real worth and merit."

Now our leader is working day and night to maintain our honour and our good name ab-

road. During his last journey, my friend and partner, on the way to the airport, said to me, "You have a lot of work to do, you have a lot of work to do, you have a lot of work to do, you have a lot of work to do." We have many things to do in the way of criticism or in the way of the way that under British rule we were better off. It is our misfortune that we have arranged in such persons. If such feelings rule our hearts and minds, it only means that slavery is a better.

We have got to remember that under the crushing burden of slavery of centuries, we hardly had any breathing space. By our independence, we have, as it were, infused new life into a dead body. We have got to learn to walk, and if we start running, a fall is inevitable. Do not think that we are ungrateful of the country's life. If we were we would have been more of slaves or Churchill once called us but now Churchill has been discredited. We should not forget that the whole world is full of sorrows and troubles. We ourselves do not enjoy someone freedom. It is, therefore, not in our hands alone to get out of the economic morass in which we are bogged. To get out of this morass is, therefore, no joke. Development itself has brought us here to face with untold difficulties. How can a poor labourer or a villager appreciate these difficulties? But people are misunderstanding them and laying all the blame on our doors. There is however no cause for nervousness or trepidation.

We have only to approach our problems in the right spirit and with a proper frame of mind. Then, some say that we have got a Parliament and have won independence but there is no Opposition. What is our Parliament of today? It is merely a child and we do not want merely to create foreign countries. We must have institutions which are suited to our own lives, our own difficulties. Gandhi has written a lot about Parliaments but I am not going to worry you with all that. My only appeal to you is that until India is strong enough and self-sufficient and healthy blood begins to flow in her veins, we should not put up barricades against each other. Similarly for our economic independence we shall have to make different types of sacrifices and put in constructive work of a different sort.

In that task, we shall require the help of the outcaste who tills in his fields, of the labourer who works in his factory, of the rich who have wealth and can create more, and of the middle class who, I know, have had to bear a heavy burden. All these are in trouble. The issue has his own problem, so has the labourer, and so has the middle class. The rich man may not be having such troubles, or you may say they have more but they also have their problems. There are very few rich men in our country. It will not pay us to distrust them. If we distrust them, we could achieve our object. I would have joined with all those who are after them. We have to realise that we have

death of experienced men and talents. We cannot be more liberate. We have to be practical realistic. Those who say that they can achieve our salvation in a different way have merely been saying it, but have not been doing anything. If we could lift the burden by merely tormenting the rich, we would not have lost any time. The fact of the matter is, however, that we have to utilize everybody's services in the common cause.

We have to take everybody with us. Every one will have to suffer. Look at the refugees. Do they have any less trouble than the kham or the maharaja? They have lost everything, but they have not lost faith and courage. If they do not lose these, everything is all right, but if they do, they will have lost everything.

I am very sorry that I do not have the energy left in me now to meet everybody and go about the country. Some are annoyed that I am not accessible to them. There was a time when I saw a hundred men early in the morning during my walks, but now, my energy is limited and so is my time. Nobody should take it ill, if I cannot satisfy everybody's demands. I am not one of those who live in perfect. Whatever limited energy I have is at your disposal. Whatever I do, wherever I am, you can rest assured that I am labouring only for you all and for the cause of the country.

My only appeal to you is that, whatever happens I say, you should try to understand and act upon. I tell you quite plainly that if we do not make sacrifices and go forward together, we shall not be able to rehabilitate ourselves. If we could manage by purchasing a few, we would do so, but we all have to secure the good of all. For that, all have to strive. You cannot work with other people's brains. It will not, therefore, do to discard talents if their services are available. You have also to remember that if we had not achieved what we did, we would not have been harassed like this in foreign countries. If we have a pet in our abdomen, it is no use our putting on good clothes and dressing ourselves well because that would serve no purpose.

The plan laid is that if we wish to survive, we have to produce more and remember when you think of how to produce more, that "drop by drop the whole ocean is filled." Our production has stopped. We do not create any more wealth. Under British rule we used to do so and we talked these things away the lion's share. Now we grumble when our own men are managing our affairs. The rich, whether they are good or bad, we have to take with us. If you can do without them, you are quite at liberty to do what you like, but so long as we need their services, we have to make it worth their while to render those services. We have to make every one understand his duty, and we have to manage everybody the way I did the Princes. Sometimes we have to punish people but that

can be only when wrongs are proved. My way is different. We have to melt their hearts through love. If we can create wealth in this manner, we can secure our economic freedom.

Take for instance sugar. There is a scarcity of sugar. Every one of us feels the pinch, but if there is scarcity, let people think where we can get it from. Some say we can import. They do not know that we cannot import it. It takes time and it needs money. If we are in want of sugar, it is clear that we cannot do. We may get angry about it, but then we can live. If, therefore, we can manage for some time with less, because we have to, I see no reason why we should grumble.

It is possible we have made mistakes but I would say that if anybody could do better, he could come and try. I shall regulate him, if not, let us sit together, let us think over our problems and meet them in a co-operative spirit.

You have to remember that we had had to give up areas which yielded grain. We can produce more grain in this country but that requires effort and conscious effort. Instead we have people who would not produce more. We have also people who have hoarded two years' supply in anticipation of famine and rising prices. That is a disservice to the country. Our motto should be, "Produce more, spend less and waste nothing." So long as our neighbours starve, it is our duty to put at least with the surplus. Until this feeling develops amongst us and this sentiment rules us, we cannot be really strong.

The principle which I have laid before you is the one taught to us by our ancient culture and civilization. If in this country we cannot be guided by that principle, no other country can guide us. If at this time everybody demands his share,—the rich, the labourer, the Hindu—we shall not be economically dependent and we shall never attain economic freedom. At the same time we have got to attain it. For that we have to work, and we shall have to do so during the next year.

Look at the problem in another way. Our frontiers have to be guarded. Under a unified India we had set apart 110 crores as the maximum expenditure on our Defence Forces. After partition two-thirds of our revenues go for the defence of our country. We have 1 to 4 lakhs of men under arms. Pakistan has 24 lakhs. In order to attain prosperity and enjoy it, it is essential that we maintain peace and guard our frontiers. Fortunately, the country is not threatened by any internal disorders. But as I have already said there is a pit in our abdomen. That pit has to be filled. There is the lands, that has to be extinguished. How can we then concentrate on achieving our economic freedom?

The defence programme has to be supplemented by great industrial effort. We wish to import our equipment. We have to pay now 144 rupees when we paid only 100. This is not of

INDIA AT THE CHANGING THRESHOLD OF BRITAIN

The reason for Britain's changing its strategy is to capture markets which are at the moment under the Americans. This step is calculated to make the American goods more expensive as compared with British manufactures. For instance, an American car worth \$1600, if sold formerly for £250 will now be priced at £375. This is equivalent to a protective duty of about 50 per cent on American goods. The effect of this will be to drive out American goods and substitute them by British made articles. Up to now the Americans have been striving hard to capture foreign markets. It is not conceivable that they will now acquiesce in a programme that will cut off their hard-built-up trade. It is too early yet to forecast what the American counter-move will be but it is obvious that a competitive price-cutting war has already started.

From the moral side we know that American trade is evil-doer. Another step is based on strategy. It is bound to have an adverse effect on the Anglo-American cordials which had hitherto prevailed. Whatever the economic effects of the devaluation of the Sterling in relation to the Dollar may be, the political repercussions are likely to give room for cause for anxiety. It may affect the alignment of powers at the time of the next conflict. From this point of view, it would seem as though the devaluation of the rupee means that India would side with Britain, while Pakistan will hang on to America when world war III depends on us.

"Freedom of India" has been shown up to be essentially a fraud as she is being used behind the British without having a word to say in the matter.

The devaluation of the currency of a country in relation to that of another will tend to increase its export trade while its imports will cost more. In the case of Great Britain, which is a manufacturing country, the immediate effect will be beneficial with such loss as will be required for the other countries to launch their counter-moves.

As far as India is concerned, its exports being largely raw materials, the effect will be disadvantageous as we shall not be able to expand our exports to meet any enhanced demand while our imports will cost comparatively more. The former will benefit the commercial interests, while the latter will affect the consumers.

This incident underlines the dangerous position that India holds in world politics because of her commitments to the Commonwealth.

J. C. KUMARAPPA.

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BEST WE FORGET XXX

Kloth in Various Aspects

(i)

Foreign cloth to India is like foreign mother to the body. The destruction of the latter is as necessary for the health of India as of the latter for the health of the body. (*Economics of Kloth*, p. 481)

(ii)

The Four Mads' Way

Milkers are too poor to buy enough Kloth to replace the discarded cloth. Let them be satisfied with a mere haircloth. Let them be no greedy about dress. India has never wanted an full covering of the body for the males as a test of culture.

In order to set the example, I propose to discard my cap and vest, and to content myself with only a haircloth and a shawl, whenever found necessary for the protection of the body. (*Ibid* p. 53, Young India, 25 Sept. 19315)

1

Death and Immortality

(i)

The few days' separation is a preparation for the longer that death brings. In fact the separation is only superficial. Death brings us nearer. Is not the body a bar—if it is also an impediment? (*Young India* to Mrs. Harjiana p. 125)

(ii)

The loved one lives more truly for the dissolution of the body and renders the love also true, because truthful and also because it is transferred to all that lives. (*Ibid* p. 136)

(iii)

We must learn the art of never grieving over death, no matter when and to whom it comes. I suggest that we shall do when we have really learnt to be utterly indifferent to our own, and the indifference will come when we are every moment conscious of having done the task to which we are called. But how shall we know the task? By knowing God's will. How shall we know the will? By prayer and right living. Indeed prayer should mean right living. There is a *Shiva* whose *Aravan* is 'Prayer has been never known to have failed anybody. Prayer means being one with God' (*Ibid* p. 201)

(iv)

We really live through and in our work. We perish through our perishable bodies. If instead of using them as temporary instruments, we identify ourselves with them. (*Ibid* p. 41)

(v)

You come in daily touch with me by doing my work as if it was your own. (*Ibid* p. 47)

(vi)

Life is a preparation for death. And some live or other we shall be thankful that inevitable and grand event. It is grand even regarded as

is necessary for a better life and the just as it should be in every case and the fact of life of my people and I feel p. 1935

...and a road built through the forest and mountains to a village in the hills. A small village in the hills is the only one of its kind in the hills.

GANDHIGRAM—A BAY OF HOPE

Gandhigram is one of the few cases in the world of depression—a desert which our people have created without any cause and without any purpose. We cannot live as a nation, we cannot be happy and contented as a people, until we solve the multi-sided problem of the village. Gandhiji taught the nation by setting the example himself that the best men in the land must take up the problem of the village, by planting themselves in the village atmosphere. All the dangers of communalism, communalism, violence and anarchy can be removed only through the lever of village uplift.

But village work has no glamour about it. It does not lead to immediate political advancement. Neither the Congress nor the British Government have been able to place village work in the forefront of their policy. It was only Gandhiji who insisted that the work of Mahatma should be spread in the villages and the activities of the Kasturba Memorial Fund should be carried on for the benefit of the women and children of the villages. Towards the close of his days, Gandhiji concentrated his attention on Harijans—on the alienated service of the village.

I was only too glad to accept the invitation of my friend Shri G. K. Srinivasan, to visit Gandhigram on the day of its second anniversary, namely, October 7th. I knew that his wife, Dr. Srinivasan, was devoting all her energies for the development of Gandhigram, but I had no idea of the nature or extent of the work that was being done there.

"You are no doctor but a witness!" I said to Dr. Srinivasan, when she showed me round a number of villages which were being served by Gandhigram under her supervision and guidance. Gandhigram, the parent body is located in a healthy and fertile place between mountains on the East and West. It is between Dindigul and Madurai near the way-side railway station of Ambur.

Basic Education, Kasturba work and Ramo-Gram Shree are all combined in this centre. The casteless home, Ashram work, agriculture, voluntary segregation of leprosy, multi-purpose co-operative societies—are some of the main activities carried on here. What attracted me most was that all the workers were highly trained and are themselves training others with faith and thoroughness which is all their own, and which is evident in the results achieved during the short span of two years. They have been able to collect about a couple of lakhs of

rupees from the Harijan community. The Madras Government also has recognized the utility of this centre by working to work out its schemes of village uplift through this centre and by acquiring land for its development. What is of utmost importance is that Gandhigram has been able to overcome the apathy of the masses and create in them enthusiasm and hope instead.

Mr. Keshavan, the well-known and devoted American friend of India, has made Gandhigram his home. I found him spending all his thoughts and energy in the service of the institution. It is no small thing that Gandhigram has been able to repulse the spirit of humanity who can reduce himself to zero in the service of the poor, the neglected and the suppressed.

I see a great future before this young institution of Gandhigram and would wish prospective village workers to visit this institution and see for themselves what single-minded devotion can achieve even in an atmosphere of all-round depression. Gandhigram is pre-eminently a woman's institution but pledged to serve men, women and children of all castes.

RAMA SANKARAN

Harijan Disabilities in South Kanara

Though the Civil Disabilities Removal Act has been passed and the 30th of every month is observed as 'Harijan Day' in the Madras Presidency cases of discrimination against Harijans still occur in South Kanara. For instance, arrangements have been made to facilitate mid-day meals in Harjan Welfare Schools run by Government. According to Government orders, no discrimination should be made on account of caste as food in these schools, but the teachers do not follow these instructions strictly. In one school, separate arrangements have been made for Harijans in higher caste pupils in a private house. In another school, the Harijan cook has been replaced by a caste-Hindu. Complaints of such discrimination made to the authorities have been unattended. It is suggested that some of the Harjan Welfare Officers, being Christians are interested in perpetuating such discriminations in order to create a favourable ground for conversion activities of their missionary co-religionists.

In the shops also Harijans are treated on the same discrimination. Separate seats and cups have been provided for them. If unlawfully in any shape or form it is to be removed the Act should be enforced more strictly and every official should be dealt with promptly and severely. The passing of Acts and the observance of the Harijan Day lose all significance along side with the existence of such discriminations. I hope the Government would take necessary action in the matter.

P. S. S. S.

SVAMJI ANANTHAPUR

(Note: I think that what is more necessary than strict "official action" is to work among the caste-Hindus and make an appeal to their broad and heart.

—R. G. S.

THE ECONOMY OF FREEDOM

Any nation that wishes to be independent has to have an economy based on self-sufficiency in food, clothing and shelter and has to build up a social order that will be self-sustained. No independent purity of a political type can ever be lasting, however much of armaments we might build up to back up such independence. We have seen the falling of armaments in the history of Japan, Germany, France and other European countries. Even these countries which were armed to the teeth had had to succumb to exigencies over which they could exercise no control. Hence it is that economic and social freedom should be the base for real independence.

Our country is primarily an agricultural country. Here we have to build up an economy that will be based from the point of view of wealth production to meet the everyday needs of the people. Such a programme will involve a careful planning of both our agricultural economy as well as our rural industries so that people can have enough to eat and clothes themselves to clothe themselves against the weather and provide shelter over their heads. The growth of food materials themselves should be so planned as to provide each individual with a balanced diet. Similarly raw materials for clothing such as cotton and wool, will have to be planned to meet the needs of the bulk of our population. Hence every village will have to have its lands allocated so as to produce the raw materials needed to fulfil its various needs. A survey should be taken of the types of lands available and they should be so distributed as to provide it with the needed raw materials.

This planning would involve control of production at the village level. This can be ensured by empowering or organizing village parliaments giving them power either to license the various lands for growing crops according to their plan or to keep the lands under communal ownership and let them sell to those who will utilize them according to the plans laid down by the local authorities.

Then once the products are made available, multi-purpose co-operative societies should be organized to make exchange possible between the villagers themselves. The co-operative societies will now step in to have the articles produced so as to produce consumer goods. If there is any surplus in one village, such surplus can be exchanged for other articles not available in the locality or region. This organization will thus provide the primary needs of the people, will encourage local industries and will give employment to people of the village in the production and distribution as well as in the processing of the various raw materials.

To help the cultivators to increase their production to the optimum level, it is necessary to afford them various facilities. The land itself

has to have sufficient measure and irrigation facilities. These can be provided by a drive for making surplus out of waste and helping the villagers to undertake anti-monsoon wall and irrigation projects of their own with the help of such technical skill as the Government may give. The processes suggested should be well under the financial aspect of the villagers. The present schemes are evolved which call for more elaborate technical skill, the planning and execution of the village economy will pass off into the hands around the village. This will be derogatory to the development of the village and very often even to their interests.

The growth of money exchange has now brought it to a level where it has become an end in itself. This also has taken over the control of rural economy from the rural population and placed it in the hands of urban interests. If we wish to ensure that the rural economy is to be run by the villagers as far as practicable we should encourage exchange of goods for goods, that is, a mild form of barter combined with a certain amount of money economy. This alone would keep the production of villages for their benefit and will prevent exploitation of the weak by the strong.

Politically also the villagers will get their training in having certain of the public offices such as making village roads, looking after anti-monsoon schemes, maintenance of tanks, wells and other means of water-supply transferred to them. This will, when organized through adult franchise, build up a practical cabinet, based on the co-operation of the villagers and their countrymen. In time, such organizations will develop into a training ground for greater responsibilities which will carry some of them up into taluka level and district level and perhaps later into provincial spheres and ultimately to the Central Government also. In this way the rural economy will develop a leadership which will make itself felt in the highest councils of the nation.

In our country, which is largely an agricultural country, unless we have our political system based on the principles laid in villages the outlook of the national policy will not support the interests of the masses of the people.

For the development of our rural economy, we must keep in mind the resources available to the villages and base it on an organization well within their control. There is a good deal of interest shown today in rural development by vested interests which have advocated methods of development which will not fall within the conditions we have laid down. For instance, the method of tractor cultivation will be one which would call for use of crude oil or other such fuel which will not be available in our villages nor can India even produce these. Therefore any large dependence on such aids will be fatal to the interests of agriculture. If we are at any time unable to get either the machinery

the fall of producing the products of agriculture will help and be supplemented by other important measures. Government will have to be called to the rescue of the people. Our leader, who had over developed land and therefore, amongst others, if they are to be used for some constant chemical culture of the soil, it may be due at the present time to promote the youth personnel for this work. That being said, it is not possible to introduce such chemical fertilizers to any great extent, considering that we have to adopt compost and manures of fertilizing the soil. Besides, the Government, on the occasion for our water supply, is facing difficulties a guide because we cannot control the quantity of water that is needed. Hence it is that our rural economy should be kept a than the possibilities within the reach of the villages.

There are various other technical departments in which aids would be necessary from governmental organization, such as improvement in seeds dealing with pests and the distribution of the products. For this the properly should come from well-located research from the Agricultural Department. A great deal of our energy, today is being spent in producing aids to production for exchange, such as the rice, instead of for industries, rather than production for consumption such as food-grains etc. Hence it is necessary for us to direct the activity of our agricultural department on the research level on such had production. Even when the research has been carried out, it has been found that the available knowledge has not reached the cultivator. Hence the organization for dissemination of knowledge that is available should be such as to make the agricultural knowledge work out to the individual farmer.

Unless we plan our agricultural economy on these basis it will be difficult for us to meet the food shortage. Similarly if we do not pay attention to our other needs also on the same basis it would be difficult for rural economy to discharge its responsibilities to the country. The development of our economy on these basis is a fundamental proposition before we can be assured of a lasting independence. Our independence has come and to retain that independence, it is necessary for us to give a priority for rural development on these lines.

J. C. KEMARUPPA

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SCAVENGING IN CITIES

Charles Josephs was observed at Wardha on the 2nd October by organizing scavenging work in the town. Over a hundred workers took a few among them were taken part in the programme. There were also some housewife among them, but the majority belonged to the various constructive organizations in and around Wardha. To many of us scavenging in a city was a new experience, our programme was perhaps a novelty to Wardha itself.

Early in the morning of the 2nd October all the workers assembled at an appointed place and divided themselves into as many groups as the number of wards in the town and, led by the municipal scavenger of each ward, started cleaning the latrines. While the scavengers showed the latrine cleaning was done by the volunteers and the municipal was given to a central place from where it was transported in a cart. Of course, as far as the scavengers, it must be said that the standard of our performance was not all that could be desired and in some very difficult situations they had to make the workers.

We had to negotiate narrow and difficult lanes to reach the latrines whose conditions were beyond description or imagination. Only those who actually performed the duty could have an idea of it. We had to do this cleaning only for a day, and we left later at the lack of one facility or another, but when the scavengers who have to do it daily, give vent to any grievances, we are not quite sympathetic towards them. I am sure that if citizens and city-fathers of such towns do this work even occasionally, they would not treat their conservancy staff in the way they do at present.

The work was a good experience for all of us. It was really a matter for surprise that such a large number of workers volunteered and went through the programme without any retreating which showed a great mental preparation. The whole of Wardha watched our work in broad daylight.

Such programmes have of course, their propaganda value to demonstrate that no work is too mean and scavenging is in such a necessary service as any other, which should be performed by every one high or low. But at the same time we should not forget the real significance of such demonstrations. By doing scavenging ourselves, our object was not to demonstrate that it was a noble work and the scavengers should not consider it mean. That was not Gandhi's idea, in whose memory we carried out the programme. Our object is to remove the social stigma attached to such work and to those who perform it — namely, unsatisfactory. To achieve this, more has to be done than merely organizing such programmes some times in a year. They should be further reinforced with greater and equal association with the scavengers in their entire life. For instance, in several

bungalows and institutions, there are scavengers to look after emergency work and they live mostly in the same compound. The people residing in the same way can observe signs of untouchability, but still their attitude towards them is one of indifference. Usually these untouchables are not quite happy, because they live segregated in a variety of big compounds, even though they might enjoy complete freedom of movement in the area. Their huts are dilapidated and dirty and, therefore, their living is not quite clean or healthy. For this reason it is on account of their own self-abnegation as it naturally happens in the case of these backward people, they do not enjoy the status of even domestic servants in the locality. This appears to me to be the real problem facing the workers in the cause of removal of untouchability. If we have really removed untouchability from our hearts, we should not behave towards scavengers in the manner described above. They should be provided with decent houses and other amenities of life, so that they can lead clean and healthy lives, their social status, even though they do scavenging work, should not be in any way less than that of the poorest of the other "touchables" in the locality. If the scavenger families living in our surroundings could be thus raised from this social evil, I think it would be a contribution and achievement of great moral value in the cause of Harijans. Ultimately, it might pave the way for reform in town-savenging. At present the conditions of work in town-savenging are so dehumanized that it is surprising that human beings prepared to do it from day to day are to be found.

V. K. RAJAGOPALA.

COMBATING LEPROSY

I

Re-Culogy Case and Treatment

It is usual to think in terms of culogues, whenever a plan for taking steps to tackle the problem of leprosy is discussed. Christian and non-Christian have been the first sufferers of these patients. They were inspired by the example and precept of Jesus Christ. These persons recovered the idea of colonies and all the efforts thereafter naturally ran through that channel. In spite of colonies, however, the disease is alarmingly spreading. Isolation in colonies is no doubt indispensable at a certain stage. But the necessity for them would be much reduced if effective measures are undertaken to stop the spread of the disease in the early stages. No effort regarding these essential measures seems to have been yet put forward in any country where it is highly prevalent.

The great good that has come out of the colonies is that scientific and scientific study of the various aspects of this disease have followed this service in some of the colonies and certain works medically and sociologically important have been reached. The results may be summarized as follows:

(1) The disease is caused by a particular type of bacilli.

(2) There are certain indications in early developing cases of their presence. In all sorts of cases are untouchable and can be checked and cured if necessary treatment is given at an early stage.

(3) Ordinarily, isolation takes place in places where symptoms have become marked of all sorts of disabilities have set in. But before the symptoms appear, the patient can be kept and the period of treatment is likely to be highly intensive.

(4) The human body is found to be susceptible to infection to other bacilli. It is due, in fact, the disease has not been able to spread to other parts of the body.

(5) After disfigurement or mutilation, the patient seems to have become free from the disease. These are called "healed" cases. It is found that the infective and disfigurement are a result of the superior capacity of the human body to fight the disease even at the end of some time.

All these go to make it clear that if at all this disease has to be tackled from any country, the first and foremost place has to be given to the means as to be adopted in the early stages. That is to say, before the colony stage is reached and the patients have already attained the worst stage of spreading infection.

These measures can be undertaken if the Hinduism diffusion of leprosy and how to the way are removed. The first and foremost is our attitude towards these helpless and unfortunate brother victims. Ignorance and wickedness, as the cause of fear. This ignorance is responsible for the painful fact that we take no step to prevent or limit about the disease. Almost all are victims of this unfortunate situation. But beyond amongst them seem to be the so-called intelligents including doctors and medical authorities in power. When this is the case even with the class of persons, the attitude of the masses is not to be wondered at. But through ignorance of another type, though they hate the disease, they neglect even the bare precautions against the disease itself, and allow it to spread. Both these attitudes are two extremes of ignorance and are equally undesirable.

The attitude of ignorance is obviously inhuman and morally repugnant. It is no fault of the victims that they have fallen a helpless prey to the onslaught of these bacilli. Awareness of the victim of an evil instead of the evil itself but, as usual, proved to be a punishment to society itself. It burdens the victims, but allows the disease to spread. And, therefore, even on consideration of self interest, it is to our advantage to change this attitude, if we want to check the spread of and ultimately eradicate the disease.

The attitude of disgust shows towards the patient is responsible for the reaction in the latter and his family to screen and hide the disease as far as possible. This is possible only at the stage when disfigurement or other marked symptoms have not set in. But long before this stage comes, the market of spreading the

infection is complicated. So, obviously it is necessary first to isolate an episode, which will enable the patient and his family also to take the right attitude, which will result in the patient's waking and showing a desire to behave as he has to be a source of danger to others. To achieve this result, these cases should be treated as special cases, asking for sympathetic attention of the family and society. All should make sympathetic, warm and helpful inquiries about them. The best room in the house should be allotted to them. They should be provided with decent and adequate stimuli, clothes and food. If there is no room in the house of the patient, a special room, simple but attractive, should be found out or constructed in the locality. One and all in society should co-operate to make necessary provision, as shown, for these unfortunate victims. Then alone there will be no incentive left to hide the disease and the spread can thus be immediately checked.

The present condition above referred to is a great impediment in the way of applying our head to face this disease. It is necessary, therefore, that we must be able to be free from this condition and apply our heads to the facts before us. As soon as we do so, the following facts will unsholder us to take the right, simple and easy steps necessary to safeguard all from the spread of this disease.

Thousands of missionaries have been serving these patients for centuries in all climes and countries. It is said that only a negligible few, about four or so, have been isolated and only one of them is a female. As against this, the number of those who are not in such service and still get infection may well be regarded as unmanageable. What then is the nature of this infection? All those doctors who are working in the line for years are unanimously of opinion that the contagiousness of this disease is not like that of chicken pox, small-pox, etc.; it is infectious but not so much and rapid as T. B. plague, cholera, etc.; the infection is likely only after close, continuous and prolonged physical contact; children are highly susceptible to it; abrasions in the skin enabling the bacilli to enter directly in the skin render this infection more easy; and within after thirty acquire a sort of immunity.

The above facts should convince us that there has to be place in it and safety can be ensured by taking the following simple and easy precautions.

Children should not be allowed to come in contact with the infectious patients; the sleeping room, clothes and stimuli of the infectious patients should be separate; the persons serving should avoid close continuous physical contact and should have no abrasions on any part of the body, when the public and the patient have

the right attitude, i. e. when the former is sympathetic and the latter behaves so as not to be a source of infection to others, the first step, which it will be possible successfully to take in the construction of special, simple huts or rooms in the locality to house the patient for the night. These rooms will be enough for local segregation and can be constructed in the village bank.

All the above goes to show that before thinking of colonies, it is necessary to carry on propaganda on an intensive scale to bring home to almost every individual in the locality the right attitude and to impart the knowledge of the precautionary measures safeguarding society against infection. This leads us to the necessity of knowing how to detect this disease in the initial stage. Ordinary laymen should be in a position to be able to ascertain from certain indications to act promptly in the right direction. The suspicious indications are (1) discoloration patches or spots on any part of the body, either faint, red or of a colour which is uncommon and (2) loss of sensation in any part of the body. As soon as these or similar indications are noticed, the patient should be taken to a doctor who has equipment for testing aggrocy bacilli and then the necessary simple precautions should be respectfully taken. The patient should have the best rooms, clothes and stimuli in the house.

V. V. DASTANE

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AN EXPERIMENT IN HOSPITALITY

made it a rule not to go anywhere by car. He had no friends. The few people who he associated with were of the same type as himself. He was a loner, but he was enjoying himself as much as any hospitalier.

Dr. Sanyasari's savings passed through the hands of a few private agents like Mr. Sarayana until it reached an address in Calcutta. In 1927 Mr. Sarayana took a steamer and started to see himself through a major Trade, Non-violence and Love show in Calcutta at that time. He is an eye-surgeon and an expert in cataract surgery. When Mr. Sarayana Medical Officer of the Victoria Civil Hospital heard of Dr. Sanyasari's case, he was surprised he had received the letter to arrange treatment under Dr. Sanyasari. But at least two months. The fees for cataract operations are usually very high, but Dr. Sanyasari used to take comparatively a very small amount ranging between Rs. 20 and Rs. 50. Once he accepted the fee from a patient but he felt so much worried about it that a day went on he became very uneasy. Ultimately he had an impression that he should take not more than what was absolutely necessary whether the patient was rich or poor.

This rendered a change in life necessary and the Doctor adjusted himself accordingly. Fortunately, he had the silent co-operation of his family members. A life of self-reliance helps a man, as nothing else does, in rendering service. Seeing his son on the death-bed, it struck the Doctor to take a vow. He resolved he would make a moment of the greatest test of their love. What should they offer to their son as their best gift at the time of his departure was the question before them. The Mother says that the son is the redeemer of the parents. It means that he teaches self-reliance to the parents. These young parents took the injunction to heart and decided upon a vow of self-reliance. It was the best present to make to their son at the time of his departure. They never realised then that the boy was going to be gifted back to them by God. For, he survived and is now at school.

The Doctor made changes in his hospital also. It took the informal shape of an ashram. Prayers are held twice daily in which the workers as well as the patients take part. The Doctor and his co-workers look after the cleanliness of the hospital including scavenging work. The workers and their families are habited warm of khadi. Sectarian spinning is held regularly. In the beginning there were five workers and now there are twenty-one. Of these, six are Harijans, two Christians and nine Muslims. The most important change was the reduction in the fee for cataract operations. For some time it was Rs. 10, but that too was thought to be high. Now it is only Rs. 5, which includes charges for accommodation, operation, medicine, nursing, etc. The patients make their own arrangements

for food. It should be mentioned that eight cataracts in three days are operated in two cataracts of other days. The same fee is accepted from all without making any distinction between rich and poor. The following figures show the success in the number of patients treated, as a part of the reduction in fees, during the last six years.

1930-31	1931-32	1932-33		1933-34	1934-35
		Operated	Other eye operations		Daily out-patient
100	100	200	20	20	20
100	200	700	20	20	20

As had to stop here for five hours of our way to Shanyashram. The Doctor collected all his co-workers and their families, so that they could take advantage of our stay and have a few words from Mr. Vinoba. There were about five hundred people, including workers and patients. After Dr. Sanyasari's address had concluded Mr. Vinoba to the audience, Mr. Vinoba addressed the gathering in the following words:

Mr. Vinoba's Speech

You all know the service rendered by Mr. Sanyasari in your midst. For my concern that he has given me a short account. Onward by he is the student and you are the recipients of service. But you also serve him and he takes your service. While he corrects your physical vision, his own inner vision gets corrected and thus you too render him service. You have profited by his eye-treatment, but if your mental eyes have also not profited along with it, you will not have taken full benefit of his treatment.

"We must realise that we are all blind men and yet we have to see God face to face. That is the purpose of our birth as human beings. We have been gifted with eyes only that we may see God. We possess ears only to hear his praise. As I came here just now, I was reminded of a verse in your Tripti Bhagavata which says that the eyes which do not see God are blind, and the ears which do not hear God are deaf.

"I am glad that you all pray and eyes collectively and love like one family. The workers among you do not observe distinctions of high and low and they do scavenging too. Your perseverance in this work will bring you bliss."

"In rendering service, we must not discriminate between a rich man and a poor man. So, wherever comes here receives the same treatment and pays the same fee, which has been kept the lowest possible. It also takes more from the rich and less from the poor. It often results in greater service to the rich. If one gives a thousand rupees and another ten rupees, the Doctor gives more attention to the one who pays more. The fee has been kept at the minimum so that even the poorest can pay. When the same fee is accepted from the rich also some people say that this depicts a bias and the man who advances him to do so is also a fool. But the main idea here is to treat all equally. For those who work or pay more, there is a charity-box, collections

in which are wished in the service of the poor. I know that people do not put much value in it, but whatever is put in is done out of one's free will. In this way about Rs. 4,000 have been collected so far. That comes to a very small amount per year. But this amount of Rs. 4,000 is worth more than four lakhs. Almost the whole amount has been spent off.

There is no necessity to take more money from the rich, because all their money belongs to the country. If they get the benefit of our life they will themselves become contributors. Therefore, there is no necessity to take charity from them. We want remuneration from them. If we follow the path of remuneration, others also get the temptation to do so. If they do not remunerate, God will exact it in His own way. We need not worry about it. We should remunerate without expecting others to do so.

Shri Suryanarayana said in his introduction that the ideal here was that all life is one. Happiness and sorrow come to all alike. The realization of this ideal into practice is attempted here. I am therefore happy to be in your midst. I pray to God to give you His light. I conclude by devoutly bowing to you all."

This hospital of Tiruch has become a public institution where the light of good thoughts is burning so brightly for the last ten years. This example of equal treatment to all must inspire many and it has already inspired some.

* * *

(Translated from the Sanskrit magazine of October 1949)

COMBATING LEPROSY

II

Colonization

Vishwam Ghosh, alias Chhat, not only took to this service as his main spirit, but also gave a lead, which has its own valuable potentiality of combating leprosy and if possible, of eradicating it from India and elsewhere. He is reported to have expressed that he could steel his heart to the death of those who were already no victims, but he could not afford to bear one more victim after all the knowledge that was now available. It was due to his disposition that the Kushiadhwara at Dattapur near Wardha was founded under the able direction of Shri Manohar Dhwani.

Leprosy colonies should not be camps of despair and disgusting human animals, but should be a sort of habitation provided with all human amenities necessary and available in other human habitations. For example,

(i) there should be full scope and opportunity to pursue their own field, clothing and all other necessary things which each person may feel in a position to produce and disposed to produce;

(ii) there should be scope for all occupations which have value in materials and the products of which can be certainly utilized for the material and elsewhere with permission to make such products into the consumption;

(iii) every very training and instruction in all points the welfare of human life should be provided.

the government in general, the community in particular, should be made to realize that the leprosy patients are not a burden on the community, but a source of strength and progress.

It is only by giving them the right attitude in their homes, in their communities, in their social and economic life, that the leprosy patients should make it a part of their own community or culture to realize their personal and social goals in a dignified and glorious manner of life.

This list is not comprehensive, with various what sort of colonies should be constituted and how to prove an attraction to all with patients and create a necessity for them to lead a happy life that they do at present.

To make adequate provision in the sponsoring habitat is beyond the capacity of any Government. It is, therefore, necessary to organize these colonies in a way which will make them gradually self-sufficient to such an extent that the patients may not be a greater burden to society than what general habitations of persons with some ailments are. To organize such colonies, workers of the right type are the first necessity. These workers will feel encouraged only if the public and the patient change their present attitude of despair and disgust and inculcate the right attitude detailed above.

Eradication of the Disease

It is now almost proved that this disease is not hereditary. If the healthy children of the leprosy patients are removed from them and reared up separately, the way to eradication is easy. Here again, the change of attitude of the public may induce the parents to part with their children and thus render easy the problem of eradication of this disease from the country.

Laws or Legislation

Every leprosy patient can be seen, begging in the streets. They naturally seek the places of pilgrimages and temples in order to be able to secure charity and alms. These persons have developed a sort of perverse mentality, which is at times criminal. This is due naturally to the way in which they have been abandoned by the family and society. The despise and disgust everywhere add fuel to the fire. Charitable persons feel their conscience by giving them indiscriminate alms. They thus encourage begging and crowding in places like temples, streets and places of pilgrimages. All these places thus become nuclei for spreading the infection. To bring this under control is at present full of difficulties—rather insurmountable due to the above-mentioned attitude of the patients as well as charity-givers.

The idea of solving every problem by resorting to legislation is the fashion of the day. Very few stop to check what kind of legislation is necessary and how it would be executed. As a matter of fact, whenever legislation has been used, it is found to be defective and incapable of achieving any appreciable or proper results. Legislation may help only when there is adequate

means to know the necessary number. Even an legislation may have to punish, not the patients, but the indiscriminate donors and perpetrators of unsocial or negligent acts which make impossible or tend to frustrate the attempts indicated above.

T. T. BASKANT

HARIJAN

November 23

1948

SACREDNESS ABOUT KHADE

The *Times of India* of 24th November 1948 criticises Acharya Kripalani's suggestion that an exclusive and non-competitive market should be created for khadi. The paper calls this suggestion 'amusing', for that policy will "leave it (khadi) on people's backs." If Kripalani's suggestion is to be adopted as 'amusing', the arguments of the *Times* would have to be considered amusing and meant for creating confusion in people's minds then for clarifying same. It says, "There is nothing inherently sacrosanct about khadi. If people are not to wear anything but hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, why should they not also be compelled to travel only by bullock-carts and in general go back to the old 'exclusive and non-competitive' village economy?"

If khadi is not 'sacrosanct', Indian mill-cloth is still less. The memory of the people might be short. The *Times of India* cannot be accused for having a short memory. Indian mill-cloth was unable to compete against British cloth and still less against Japanese cloth. It was the roadside movement conceived in the early thirties and vigorously carried on since 1936 that united the mills, though often guilty of fraud and selfishness and not deserving of popular support to establish themselves. Government also, (though being foreign, only after strenuous effort) helped in a variety of ways. The mills are being helped still. Indian mill-cloth could not have stood, and would not be able to stand against foreign cloth for a year but for a national policy either owned or by the people of their own initiative or by the Government taking interest in fostering the mill-industry. Even against khadi, it is able to thrive more on account of numerous special advantages that it enjoys than for the cheapness of its methods of production. It is the people who support all these millions of people, who have been disemployed by mechanising spinning and weaving. A single mechanic attends to more than 200 mill-spindles and 20 mill-looms. Put upon the mills the burden of maintaining all such disemployed until they get other employment. Then in the interest of the mills, the whole agricultural economy is changed. research work has been and is being carried on at great public expense for producing cotton suitable for mills. Ask

the mills to pay the expenses for this work. Large plots of agricultural land have been allotted for building mill-towns often at nominal charges. water, electricity and other facilities have been provided at cheap rates, city people have put up for years with the smoke and other nuisances they have created, village people accustomed to live in open and unimproved areas have turned themselves into mill-hand and taken to squalid life in cities to the great detriment of their health. Strikes and the attendant disturbances and sabotage following them have often endangered and put to loss many an innocent citizen. The military has been employed in putting down these strikes resulting in loss of life not only of people connected with the industry but other people also. Charge all these expenses to the mills and see if the mills can produce cloth at a cheaper rate than khadi.

It is not the case of mill-cloth only. Take sugar. What is sacrosanct about Indian sugar? If foreign sugar is allowed to come into the country not only the present hardships of the people would end, but they would get cheaper sugar also. The Indian sugar-mills would have to close down one after another. The new generation may not be aware of the great self-sufficiency made by the people for encouraging roadside sugar in the early years of the present century. The sugar industry has not come to its present stage on its own merits and efficiency but has been enabled to do so by the tax-payer during a period of several years. The same might be said of so many other large scale industries.

Rightly or wrongly those in charge of the country's affairs thought that the textile mills, the sugar-mills and the large industries were for the good of the nation, and they made it their policy to encourage them with subsidies, protective tariffs, special concessional facilities and a hundred other means. Conscience of the people and cheapness of the product were not considered before the supposed future good of the people. Not only in villages have been made to suffer in a hundred ways in the present in the hope that they will be better off in future. Public works are laid out, motor transport facilitated, school, colleges and universities, village co-operatives and motor vehicles exempted from their commercial crops encouraged and the whole military budget is hoodwinked presently for the production of these factories. Administration would not feel a pinch of its present expenditure if cloth, sugar and similar other prime necessities of life were manufactured in villages.

A false importance given to money economy has created an illusion of cheapness of things which have been really costing the nation very heavily. "To advance," says the *Times*. "Khadi-weaving alone, despite its unpopularity as to adult being bankrupt in debt for helping the

village to become economically robust." Let those who in spite of a period of unprecedented apparent prosperity have within three or four years gone abegging to other countries for loans have and invited foreigners to start their factories here, and created food, cloth, sugar and all sorts of luxuries consider what ideas are responsible for the actual bankruptcy of not only of farmers but even merchants and princes, which have made the industrialists and their support— even more unpopular than Modi.

If the idea of *anashita* is incorrect, if non-exploitation is incorrect if the ideal of revitalizing villages and making them self-sufficient in the production and just distribution of prime necessities of life is incorrect, there is indeed something very inherently incorrect about *anashita*. It is the symbol of a non-violent social and economic order. And a government would be perfectly justified in protesting it against its competitors whether they are cotton-mills, rayon mills or other industrialized factories.

Wardha 8-12-49

K. C. KAMBERWALA

"TEN ITEMS OF VILLAGE WORK"

Chhatravasana Sri Karyakram—by Jagatram Dave. Nandwana Publishing House, Chhatravasana. Price Rs. 1.

I am very much pleased with the small book *On Gajapati* written by Shri Jagatram Dave. It gives constructive workers instructions on ten items. The whole book is based on experience. It is written in a popular and pleasing style.

Constructive workers are generally very unfamiliar to books written on subjects with which they are long associated. They are apt to think that they know everything and there can be nothing new for them in these books. This book will destroy the pride of such persons. It contains many detailed points which might never have struck others. I recommended every constructive worker to study this book. It is a good text-book for a criticism of studies for village workers. It should be translated into Hindi.

Besides village workers, Shri Jagatram Dave has given three other classes of workers viz. 'leaders', 'working-workers' and office-workers. According to Shri Jagatram the book is not intended for these three. I shall have with 'leaders' as I do not know who are included in it. But in my opinion the other two classes will also profit by this book. Office-workers and working-workers, who do not concern themselves with actual service, will fail in their objectives, and Shri Jagatram's dig at these workers should be considered as a warning to them and they should take it and learn from it.

Mahatmaram, Wardha, 9-8-49

VIJAYA

(Translated from the *Sarvasvika*, October '49)

*This has now been done and published by the Yashwantrao Chavan Prakashan, 144, Gajapati, via, Amravati.

— 22

GANDHI'S MESSAGE

(A part of the author's translation of the speech delivered by the poet Rabindranath Tagore to the myriads of devotees in celebration of one of Mahatma Gandhi's birthdays. Condensed and edited by the author.)

Non-violence Non-board

Wandering amongst the weeping people of India there are now an increasing number of non-boarder sections who leave the world around them to its misery and suffering taking refuge in the slowness of self-control spiritual power. I once had a few words with such a non-boarder in some village. "Why don't you," I asked him, "try to do something for these unfortunate villagers afflicted with hunger, disease and wrong-doing?" He was both surprised and annoyed at my question. "What?" he exclaimed, "I who have shaken off the yoke of world-life for attaining pure bliss am I again to entangle myself in the concerns of these benighted worldlings labouring under their diseases?"

Challenge of Imperialism

While India lay fast cramped and divided, betrayed by its own leaders, it was called upon to meet the greatest test in her history—the challenge of Western imperialism. The organic unity of Hindu culture was breaking down under Western influences revealing the terrible cancer of untouchability the Hindus and Muslims deepening of their national wound, began to quarrel amongst each other for scenes of pitilessness pitifully thrown out by the rulers. So disappointed and desecrated were our people that none wondered if India could ever rise again by the power of her own people—until there came on the scene a truly great and a great leader of men in line with the traditions of the great sages of old, whom we are now assembled to honour—Mahatma Gandhi. Today no one would dream of the future of this country, for the unconquerable spirit that never has already been released. Mahatma Gandhi has shown us a way which if we follow we shall not only save ourselves but may help other peoples also to save themselves.

Above Selfishness

He who has come to us today is above all distinguished by his freedom from any bias of personal or national selfishness. For the selfishness of the nation can be a greatly magnified form of that same vice, the viciousness is there all the same. The standard of conduct followed by the class called politicians is not one of high ideals. They seek nothing of ultimate idealistic. They have no compassion to which hurting other peoples for the aggrandisement of their own. So we see in the West the spectacle of its nationals on the one hand, first giving up their free for their country and on the other, meeting it in all kinds of criminal activity—so much so that serious doubts have arisen how much longer the European civilization will survive. The very thing they call civilization bids fair to make an end of it. And where the end

SOME OF THE PACIFIST VISIONS TO INDIA

It may be of interest to introduce some of the contacts who are coming to the World Peace Meeting during this winter, by giving brief notes about them here. What follows is very inadequate, but I am unable to give more information at this stage. I have selected some of the Europeans from the first party, which is due in Bombay about November 15th.

Thomas Lund, from Norway, is a middle-aged businessman, a civil engineer. During the recent war he was active in the non-violent effort to keep the spirit of Norwegian life alive and leave during the 'Nam' occupation of the country. His position became so dangerous that he was finally persuaded to leave Norway, which could only be done at great risk, and he was able to reach England. My first meeting with him was when he spoke at an address in England about conditions in Norway, at that time and suffering under the heel of the German invasion. In what he said there was no trace of bitterness, even though his own son was in a concentration camp. And the conclusion of his talk was an appeal to us all to find the way to bring back the Germans into the European family, to show them a way to become good Europeans, when the war was over. He has done his part already by being successful in suffering conditions.

Arvid Ryberg is a young Swede who until a few years ago was a Communist, and still tries to keep his friendship with some of his former comrades. But, partly as a result of reading Gandhi's writings, he was converted to a conviction that all violence, no however noble an ideal, is wrong. In his own words, "God showed him", and he became a Quaker. He is trying to find the best way of practicing the non-violent way of life, and is expecting soon to start some land work.

Some of the Indian papers have told how Mrs. Mieghe (Jean-Pierre) from Belgium was encouraged by the sufferings inflicted on the Belgian people by the Germans during their occupation of Belgium during the first world war. She and her husband decided to have no further contact with Germans. But God decided otherwise, and they found a badly injured German soldier who needed help. Through that experience they learnt the power of love which overcomes hate, and they both came under the influence of Gandhi's teachings, and have been active in publishing his message to the people of Belgium.

Hendrick Knechtels has already been introduced in the columns of the Harijan.

Mauda Bryshaw has been the chairman, or Clerk as it is called, of the Tasty Meeting of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in England for several years. She is mother of a family, and may be said to be one of those women well-

known in India, who manage both to look after a home and to take an active part in public life. Her husband, Ernest Bryshaw, is a Manchester businessman. He has travelled widely, and is much concerned about race relations in South Africa, which he has visited more than once. During the recent war, he was chairman of the Friends Relief Service, which undertook the relief of civilian victims of the war in many lands.

Reginald Reynolds is known to many people in India. He lived with Gandhi for some months nearly twenty years ago at the time of the Dandi march. Afterwards, on his return to England, he wrote the book, *The White Salties in India*. His most recent book is a study of a very remarkable American Quaker of the eighteenth century, who did much to raise the consciousness of her American neighbours to the evils of slavery and of colonial oppression in other fields too. The book is called *The Wisdom of John Woolsten*. Reginald Reynolds has also published poetry.

Wilfred Wilcock, an Englishman, who has accepted a last-minute conversion, is an old and tried friend of India, who was at one time a Labour member of Parliament. Recently he has written about the link between a sound rural economy and true peace. A few of the pamphlets written by him are *The Third Way*, *Madness and Civilization*, and *Rebuilding Britain*.

Walter Zander, a Jewish refugee, who has made his home in England, and has visited Palestine more than once, wrote a very courageous pamphlet about Palestine a few years ago, called *Is This the Way?* He has urged that the Jews should only go to Palestine when the Arabs are willing to invite them. When asked to attend this meeting in India, he replied that he would only come if he was assured that one or more Arabs would also be present.

Others, who are coming from France, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Finland, Denmark, and Germany are known to be well-versed in their non-violent principles. Something more may be published about them in a week or two.

NOTICE: ALEXANDER.

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY) MARGHERA CLARKE
Editor: E. G. MANSURPALLA



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TWO ANNAS

SARDAR AT THE WHEEL

Readers must have seen from the speeches which Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has been making ever since his return to New Delhi after his visit at Bombay, that he has now devoted his serious attention to set right the economic situation of our country, and has already begun his moves one after another. We know how rapidly and non-violently he changed the political geography of India. Some days ago he paid a high tribute to the Servants and defended them against adverse critics. In spite of a high court decree from the Sardar himself, there were many who did not agree with his defence of the Servants. But the tribute was not without a purpose. He has now induced them to accept cuts in their salaries in accordance with announced schemes and then set an example to the nation for helping the country's finances. He has also turned his attention to industrialists, traders and labour, and will see to it that they too give their proper share to rebuild the country's finances. He has appealed also to the people, their leaders and workers to give him their hearty co-operation in this very difficult but extremely important task. Last year he had asked critics of Government to be patient and give them five years' time. He has now asked for co-operation along with patience. He fully realises the troubles and annoyances of the people. He wants to give them relief. But with all goodwill and effort, it takes time to set right affairs after they have got into disorder. Moreover, they cannot be improved if every one does not contribute his share of labour and sacrifice. After all, wealth and goods are not produced by orders issued from the Secretariat. They have to be produced by actual work. Sardar wants the nation's co-operation. It is our bounden duty to render it.

Warlike 12-15-48 E. G. MANSURPALLA

To be Out on 4th December FOR PACIFISTS

By Madama Gaudy

"Gandhi's case is very mixed and troubling. It demands nothing less than freeing our violence from social and from man's environment."

—Barbara Kromayer

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WANTED AN ACT OF FAITH

Shri M. M. Jinnah of Madras writes

"The following were here appeared in the Press last week:

The only point in which all parties appear to be agreed after two years' deliberation is that the atomic bomb should be turned on a weapon of war. The obstacle to that first step is the method by which atomic energy can be independently controlled so that one nation cannot use its power till that it has a war weapon.

Finally, the United States and France together with Canada have made it clear that they are prepared to give up the use of atomic weapons provided that an adequate international system of international control can be brought into being."

This news is significant both for the violence of the already mutual distrust between the rivaling powers of the world and for the loss of faith in the strength of their own cause on the part of the countries mentioned therein. If the atomic bomb is to be turned on a weapon of war and become the means by which to perfect the destructive capacity more than the other and consequently may have all those countries of victory in a war between the two but become the one in barbarism and chaos—after that war that being barbarism and chaos—then the last thing any country that should look a view should do is to make a voluntary and whole-hearted contribution to the use of the atomic bomb by a and to destroy every atom bomb that is now held in its possession as a practical demonstration of the honest contribution. Such an act will add to that country's moral stature as no country in any war has ever so and will be a unique challenge to all other countries which will have necessarily to follow suit because of the peculiar atmosphere created by this great act of faith. When a power possessing the atomic weapon deliberately destroys it in possession of its determination not to use the atomic bomb, then the opposing power in a war will become to use the weapon against this self-declared country. If this expenditure materializes then most countries will be automatically abandoned. It is true that America and the atom bomb against Japan which did not possess the weapon. But there is this difference. Japan did not possess the bomb and did not threaten it voluntarily. I believe that atomic energy works in such atmosphere. This will be its contribution with the appeal of Gandhi. To every power, during the last war. May we expect Russia, the United States, France and Canada which claim to represent democracy to realize their moral courage and resources are not of the atom bomb only for all by destroying those bombs that are already in existence and supplying further preparation to make any more bombs, thereby giving up the innate righteousness of their action and leaving Russia to accept the great challenge?"

I do not happen to know my correspondent, and the "Big Powers" or rather the Bigger Publicans pushing them who control War and Peace in the world, are hardly expected to read this, and even if they read, to attach any importance to it. Even Gandhi failed to persuade Britain or, for the matter of that, even the National Congress, when an actual occasion arose.

But however difficult it might be to act upon a great principle, there can be no doubt that if war is to be abolished or even if the rule for armaments is to be moderated (if not altogether stopped) someone has to do it unilaterally. If every one says, 'I shall do it only if the other one does it and proves to my satisfaction that he has done it', the race can never stop. And if the race never stops, war itself cannot be avoided. Or even if the hot war is avoided, the ever increasing cost of armaments itself must kill the peoples by its own crushing weight.

The atom bomb may be the last word in destructive weapons at this moment. But it is merely a symbol. The fundamental thing is the competition to steel another in war-preparedness. To take the two States of our own country, though each declares that it has no hostile intentions against the other, none is prepared to believe the other's word, or, in case a war breaks out, to rely upon the moral strength of its own cause along with the spirit of its own people. The result is that both waste to see itself against Pakistan and Pakistan against India, and both must spend two-thirds or more of their respective revenues on the army. If they have to remain content with possessing weapons inferior to those possessed by Big Powers, it is for want of means and technical skill rather than for want of will.

Inventors, manufacturers and actual wielders of weapons do not take to that art for idle recreation. There is an insatiable will that their skill should be put to practical test some day, and they should be able to demonstrate what tremendous destruction their weapons can bring about. That will must sooner or later bear fruit in the material world. Whether it is war between two countries or a quarrel between two claimants for the possession of a field or a house or for rights of boundaries or armaments, if each acts upon the faith that "possession is nine points in law", and therefore tries to anticipate the other for doing it, abolition of war must remain a day-dream. A fight can be avoided only by one party taking the risk of being harshly trepanned against and relying upon means other than physical force for the vindication of its rights. These will vary from an appeal to an impartial tribunal to unleashing Satyagraha of the highest type.

Thus wrote Gandhi in his famous appeal, *To Every Nation* (*Harper*, 6-7-40).

"I do not want Britain to be defeated, nor do I want her to be victorious in a trial of

brute strength, whether expressed through the muscle or the brain. Your main aim, every is an established fact. Need you dispute that your brain is also as untrained in destructive power as your muscle? I hope you do not wish to enter into such an undignified competition with the Nazis. I venture to present you with a nobler and a braver way worthy of the bravest soldier. I want you to fight Nazism without arms or, if I am to retain the military terminology, with non-violent arms. I would like you to lay down the arms you have as being useless for saving you or humanity. You will invite Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini to take what they want of the countries you call your possessions. Let them take possession of your beautiful island with your many beautiful buildings. You will give all these but neither pots nor gold, nor your minds. If these gentlemen choose to occupy your homes, you will vacate them. If they do not give you free passage out, you will allow yourself, man, woman and child, to be slaughtered but you will refuse to owe allegiance to them."

The renunciation of the atom bomb is a much lower target than the above. It is not renunciation of violence altogether, but just putting a limit, however low, to the means of violence. Progress towards Peace and Non-violence involves a double approach: one from the right, consisting in the development of active benevolence and friendliness, removal of underlying causes of war, and adopting and constructing a life essential for a non-violent order, and the other from the left, of recognizing violent methods step by step. Therefore what is needed is an unconditional self-imposed limit on the use and quality of destructive weapons.

Wardha, 14-15-49. K. G. MANSURWALA

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THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL STRIKE

Readers might be aware that the Calcutta Municipal staff had recently gone on a serious and prolonged strike. It involved suspension of work by more than 25,000 men in the serious detriment to the health and safety of the city for a number of days. It was also accompanied with breaches of the peace and loss of life. The strike came to an end at the end of the last month.

The Executive Committee of the Indian National Trade Union Congress met at New Delhi on 2nd November to consider the merits of this strike. The Union responsible for the strike are affiliated to the I N T U C. I understood that under the constitution of that organisation, a strike cannot be started if the members in dispute are agreed to be referred to an arbitration tribunal. The Executive Committee found that in the present case this had been already done by the West Bengal Government and the strike had been started in spite of it. The strike was therefore unauthorised and disallowed. The labour leaders of the strike, it is reported, admitted their mistake. The Executive Committee passed the following conclusion on this subject:

"The Executive Committee of the I N T U C have deliberated seriously upon the situation arising out of the recent strike at the workers of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation.

The Executive Committee is firmly of the opinion that after the reference of the dispute to dispute an arbitration tribunal, the strike and its continuance for a long time being against the principles and policies of the I N T U C was unjustifiable.

"The Executive Committee reaffirms its faith in the method of settling all industrial disputes by peaceful negotiations and arbitration and directs all affiliated Unions and their officers/brothers that they must faithfully implement this policy and must not resort to strikes as long as they can adopt the method of peaceful negotiations and arbitration.

"The suspension of affiliated Unions is also drawn in the absolute necessity of obtaining the sanction of the President of the I N T U C before launching strikes etc.

"The Executive Committee realise that the disregard of proper methods of settling industrial disputes and resort to unauthorised policies is in itself one of a degraded character now revealed in the strike of the Calcutta Corporation workers. The Committee therefore, deems it necessary to make an enquiry into (i) the procedure adopted by Government in settling disputes to arbitration tribunals, (ii) the procedure of these tribunals and (iii) the procedure adopted Government to implement their awards and hereby appoint a Subcommittee consisting of Kalyana Ghosh, Bhupendran Vardola and Y. T. Desai to inquire into these matters and submit their report to the Executive Committee." (Translated from English)

What has been done cannot be recalled. But there must always serve as an eye-opener for the future. A hasty step, particularly in institutions of public utility services, is attended with dangerous consequences and serious hardships

to the people. I understand that the Executive Committee of the Calcutta Municipal Unions could not muster courage to give the right advice to their workers as they were not in a mood to listen to sober counsel and would have been displeased with the leaders if they had refused to support the strike. Such situations will arise in institutions composed of people from the masses. These situations are moments when leaders have to be on their guard. They must risk their position and even personal safety, rather than hesitate to give the right advice.

Government employers must also put an end to dictatory and venustious methods and procedures. It is the loss of confidence in official ways and despotic which makes the masses impatient and tempt them to resort to extreme methods. If workers were accused of presumption, haughtiness and honesty, they would not like to go on strikes which are no luxury to the strikers themselves.

Wardha, 15.11.46

K. G. BHASKARWALA

Lecture Notes on Gandhi's Life

We have prepared a set of 79 lantern colour slides dealing with the main incidents in Gandhi's life for purpose of propaganda primarily among the rural folk. There is an explanatory note on each slide in English and Tamil. Number ones will be prepared in Telugu and other Indian languages. A complete set of 79 slides with the printed notes costs Rs 125, including packing and railway freight. This set will be found to be of great use to those engaged in the constructive programme drawn by Mahatma Gandhi.

Orders will be executed after a fortnight of the receipt of the order. Orders must be accompanied by a remittance of Rs 100 and the balance will be recovered by T. P. P.

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HARIJAN

November 27

1948

SEARCH FOR TRUTH AND PEACE

(By M. E. Gandhi)

[The following letters were written to Hari Jansel (Raj) and Hari Mahadev (Soni) by Gandhiji in 1922 from a diary when he spent his time and while he was still an editorial prisoner. Mahadev had written a book of imprisonment in U.P. The two letters present the simple philosophy of life.]

—[Ed.]

My dear Jansel,

The more I search after Truth the more I feel it is all-inclusive. Truth is not covered by Non-violence. But I often experience that Non-violence is included in Truth. What a pure heart beats inside of a particular time is Truth. By remaining true to that, unadulterated Truth can be attained. This does not involve any conflict of duty or convenience either. But difficulties often arise in determining what Non-violence is. The use of bacteria-destroying liquid is also violence. It is only by firm adherence to Truth that one can live non-violently in a world which is full of violence. I am, therefore, desirous Non-violence out of Truth. Love is derived from Truth; gentleness flows out of Truth. A truthful sanyasika (passive resister) ought to be very humble. The more his truthfulness increases, the more humble he becomes. I have been experiencing this every moment. I was not conscious of Truth a year ago to the same extent as I am now. Nor did I experience a sense of humility a year ago as much as I do now.

I am day by day realising in an increasing measure the wonderful significance of the sentence "God is Truth, the world is an illusion."

Therefore, let us always be puffed. By remaining patient, we shall lose the hardness of our hearts. Absence of hardness would promote Non-violence. We shall, then, feel our own mistakes to be as big as a mountain, and those of the world as small as a mole. The existence of the body is possible only by reason of the ego. The complete obliteration of the body is salvation (or self-realisation). He who has completely destroyed the "ego" becomes an embodied soul of Truth. There is no harm in calling him even God. That is why the beautiful name of God is "the Servant of servants."

Wife, son, friend, possessions—all these must be subordinated to Truth. We can become sanyasikas only if we are ever prepared to renounce all these completely in our search for Truth. I am at present engaged in this activity and do not hesitate even to sacrifice persons like you because I wish to render the utmost service of this Duty natural for every one. The exterior form of this Duty is India's self-government, its true form is the self-rule of each individual. This is delayed at present because so far not a single true sanyasika of this type

has been perfected. But there is no cause for nervousness. It should be the reason for greater efforts.

You have made yourself my fifth son. But I am striving to be worthy. It is not an ordinary responsibility for an adopter. May God help me, and may I be worthy for it from this day!

Raj's Blessings

Sabarmati Central Prison,
17-2-22

Sabarmati Jail,
Day of release, 17-2-22

Om Mahadev,

Perhaps this might be my last letter to you for a long time to come. Regard yourself as rendering service from your place. My true service begins from this place. I shall persevere to observe all disciplines in mind, speech and body and shall make strong endeavour in harsh prison and hatred. If I really become pure in jail, it will surely have its effects outside. My peace of mind today has no bounds. But it will increase further when I get my sentence and cease to have visitors.

This raises the question why one should not retire into the forest of greatest service is rendered there. The answer is clear. To retire into the forest is itself an admission (weakness) of one's own seeking. A kshatriya performs his duty as the call for it comes to him in ordinary course. It just comes to him in ordinary course, that peace will be for his benefit.

How wonderful are God's ways! The atmosphere was perfectly cleared at Haridwar. At Delhi it was not spoken in any way, but I cleared it further by playing the same drama in language acceptable to the people as along with my Sanskrit I showed also my tenderness (humanity). Thereafter also I did nothing but serve as the work of purification through the Young India and the Message by my article on Non-violence. And now I am arrested at the stage of highest purification and while singing Tansuwan Jansel. What can be a better blessing than this? I wish that case should now instantaneously come to an end.

Please read a translation of this to your teacher Kharyasankar and your co-workers Jansel and others.

Could I have ever imagined that Shukaral would also be arrested with me? But Fate can make everything possible.

Raj's Blessings

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TO EVERY INDIAN

The following is the full text of the broadcast to the nation by the Hon'ble the Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Patel, from All India Radio at 8.30 p.m. on 14th November, 1948.

Welcome to Jawaharlal

Friends

I am very glad to be broadcasting today the birthday of my dear brother Jawaharlal. The day is twice blessed, not only are we celebrating a great national event, but we are also welcoming him back with all our heart after an eventful tour abroad.

Our birthday gift to him is loyalty and devotion. He has returned it with unceasing interest for raising our country's status abroad, and for promoting a new era of goodwill and friendship which he has regenerated wherever he has gone during his tour. He returns today again to resume the heavy burden of responsibilities which attach to his high office. Let us offer him our friendship as well as our prayers.

Immediate Tasks

How heavy is that burden how great are those responsibilities you must have guessed in some measure from the speech I delivered on Saturday about our economic situation. I wish once again to emphasise the gravity of the situation that faces us and of the immensity of the task that lies ahead if we are to stage a quick and permanent recovery. I can tell you quite frankly that the time for preparing paper schemes has gone. We cannot indulge any longer in the pastime of conjuring before our vision shrouded Utopias. We have to live among the hard facts of today, and fit in to the machine of tomorrow that we have to think and act. It is no use our offering to a hungry man a rich fare some time hence. Secondly it is no use overloading an already overburdened mind with confusing ideas. The time has come, if it was not there already for clear-cut policies and for strong and determined action. I would therefore invite you to share with me my thoughts in this light and spirit.

Self-sufficiency in Food and Cloth

During the last three years that I have been my proud privilege to serve my country in a different sphere of responsibilities than that in which I shared the joys and sorrows of the struggle for emancipation, I have been constantly laying stress on the need for self-sufficiency in food and cloth, our basic wants. We have spent scores on our food-production drive without making any appreciable difference to our heavy imports, the crushing burden of which is visible in our dwindling foreign reserves and balances.

The Sugar Problem

As it has not yet enough, we have the sad spectacle of scarcity of sugar of a dimension which we have not experienced before. I prove to you that that problem still affects you. I shall not enter into the rights or wrongs of the deci-

sion that was taken to freeze the export of sugar or to restrict its distribution. I shall only say that what has been happening throughout the country on account of the scarcity of this commodity has filled me with distress, and I cannot find words adequate to condemn those whose offices have brought about this scarcity and the confusion and trouble which has followed in its wake. To be quite candid I see no chance of relieving the situation satisfactorily until the next crushing season—which unfortunately is not far off—places in our hands sufficient supplies. Till then, I can only ask you to bear with us this severe burden and hardship.

Agricultural Progress

However, something would have been gained if we made use of this to prevent a similar thing repeating itself, and it is there that I must ask for the cooperation of all citizens, both agriculturists and non agriculturists. We have in hand so many schemes of irrigation. We have a huge area of cultivable waste which is waiting for the hands that can plough. Even the areas under cultivation run with drainage and well-directed efforts be made to yield more. We have a big reclamation programme which is being financed from the money that we have borrowed here abroad. In addition we have programmes in belts for cultivating schemes in food production. If we can concentrate on all these I have no doubt that in spite of the economic situation of today we can produce enough to feed ourselves and reduce the heavy drain of freight and profits which we otherwise send to foreign growers and shippers. Just think of it. If we had at our disposal the amount which we have spent on food imports during the last three years we would have completely re-habited those unfortunate brothers and sisters of ours who had had to leave their birth-land and homes in Pakistan and who are still looking up to us for relief and succour. I thank my heart to see so many of my unfortunate countrymen living in conditions of life and poverty. Let those who pass by them reflect for a moment how they themselves are contributing to their misery by failing to feed fully. It helps themselves and help us in increasing self-sufficiency in food.

India's True Culture

We always speak of India's culture of India's civilisation, but do we ever pause to think that the relief of the poor, mutual aid amongst neighbours, charity to the helpless, and kindness to the down-trodden have been the shining virtues of that culture and civilisation. Let us ask ourselves if we are living in the spirit of these ancient virtues. If we are honest we shall point the finger of scorn at all those of us who demand their pound of flesh for every act of ours that they have done to the Government or who show up their noses over though they are their next-door neighbour's starting at who is not apply themselves assiduously to produce more from every inch of their soil, or who not only

allow land to go waste but also allow foodgrains to deteriorate or who do not strive for the purpose of growing food every inch of space that is available to them and can usefully be turned to this purpose. Are we to take Gandhi's name only when it suits our purpose? I should like to ask all those who swear by him as to how they resemble their pretensions of faith in his message with the everyday breach of the principles which he taught.

Appeal to Agriculturists

My appeal to the agriculturists, therefore, is to work and work hard with a will to get the best out of their overflows and deliver to Government the maximum they can spare on the principle of their minimum requirements. They should help Government to implement the many programmes of increasing food production so that we can restore the balance between supply and demand of foodgrains as quickly as possible. Whatever area can be brought under cultivation must be striven to produce foodgrains.

To Industrialists and Labour

My next appeal is to the industrialists, businessmen, traders and labour. I need not stress here the importance which increasing production has to our plans to deal with the present economic crisis. In many ways it is our one and only hope to correct the misalignment between supply and demand and thereby reverse the rising spiral of prices. At the Chamber of Industrialists and Businessmen and Labour Representatives which was convened in Delhi on the 12th and 13th of this month, the subject was discussed in a spirit of mutual understanding and sympathy, friendliness and goodwill. I regard this as a happy augury for the future of this country and will consider myself amply rewarded if all those participating in these discussions will carry to their respective spheres the same spirit of co-operation and mutual help and, making the tremendous stakes involved, implement the plans and understandings reached. Government industry and labour must all play the game in a spirit of mutual service. We must all have the boldest sense of a national emergency; we must close our ranks as we do in the presence of a common danger; we must tighten our belts to give the nation the tribute we owe to it; we must all contribute our mite to the creation of that huge reservoir of funds both here and abroad which we need to back our national effort for a happier and better state of living. Who knows if the country sinks into economic slavery? Who knows if the country prospers? Let that be our ruling sentiment; let that be our ruling thought. Let industrialists concentrate on getting the maximum out of their plants and machinery, let labour lend their helping hand to the industrialists to exploit their resources to the maximum national advantage. It will be Government's duty which they must discharge to ensure that the decks are cleared for action

and there are no impediments, no bottlenecks and no red-tape. The wheels must move with clocklike precision and perfect smoothness and there must be no mutual fault-finding. The tradesmen have also to do their part. It is their duty to ensure that the produced articles reach the consumer with the minimum of difficulty and at the minimum of extra cost. None wishes to deprive them of their due but it would be a national crime for any one to take more than one's due. On the other hand, even if one has to surrender something of his due for the sake of delivering the goods to the nation, that must be cheerfully done. In such an inexorable and unrelenting struggle for existence, monetary matters must not be allowed to rule in the decision of patriotic duty.

Producers of Cash

Let me also make a special appeal to those who have money to spare. It is, I know, a large body of heterogeneous elements. We are not spendthrifts in a nation; saving is our national instinct, whether we are agriculturists, labourers, businessmen, lawyers, civil servants, or traders. They must all save every pice they can and place their savings at the disposal of Government for utilisation in nation-building enterprises. We all had a plethora of development schemes in the hope of large balances being available for expenditure. Now when we look back at our position, we find that if we were to live within our means, we had drastically to cut our developmental programme. It is obvious that we cannot keep this programme in operation for very long without doing grave damage to our national economy. These programmes are our only hope if we have to lead not only the present, but the increasing population of our country. They affect the only chance of increased industrialisation, without which it will not be possible for us either to maintain or to improve upon our present standard of living. We must, therefore, restore our economy to a position in which we can implement these programmes to the best of our capacity and in an efficient and businesslike manner. For all time, we must have capital, and that capital must come from our own country. We may be able to borrow from international markets here and there, but ultimately we cannot base our everyday economy on foreign borrowing.

In my speech on Saturday I have already indicated why and how the investor should place confidence in us. I stated that a poor had rushed when nobody who can save or has saved can afford to withhold investing it in a profitable undertaking without incurring the odium of having killed the country in its hour of crisis. Indeed, it would be as wrong for any one not to invest savings as it would be in times of war for any one to shirk the obligations of compulsory national service.

Cuts in Salaries

This brings me to comment to you the scheme, which we have separately announced,

of voluntary work is higher salaries and compulsory savings for Government servants of different salary grades. Both Government and Government servants have in this matter given a lead to business and professions which the latter would do well to follow. I am separately making an appeal to Provincial Governments to evolve similar schemes for their own Government servants. We hope shortly to supplement our coop scheme by a similar scheme for Government servants drawing Rs 200 and below. When that scheme is introduced, I am sure Provincial will follow suit. I would now appeal to business houses, commercial establishments and men engaged in different professions and other institutions employing any substantial staff to adopt our scheme to the conditions of their own organisation and to implement it cheerfully and in a spirit of self service for the country's needs. All these contributions would, while answering to the contributors some saving for future needs assist Government considerably in strengthening its ways and means position and would enable it to finance the many schemes of development which on account of the poverty for an ailing rigid economy have had to be suspended or drastically curtailed.

Motto for Every Citizen

"Spend, Loan, Save More, and Invest as Much As Possible" should be remembered by the motto of every citizen in the country and all of you must see that that motto becomes the guiding principle of your life. You can select for yourself any suitable means of investments which are open to you, but only make sure that all the money that you save is spent for a national cause.

A Word to Government Servants

I shall now say a word to those Government servants on whom has fallen and will continue to fall the implementation of the many new schemes of control and of reorganisation of everyday affairs of the citizen which we have to achieve. It is a great responsibility. The powers which they wield, if rightly used, can bring the nation heavy dividends, but if abused, can bring not only harm but discredit. They have the reputations of many citizens in their hands. They will very often find that a kind word, a sympathetic gesture and an attitude of understanding coupled with honesty and integrity will enable them to do their work much quicker and much better than authority, a sense of superiority and those departures from civility of which we find so many reports. No one has done more to see that the servants get their just rights and due credit than myself. If, therefore, I make a call upon them to do their part of national duty, I do so in full realization of the fact that a large majority of them are actuated by patriotic motives and a spirit of service to the nation. They must, however, understand that the thousands of a few of them are as likely to injure the reputation of all as a dirty fish can proverbially spoil the whole tank. If the Legislature and Government place such

large powers in their hands, they also place on them the responsibility for using them properly. If they fail to discharge that responsibility, they not only render themselves unworthy of the service to which they belong but also show themselves unworthy of the trust and confidence which the Government, the Legislature and the nation have placed in them. Let them, therefore, so conduct themselves that every action of theirs brings in as much good to the nation as possible without incurring any one except the evil done. If they can do so in this spirit, I am sure they will convert sympathy into sympathy, calumny into praise and selfishness into co-operation.

A Personal Note

Finally, let me end on a personal note. Jawaharlal and I have been overwhelmed by the general measure of confidence displayed in us having regard to the universality of that confidence, we naturally feel the terrible burden that we have to carry. That burden can be lightened only if we can achieve all-round co-operation and support. My appeal to you all is, therefore, to extend to us and to the Government that co-operation and support and to help us in casting out everything that retards the progress of the nation towards a better and happier vision of things.

A FRIEND OF THE FORGOTTEN

Gandhiji wrote on the occasion of the anniversary (Gandhiji 10th November) of Thakurkarp:

"Thakurkarp is a new worker. He is idealistic. He wants no praise. His work is his sole satisfaction and recreation. Old age has not diminished his zeal. He is himself an institution. I once suggested that he might take a little rest. Immediately came the answer: How can I rest, when there is so much to do? My work must be my rest. He puts to shame every young man who finds in the struggle to separate upon his life's mission." (Harijan, 21.10.39)

And again, mentioned among Bapu's many words:

"He had given up his office of Head Engineer for the Bombay Municipal Corporation to become a servant of India. He is a lion in the Indian sense: tough by the beauty." (Harijan, 22.10.39)

And Mahadevi Devi writing about him said:

"A lion with himself as his kingdom; many a light of service and sacrifice." (Harijan, 22.10.39)

Indeed, in this respect he has been a veritable hunter of probable public servants. When Vaidyanatha Iyer wrote in 1935:

"I tried to escape them from the presidency of the United India Bank though seeing in them despair at my inability to help the Bankers, but Thakurkarp stood firm, and in April 1936 he pointed out that unless I found a person willing to take up the work I would not be doing my duty and as I had to take it up again. And for his insistence I thought myself could not have been criticised. I had equally strong objection in 1935 when he asked me to take it up. But he came to see between it and it put me persuaded me to take it up, though I found it was nearly well, being nearly a half-hour more engaged in the day-to-day business of running money and meeting the same." (1936)

I can testify to this myself. But for him, I am not sure that I would have thrown in my

himself/Gandhi as a full-time worker and like with some very Bapu yoked my nose to the manual digesting Kasturba letters in Nagpur and so on. For this purpose, he woke me up just before my sleep after 10 p.m., told me that he, first wanted to make direct appointments of officers for every province, and asked me to suggest a suitable lady-worker for Nagpur and Bilar. Some names were discussed including that of my aunt. She had her own hesitations on account of which I felt rather hesitant about her. But ultimately both Bapu and Bapu thought of trying her first, and she was summoned and persuaded to accept the appointment. And she is still at the wheel.

Bapu is a hard and methodical task-master, also a meticulous observer of social etiquette. If he visits a place, he never leaves it before seeing every one whom he knows there. But he is no talker, and does not hesitate calling a spade a spade. He is easily irritated, and severely takes to task his workers if he finds that they have needlessly spent their money, even if it is a few annas. I remember how he once got angry with someone who pleaded on behalf of a chair-organiser for stints of expenditure which Bapu had ruled as improperly spent and ordered to be refunded. Indeed, in this respect, he is even more severe than what even Gandhi was. Though himself always very simple and frugal, it was not impossible for Gandhi's companions whether at the ashrams or in tours to live comfortably. Indeed, his lady and generosity have even spoiled some workers and made them unsuitable for leading a life believing a real account of Gandhism. Thakkarbhai, however, insists upon simple and non-conscious living both in himself and his associates. Even at 81, he would not ask for any particular convenience of lodging, boarding or conveyance for himself either by way of fare or for health. Nor does he allow extravagance in his assistants. And yet he is ideally concerned about the comforts of his assistants in material details. He would take his food as go to bed only after satisfying himself that his assistants have been fed and found a proper place to spend their beds. If he thinks that a cup of tea or coffee or an extra blanket is quite necessary for his assistant, and is available without any inconvenience to his host, he would give a hint for the assistant, but none for himself. But in taking work from his assistants, and in requiring it to be done in the right manner, he is still his old self—a civil engineer carrying a foot-tape and a level-bulb, and counting fall work from his laboratory. To work under Thakkarbhai for a year is a very precious training and a rare privilege for any young man desirous of being an efficient social worker.

I hope that all will pray for him and assist and love the cause for which he stands.

Wardha, 15-11-46

E. G. MANDREWALA

REMARKS

A young Gujarati, about 45 years of age, has been moving about in various parts of the country, visiting public institutions like those of the Kasturba Trust Centres—the Charitra Sangh, Homes and Asylums of Dasturba Women and Orphans, etc. He poses as a businessman and sometimes persuades managers and superintendents to believe that he is a genuine philanthropist, well-known to various leaders and officials. He thus succeeds in enjoying the hospitality of the institutions and before leaving, even manages to get a loan of pretty large sums, which he promises to return immediately on reaching his next destination.

Some weeks ago he came to Wardha as a peddler. He posed as a contractor and related his past adventurous career and evinced a desire to take to honest life hereafter. He met the people of Sevagram, Shri Vinoba, myself and several others and thus won a position here to add to his list of acquaintances. After a few days' residence at Sevagram, he left promising to return to his home in Gujarat, there to lead a new life as advised by Shri Vinoba. But this too has turned out to be a hoax and it is reported that he has been pursuing his old ways still, and has visited a number of Kasturba Centres in South India and Karnataka. He also appears to be particularly attentive to young girls.

He is a thin man of dark complexion. He gave out here that his original name was Nagendra Shukla of Raoppla, Gujarat, but as Mahabul and Akhshobai passed under the name of Shantini and according to his own story had up till then adopted as many as ten aliases, never taking the same name in any one province. May be, he has taken quite new names now. He has been reported to the local police. But up to now as is known, he is not 'wanted' by the police, they can only watch him if traced. The public and public institutions in particular are cautioned against him and should report him to the police and the latter will also do well to be on a look out for him and watch his movements. He has already defrauded several institutions and small businessmen by taking loans, which have never been returned.

Wardha, 15-11-46

E. G. MANDREWALA

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAMATA GANDHI)

Editor: E. G. MARRERWALA



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THIRD ANNAL

RAPUS BAPA

You are growing younger day by day. Beginning with the Harijans you have progressively become Bapa to the Hindu, to the Amharas, Yishols and now to the British. What earthly measure is even all philanthropy like you have for the droplet of my blessings? But since little drops make the ocean, as the old adage says you have my blessings which you now appropriate for what they might be worth. Write Gandhiji to Thakkarbapa in 1941 on the occasion of the latter's seventy-second birthday. Gandhiji has had many distinguished birthday-wishes some of whom became celebrated later in their own right in our national history, but he had only one Bapa — San Atchutaji T. Thakkar, who by stepping into the order of India's distinguished sages has been considered absolute the President allotted "three score years and ten" and let us hope will continue to do so for many more years to come.

For India needs him and will need him and his like more and more to realize the contents of independence in terms of those for whom the Congress under Gandhiji's leadership struggled to win it, viz. the lowest and the last, without which the political independence that we have won must result in empty struggle.

Thakkarbapa is pre-eminently the champion of last causes. In there lies, food houses or cyclone havoc, in Orissa Assam Bengal or Bombay or a struggle for the emancipation of women, the Harijans or the Aborigines. Well Thakkarbapa is sure to be there in the thick of the action. The cause which he has espoused and made his own would fill the normal span of a man's life many times over. And yet his grand known no borders. He still goes on adding more and more to the stupendous burden which he is already carrying. The only parallel to it that suggests itself to me is, perhaps that of the late Democratic Charles Andrews. But Bapa has outdone C. F. Andrews in the rate of years.

To his indefatigable and tireless industry and hard work he joins crackling scientific method and a loving humanitarian heart, a rare combination in one who agrees to dedicate himself to the service of Dandraswaraj. Gandhiji, who prided himself on being a lay-sage of late, spotted these rare qualities in Thakkarbapa early. He never again to praise his regular methodical habits, the result of long training and

rigorous self-discipline, strictly regulated life, and the qualities of tirelessness, endurance and precision which he himself embodied in his person to such an eminent degree and which he regarded as essential weapons in the armory of truth and non-violence. But what he proved in Bapa even more was his immeasurable integrity, personal purity, and the spirit of intensest reconstruction and self-dedication. The character of a weapon depends upon the technique of light and the revolutionary non-violent technique which Gandhiji had devised and sought to perfect called forth a new set of values and norms of action in national workers, wholly different from what one had been familiar with before. The difference was best illustrated in his plan of the crusade against untouchability following upon the epic fast also known as the Yerwada fast which he launched from behind the prison walls. The issue was no less than complete eradication in law as well as in actual practice of the permanent system of "untouchability" that had its roots in centuries of unchanging prejudice and caste-hardened orthodoxy masquerading as religion. To achieve that goal the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh was founded—a body novel revolutionary and paradoxical in its theory, non-violent organization and method. Success would depend upon successful handling and harnessing of the spiritual resources of the people. And who could be wiser to be entrusted with the newly born Sangh as its Secretary than Thakkarbapa? Thereafter his role, friendship with the Sangh and with Gandhiji became firm that of a Hindu wife—liking and unlikable. Later when once he wanted to resign from it to be free to devote more of his time to the problem of the Aboriginal Tribes, Gandhiji in his inimitable style wrote to him:

"There is no link to your good. In all means satisfy it to the top of your head. Your Secretaryship of the Harijan Sevak Sangh surely is no hindrance. You and Chaudharydass have jointly undertaken responsibility for the Sangh. Now death alone can release you from it. He as well as I need your moral strength and self-dedication. Your Secretaryship symbolizes it. You can give as much of your time as you like to the Advance while discharging your duty as Secretary of the Sangh. You do not mean to tell me that you will want to resign even after that

infinite. Just for your sake I have detained. Not that a scientist could not be loved. But the credulity of the sea of unaccountability calls for the moral force of the pure in heart. Do not forget that the avowal of unaccountability is today being sanctified as religion. That is not so in the case of the Adivasi. I therefore do not trust your dedicating yourself to the service of the Adivasi, but it must not be at the cost of the Harpoon."

And Sage has stuck to the Harpoon ever since.

When Gandhiji went to Nashik on his "Do or Die" mission of fasting and mercy, Thakurbahe accompanied him there and became a soldier of non-violence in the trust sense of the term. Unarmed and unarmed, demanding the protection of the police and the military he roamed at large over captured villages, instilling courage among the new prisoners not victims by the force of his personal courage and disseminating the message of good will and peace among the Hindus and Muslims alike. The local circumstances soon learnt to respect him and the Moslems officials to make discussion the better part of their valour when confronted by his formidable array of facts and figures in a controversy.

Since the abolition of untouchability is law by the Indian Constituent Assembly, the struggle against untouchability in Thakurbahe's mind has broadened into the wider struggle for the uplift and emancipation of the so-called aboriginal and backward elements in India. To carry on the good fight he has helped to found the All India Adivasi Samak Sangh with the Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad and even sacrificed his cherished peace by agreeing to go into the Constituent Assembly. "The struggle must go on," he told me the other day in answer to my question, "all the goal of an organization, casteless, social order is required." He has no illusion that it will come in his life time, but that does not deter him or damp his ardour. For, he knows that the goal is in the process. He seeks no other consideration than to be able to alleviate the anguish of the sorrowing and the suffering which is his own reward.

Unlike the general run of social reformers whose record lacks the full stamp of authenticity owing to the absence of what Frank Harris called "the decrees of the shadow of prison bars on their breast," Thakurbahe's colonialist zeal and integrity have taken him into the temple of freedom that prison under an unjust Government becomes. It was in connection with the plotting of liquor shops.

Gandhiji was in the habit of surrounding himself with a bodyguard of what he used to call his "conscience keepers." Among them Thakurbahe held a place all his own, and on a memorable occasion, which is of too intimate and sacred a character to narrate here, was able to make him renounce a dream when all others had failed.

At four score years he is still going strong. Fasting overnight has failed to impair his tempo. Every night before he retires to bed he dictates his daily diary and has the assurance of the satisfaction with which he is connected read out to him. For he is always alert and anxious to render full account to his Trust Master under whose eye and in whose camp he consistently labours and toils.

The secret of his personal youth is his rare devotion to duty and shining faith in humanity and God which enables him to be cheerful for nothing and to sing victoriously with the best and ebullient of a youth in his lanes in spite of the burden he is carrying as he more actually did at a prayer meeting at Gandhiji's instance. May he live long to inspire by his being example our youth to grow into worthy servants of the nation.

Delhi, 29.10.45

PTABINDAR

MORE ABOUT VISITING PACIFISTS

Here are a few more notes about some of the visitors who are attending the World Pacifist Meetings. I hope the publication of these notes will not be embarrassing for them.

First, let us continue the European list. Constantly we have been asked whether we have anyone from the Soviet world. Alas, the answer is "No". We tried to find some faithful Bolsheviks who could come, but our effort was not successful. However, it may be interesting to note that the Danish friend, Aage Jorgensen, is a man who has been under Tolstoy's influence for many years, and has lived at Tolstoy's home, Yasnaya Polyana, in Russia. He says that it was through Tolstoy's writings that he became interested in Gandhiji.

Then, we have two visitors coming from Finland, a country which is not of the free world between Russia and the Western world. One of them, Tyto Kallinen, has been a Minister in the Finnish Government. As a life-long pacifist he had the congenial job of demobilizing the Finnish army after the recent war and getting them back into civil occupations. When I visited his home in the summer of 1942, I found his shelves lined with books of Indian religion and philosophy, but this is his first visit to India.

His competitor is a man barely half his age who, as a conscientious objector to military service, spent years in a labour camp under harsh conditions. Now he is trying to revolutionize the conditions of life in a small manufacturing town which is his parish, but it is a peaceful revolution that he is helping to achieve. His name is Erik Ewén.

Dr. Karel Hayer has lived most of his life in Czechoslovakia. He is a famous astronomer and physicist. He has travelled so widely and knows so many languages that he is already a world citizen. Today he works in an American University. He spent a year in India some three

age. He has been actively associated with peace groups in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere.

Three delegates are from France. Miss Magda Treman was one of them who reached India in the middle of November, and has already met many Indian workers. Although she comes from France she personifies the international spirit, for, as she proudly says, her own children have four grandmothers: one Russian, one Italian, one German and one French. She herself was brought up in Italy. She and her husband have started a school where they try to teach the spirit of non-violence. Her husband was taken to a concentration camp during the war, because he sheltered Jews. He was offered his release if he would sign a paper stating that he would be obedient to General Petain. This, he was told, was a paper formality. But he said it was contrary to his conception of truth to sign a paper which he did not mean to carry out, so he returned to the camp.

Rene Dorez, like Magda Treman, is an active leader in the Fellowship of Reconciliation. He has suffered in many ways for his pacifist principles. The summary society, for which he had trained, refused to support him. Finally he was able to obtain work as a small store manager, where he has devoted himself to the well-being of the workers.

Jeanne Desormes is a young French lawyer, who fought through the war but has since become a convinced pacifist.

Dane Dorendt from Switzerland is also a soldier converted to pacifism. He is actively interested in the Swiss Civil International, the international peace brigades first organized by Pierre Corradini. He has been led to the conviction that, even for a small country like Switzerland, armed defense is a kind of protective armor to hide the fear in men's hearts. A truly fearless man would have no use for armed protection.

Now, let us turn to Africa. From South Africa we expect to have three delegates. Marjori Gordis needs no introduction. He is traveling from South Africa with Dr. Davidson Jabavu. Professor Jabavu was on the staff of Fort Hare Native College for many years, and he is the author of many books and pamphlets. He is founder of a Native Farmers' Association, and of the Cape Native Teachers' Association.

Rev. Michael Scott, who has been representing the South-West Africa tribes at Lake Externes, also hopes to come in time for the San-talikeban session.

David Anquah is a young man from the Gold Coast who studied at the London School of Economics during the recent war, married an English Quaker woman, and is now a welfare officer under the Gold Coast Government.

From New Zealand comes A. C. Harrington. In New Zealand nonviolent objection to war is not popular. Harrington has been arrested five times "marched out" of town by ex-servicemen three times, repeatedly fired, has had

his house searched and his papers confiscated. In the end the county council, at his anxiety and pain, has unconditional exemption from military service. He is now a member of a Peasants Community, who live simply, sharing their possessions.

John Fiddling, a young man from Australia, has worked in various employments and is now Cost Accountant at a hospital in Sydney. Influenced by the writings of Tolstoy he has been an active worker for the Australian Peace Pledge Union and similar organizations.

It seems likely that nearly a dozen of the early visitors will be from the United States in addition to one from Canada, Mrs. Mildred Palmer, who has been in India before on a short visit, when she met Gandhiji, and at least one Latin American, Roberto San, who for many years has been an official interpreter for the International Labour Office in Geneva.

The Americans include Richard Gregg, who, as the well known author of *The Power of Non-violence*, is sure of a very warm welcome on his return to India after many years.

I am afraid I cannot supply brief biographies for most of the American visitors but at least one can say a few things about them. A. F. Mann and John Norman Sayre and Karlsson Sayre are among the chief stalwarts of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the former is a writer of distinction.

Rev. Newton, Tatti Bell, Denise Lee Knox and Grace Rhoads are all Quakers, though the last-named is the appointed representative of the Women's International League.

Cole Miller is a leading member of the Methodist Church, which is one of those known in America as "Mainline Peace Churches." Paul Erb is editor of the chief Methodist newspaper in America, whilst George Davis is another leading religious writer. In the 1930's he paid several visits to France. He has also worked hard for the improvement of race relations.

Robert Merck edits one of the most important religious papers in America.

It is hoped that Mordern Johnson, President of Howard (Negro) University will also come.

There are still, at the moment of writing, one or two gaps in the Asian list, though three from Japan and two from China have arrived in Calcutta in good time, and Professor Nefed from Paris is another early arrival. Perhaps something more adequate about the Asian visitors can be published later.

Someone who saw the first party to leave Europe wrote: "What an array of simple, powerful people!" Perhaps that would be a good description for most of the visitors from all the Continents. Many have witnessed derision and misrepresentation for years, but they remain non-violent not only in act but in spirit, which is often harder.

MORRIS ALEXANDER

HARIJAN

December 4

1949

INVOCATION TO GOD

That very active parliamentarian at the Centre, Shri H. V. Kamath, suggested to the Constituent Assembly the other day that the Constitution of the Indian Republic should commence with an invocation to God. I do not think there was anything to be ridiculed about it to be ashamed of in the suggestion. I wonder whether it was brushed aside unconsciously because it came from Shri Kamath, who seems to have made himself rather thornier to his brother representatives by not allowing any period of silence to himself, whatever may be the topic under discussion. Or is it that in this age of atomic research Atom appears to be mightier Deity than God, and the constitution-drafter would rather usher in the new constitution in the name of the Mighty Atom than of God, as the hero in Mark Corbridge's novel of that name did?

It is not very important whether God is formally mentioned or no in the constitution. The more fundamental thing is our approach and attitude in entering ourselves in the task of constitution-making. In all our activities we work either for something very grave and great and with a feeling of reverential awe and loving devotion or for something which is wicked, mean and selfish and with a feeling of contempt, fear, rivalry and violence. The former, though unambiguously felt, is something nameless, unclassifiable and therefore, never properly expressible by a word or phrase which is capable of being applied to anything concrete or conceivable. The best word is therefore, one which is just arbitrary, beyond the reach of grammar, etymology or meaning-book. Most languages have at least one such word, such as *Osh*, Allah, God and the like. Every one of these is equally good or, if you wish to say so, equally vague. It is best to leave it as it is without trying to define or explain it or to provide for it synonyms made with the help of grammar and etymology. "God is God alone, and God is nothing but God." If you wish, you might substitute *Osh* or Allah for God but you stop there. When you begin to explain God with other words as Lord, Father, Creator, Judge, Truth, Love, Bliss, Peace, Rama, Krishna, Christ, Shakti and the like, you bring down God within the limits of something which you know or can conceive of. They or any of them may help an individual, group or people in fixing some very high but nevertheless concrete and conceivable target to work for in life, and to make it the medium of his approach to God. These words may also enable him to give linguistic expression to his feelings of reverence, awe, love, devotion

etc. But God is greater and beyond — of these targets and expressions, being the Ultimate Being and Purpose of Life. To Him all acts have to be assigned. Unless we learn to dedicate our acts to the opposite of God, namely Satan or Devil, or Asura — which group of words too though not so incommensurable and undefinable as God, perhaps comes next to it and is also arbitrary there is no reason for the nation to feel shy of avowing God and dedicating to Him its noblest and most sacred act of life.

Wardha, 22-11-49

K. G. KARNATAKALA

A BASELESS STORY

At page 107 of his book, Mahatma Gandhi — An Interpretation, Mr E. Stanley Jones writes:

A hitherto unreported account of an incident in Gandhiji was given by a highly placed newspaperman who was not allowed at the time to publish it for obvious reasons. But he now gives me permission to publish it.

When the Mahatma would stride from village to village on his peace missions, his presence had everywhere would have before him stood to meet him. Those who did come and then him alone, always were converted by the Mahatma and promised to hold themselves responsible for keeping the peace. He arranged with the Government that no one should be arrested in his proper meetings. One Mahatma came and was arrested by the Mahatma, the greatest the Mahatma by the three, and showed him till he was free in his time. In the world of it the Mahatma kept on smiling and even laughing. The charges of violence and acts of terrorism as concerned the Mahatma shall be deleted. Later he came and told of the Mahatma's two and begged forgiveness for what he had done. The Mahatma ordered us to laugh nothing had happened.

This story has never been translated in some of the Indian languages also. I made inquiries of Shri Satishchandra Shri Pyarelal, Shri Manu Gandhi, Shri Abha Gandhi and others, who accompanied Gandhiji during his Noakhali mission, to ascertain the truth about this story, or even if there was anything near about it. Manu Gandhi ever since she joined Gandhiji in December, 1946 in Noakhali was always with him until his death. She is positive that no such event happened from December, '46 to January, '48, whether in Noakhali, Calcutta, Bihar or any other place, and she never heard of any such occurrence having taken place before her joining. Others also never saw or heard of any such occurrence. The story must be regarded a pure imagination by a journalist and it is to be regretted that Mr Stanley Jones put credence in it and published it without proper enquiries. As it is a world famous book, likely to be translated in other languages, he would do well to delete this account being quite without foundation.

Wardha, 20-11-49

K. G. KARNATAKALA

FOR FACIPIENTS

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THE WORLD PACIFIST MOVEMENT

The first session of the United Nations Conference must have already set the message down that peace is preferred. I have to give it for reasons of health. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar has already given us instructions to a few of the foreign friends as to previous work. He has followed it up with that of a few more in the one. They are foreign, only in the sense that they do not live in India. But a few of them have been in India before and have served here. A pacifist has to be a world citizen in spirit, even if he does not renounce his citizenship of a particular country, and confine his actual services to his immediate neighbourhood. Wherever he goes he has to identify himself with the people of that place and take them as they are with their good and bad points as one takes the members of one's family and immediate neighbourhood, and still loves them and calls them, my people.

The people who are working at Gandhism are not famous statesmen or politicians of the world, with the exception of two or three. A majority of them are not politicians but have suffered long terms of imprisonment and detention in jails or concentration camps for refusing to take part in war. Among others some of them might be compared with the Harjans and Harjans men of our country like members or friends of the downtrodden people in the West like the Negroes and the Jews. Almost all are what we call hard constructive workers and soldiers of the war of life which would eliminate as much as possible all those causes which create strife between man and man and among communities and nations.

One of the institutions with which a few workers are connected is the Fellowship of the Reconciliation. It is an international organisation and has branches or independent, but like, institutions in different parts of the world. Each appears to be somewhat like our ashramas where workers live together, work together, lead a simple life and serve their neighbourhood or go out for service to any part of the world to render assistance to people in distress.

These friends observe no barriers of colour, creed or country, but regard all humanity as one. They have come to lay before us their problems and to understand ours and to see where just differences will lead us all to. The blame to whom both we and they looked to for guidance is unfortunately no longer with us. And so we all are on the same level—humble seekers of light directly from the Spirit.

Let us watch these deliberations with prayer and hope.

Wardha, 24-11-49

K. G. KARNATKAWA

WORKING FOR WORLD PEACE

I feel that we must not expect much from governments. Not that they do not want world peace. But they are all caught in a vicious circle. They fight one another and are also afraid of one another. Our work lies among the masses. We must reach the peasants, the labourers, the scientists, the students and the teachers and convert them to non-violence. Ultimately it is the labourers who become the lords of war and scientists its helpers. Teachers and students justify it and the masses in their complacency believe that it is all for their good. We must establish direct contact with all these. This is possible only through their service. If along with service we partly save our own lives we may become recipients of God's Light. After all it is He who will achieve it. We can only be tools in His hands. But in order to be such tools we must be altogether humble and reduce ourselves to zero. Much emphasis is laid upon 'organisation' in this age. But mere organisation cannot produce the habit of non-violence. It can be produced only through purification of life and when it is produced it will be propelled by its own internal force.

February 24-11-50

(Translated from Hindi)

VINAYA

GANDHI SAHIB AND HIS SYMPATHISERS

An interesting development in the career of pacifism has been reported in the *Peace News* of 14th October 1949.

Gandhi Sahib a young American ex bomber pilot in the last war became towards the end a convert to the cause of pacifism which in his own words "means not only turning the other cheek, but also loving the enemy, for the enemy is also a part of mankind, however misdirected." This is what "Jesus Buddha Lao Tzu, Tolstoy, St. Francis of Assisi, Gandhi and other great thinkers and religious leaders have taught."

Sahib was in France at that time. On 25th May, 1949, he renounced his U.S.A. citizenship and landed in his passport as the U.S. Embassy in Paris. He declared himself a World Citizen, believing that mankind is one and national barriers a hindrance to world unity. The French was reported in September 1948 and so he became thereafter liable to be expelled from France at any moment. The French Government, however, not only permitted him to live in Paris without papers but he and his colleagues were welcomed by President Auriol last December who expressed his sympathy with his stand. So he would have been still living there untroubled by the French authorities but for another development in France itself.

France has a law of compulsory military service from which even conscientious objectors are not exempted as they are in Britain, Canada, U.S.A., and several other countries. From Moscow, a young French conscript was arrested on September 26th for the second time for re-

forcing military conscription. He had been previously arrested in November, 1948 for the same offense and had served his term already. And, unless the law is modified or world peace is assured, the same process must be repeated over and over again until probably the age-limit of compulsory service is past. Jean Mureau has also declared himself "a World Citizen and a Christian, willing to serve in an international police force to enforce democratically agreed upon world law or in the meantime to work in civil reconstruction in place of learning the art of killing his fellow men in national strife."

Now the position of Garry Davis in relation to Jean Mureau's arrest is thus:

I am in France as a guest, as full liberty and with no identifying papers—clearly an infraction of French law. I serve no national master nor will I following the state in Moscow, and I pay no military taxes for national defense. Only my passport issued as a World Citizen has allowed me this liberty and privilege. Mureau knowing upon my pointing the state—France—is regarded in the eyes of French law as a common criminal and sentenced to imprisonment. Therefore, if French law regards moral conduct as a criminal offense, I am prepared to accept that title and stand then humbly with my punishment in asking to serve with the other "criminals" their prison sentence. In prison by the National Assembly, or guaranteed morally by President Auriol, Mureau's arresting Mureau and any others under the same category, I am no other citizen.

So on September 13th, he addressed a letter to President Auriol asking the Government to send him to prison in the same way as Mureau and thereafter moved himself before the door of the military prison of Paris. As this amounted to breach of police regulations, he was arrested in ordinary course. He was kept in custody for about a week, and then tried for "being in France without identity papers." As there was nothing clandestine about this, having been done with the full knowledge and consent of the President and members of the Government, the magistrate concluded that "there were extenuating circumstances in his case and gave a sentence of eight days' imprisonment." As this period had been already served, it meant immediate release. Now the French authorities are thinking hard how to get rid of this "unlawful customer", who belongs to no nation. The Municipality of Hamm in Germany has offered him asylum. It is to be seen whether Davis will avail himself of it or refuse to leave France in order to work for his nation.

In the meantime a few profiles of U.S.A. staged a sympathetic demonstration in Columbia (Washington). This is what Ray Kipley, the Pacific correspondent of the *Peoples News*, says in his report:

on Thursday, October 6 the day Davis was to come up for trial in Paris a group of us went to Washington in the French Embassy. A Japanese delegation went into the Embassy with a letter stating our solidarity with Davis and asking the free-

domity of the Embassy for the day, so that a vigil might be maintained on French territory. Mureau with a second group waited in front of the Embassy with posters calling for freedom of conscience in France and the world and calling for people to join with us and Garry Davis in seeking world unity through non-violence and a treaty with war. The Embassy called the U.S. State Department which in turn called the Washington police. They showed us lines of people waiting and with our delegation still outside buses refused to leave the place arrived, the policemen were ordered not to permit anyone off line of the Embassy. Upon refusal to leave police beat they were arrested and treated like police riot. In the meantime the French army police, and with their great numbers and much anti-aircraft capability and partly carried such as the fire to the sidewalk in front of the Embassy.

Thereafter they too were arrested by the police for disorderly conduct, etc. Having refused to give bonds, they were locked up for the night and put up before the magistrates next morning. The judge fined each participant 25 dollars or 25 days' imprisonment. Having inquired by that time that Garry Davis had been freed in Paris all except one of the group paid the fine.

From such a long distance and in the absence of knowledge of every detail of the facts, it would be hazardous to express too definite an opinion on such experiments in resistance to civil laws. Ultimately it is the subject's himself, who must decide according to his own discretion. The case of Garry Davis seems important enough, which should be carefully considered by Pacifists. That France should exempt conscientious objectors from military service is a legitimate demand. But what should be the rights and duties of "World Citizens" in the State in which they are actually residing for the time being, is a matter which requires to be carefully considered. It seems to me that he should regard himself for the time a citizen of the State in which he resides, so far as duties to that State are concerned, but claiming no rights in it and seeking no protection as of right. What is particularly needed for the World Citizen is, in my opinion, to cease to be conscious of his nationality wherever he happens to stay for the time being, or to express the same thing in other words, to be a full Indian in India, a full Pakistani in Pakistan, a full Chinese in China, and so on, rendering duties but claiming no rights. He disavows himself in his immediate neighborhood, as water does in milk, to enhance its sweetness. The duty of course will be subject to the exception that he will not participate in any programme involving violence. This exception arises not from his being a World Citizen but from his creed of non-violence. It is conceivable that Goldsmith's Citizens of the World would not have regarded non-participation in war as the new given aim of World Citizenship.

While the action of Garry Davis appears to be in order, if accepted so in the proper spirit, that of his Washington sympathizers does not

from this distance appeal to me. Such sympathetic demonstrations were the order of the day in India during the various Satyagraha campaigns. Symbolic strikes, sympathetic hunger-strikes, etc. are also often staged here. My own feeling has been opposed to such symbolic demonstrations. They do not further the cause of Satyagraha when lead to violence, if not in action, in speech, gesture and mental attitude. If the police take the demonstrators seriously, there is least provoked on both sides and also to the spectators assembled. If it does not, it ends in a merry-show, often at the cost of the police, who have to perform a thankless job. In this particular demonstration, the spectators had to be lifted bodily as they refused to move. One of them was too heavy and could not be made to stand on his legs. On-lookers enjoyed the scene and took photos of the show. How would this help the cause of Garry Davis? The French Embassy in U.S.A. could not have helped it, even if it was sympathetic towards the object. Such scenes have often taken place in India. I have always doubted the wisdom of performing them. A satyagrahi should generally, as soon as escorted by the policeman, thereafter walk with him without protest until he is released. If he is released in this way, he might consider whether he should repeat the same protest or think of some other technique.

I feel also that a satyagrahi should not pay fines, but elect to serve his term of imprisonment. These comments are, however, all with an eyes mind and if the full picture is before me, are capable of being modified. Ultimately each satyagrahi has to decide for himself and if he does so in the spirit of truth and non-violence, even if he commits a mistake, he will quickly perceive it.

Of greater practical importance is the question in regard to property raised by Hiralal Shrivastava in his article published elsewhere.

Wardha, 23-11-46

K. C. WADHWALA

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FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE

One of the questions for consideration sent to all those attending the World Peace Meeting was: Is simplification of social structure, of dress, food, etc. a necessary foundation of peace? This came out first, which should have been mentioned, as simplification of *lifestyle* which I think essential for the foundation of peace.

No durable peace can be established if the peoples of the world do not get to know each other better than they do now. One who has lived in my country foreign to him for a long while nearly always will say that he found the people to be rather what they are in his home country, that he got on pretty well with them.

The engineers here done their duty. They have enlarged the distance from one country to another from months to weeks, to days to hours. But meanwhile modern bureaucracy added all that the engineers had achieved. You can get from my, Stockholm to Athens in some hours by means of a fast plane. But it will cost you not hours nor days but weeks or months to overcome the obstacles modern bureaucracy has created. To prove that you are worthy of having a passport for which it is sometimes even necessary to go into the details of what opinions about politics or religion your grand parents held, to convince the contents of the contract you will go to or pass that you will not start a revolution here out of the heads or plans you are in. To obtain an exit permit by the military governments of each power as happens to occupy your country and who have come to teach you democracy (though they do not agree as to what that word means), to get the financial authorities to allow you to take with you the little money you need on your way. Finally to get the tickets. During all these weeks or months your working power in whatever job you have is restricted as you have to spend many hours waiting in chilly corridors for the lines of bureaucracy to remove you.

Things are going from bad to worse. In those bygone times when democracy was still unknown and the questionnaire not yet invented, there was more liberty in this world. Remember the year 1831. When the struggle for freedom in Poland had failed, many thousands of Polish revolutionaries fled from Russia to France, passing through some 20 German States whose sovereigns, reactionary all to the very bones, did not dream of refusing them leave to pass their territory or even asking them for their papers, which would have been in vain, as none had any. Please compare the absolute ease with which world-famous revolutionaries like Lenin, Mao, Hsueh visited whatever country they liked to visit, with the nearly insurmountable difficulties that nowadays an honest-to-god non-political woman meets when trying to visit her daughter who is married in another country, and you see what "progress" has been made.

know that, that we have something to bring out into a bright, democracy."

That is what humanizing has brought about. It is the driving for democracy just another step in the wider a regime of the democracy everywhere. And we are so deeply caught in this regime that none of us, though grasping rightly from time to time, are not even fully aware as yet, of how terrible a regime it is.

That is not only so as regard to travel. The automobile-making industry must be the only one—but for the automobile industry— that makes full speed today, in this position, like a shot every corner of our globe. It is besides for my people to fill in questionnaire is often asking them to tell me. I hate lying but have been asked often to do so. When I tried to answer some of the 129 questions in the ordinary American questionnaire to Germany, asking me how much income I had had in the years 1938-1941 with the only caveat saying I do not remember, that was not accepted but I had to put something. How many more serious lies may there be in all those papers.

Take together the true millions of people waste waiting day by day to be admitted to the powerful men who say at behind doors and so in the time these gentlemen themselves waste in reading—or not reading—what they should you to write, and the money required to pay them for thus waiting their time and abusing that of others, and you can imagine what could be achieved in this world if it were organized in a different way.

I have known the German and the Spanish bureaucracy. I do not know which is worse. I have been an employee at an American office where I soon lost the illusion that the Americans are smart people who like things being done quickly. I left after two months. From what I have been told by the people who know, the Russian bureaucracy is in no way better. The "New World" they try to bring about consists in another sort of questionnaire and more of them.

When I heard that the Americans and British would bring with them, for the Foundation Conference immediately after the war, leaving other things no less than 300 acres of land, I was afraid that in that lot they would down the peace. They did.

And why must all this be so? It is only our expression of the evil spirit that governs the world lack of confidence. These frantic efforts these mountains of paper and money that even the clerks, that produce time is wasted in unnecessary safety in this world—safety against pollution and other resources. The military people, similarly waste their enormous efforts and money and time and men for creating safety by armaments. But have we got safety? Nobody would say that.

Should we have less safety if we were left without armaments and without question marks, without anybody being free to go wherever he chose, would like? Perhaps we should have that.

There is something wrong in all this. The post-production of nearly all parts of the world has established the principle—though not always observed—that a man should not be considered unless he has been proved. In case of doubt he is a proved delinquent, more so perhaps than the doctor, is being put in the opposite way. Then that is why, as a born criminal as long as he is not able to prove his innocence. I know men who have lost their records in these turbulent times and cannot prove where they were, how one to which nature they belong. They are victims of systems, condemned to a miserable life though absolutely innocent and ineffective.

Confidence—that is the emergency, goods that is more scarce than any other in this world. Lack of confidence, that is the very cause the gospel of modern legislation. Out of fear that one criminal might escape there they treat a thousand respectable people as criminals, causing thus much more damage in all of us than that one single criminal ever could.

Is not the risk of confidence much smaller than the risk of suspicion? We decide, we know it, as we have got a lot of the comfort of all confidence.

A lasting peace cannot be established unless more confidence is brought into our public life. As long as we do not learn that there is less risk in meeting one criminal from time to time than in not meeting a thousand respectable people we shall not achieve anything.

I think it is time to recognize the danger that lies in our institutions bureaucracy, which is incompatible with a real peace. I even think it may be time to start a movement of non violent resistance against it. The first thousand of us who refuse to sign, could form a self questionnaire will render a good service to mankind.

Who will give the signal for the start?

WISDOM MANUSCRIPTS

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Two Annas

REFLECTIONS ON INDIA'S FUTURE

[Extracts from the D. N. Dandot's concluding address to the Constituent Assembly on November 28th.]

ADDRESS DELIVERED

Now I could have ended. But my mind is so full of the future of our country that I feel I ought to take this occasion to give expression to my reflections thereon. On January 26, India will be an independent country. What would happen to her independence? Will she maintain her independence or will she lose it again? This is the first thought that comes to my mind. It is not that India was never an independent country. The point is that she once lost the independence she had. Will she lose it a second time? It is this thought which makes me most anxious for the future.

What perturbs me greatly is the fact that not only India has once before lost her independence, but she lost it by the treachery of some of her own people. In the invasion of Sind by Mahomed-bin-Qasim the military commanders of King Dahir accepted bribes from the agents of Mahomed-bin-Qasim, and refused to fight on the side of Dahir. It was Jaihind who invited Mahomed Ghori to invade India and fight against Prithwara, and promised him the help of himself and the Solanki Kings. When Shivalpi was fighting for the liberation of the Hindus, other Maratha noblemen and Rajput Kings were fighting the battles on the side of the Mogul Emperors. When the British were trying to destroy the Sikh Empire, Gokulchand, their principal commander, at least did not help to save the Sikh kingdom. In 1857, when a large part of India had declared a war of independence against the British, the Sikhs stood and watched the event as silent spectators.

Will history repeat itself? It is the thought which fills me with anxiety. This anxiety is deepened by the realisation of the fact that in addition to our old enemies in the form of castes and creeds we are going to have many political parties with diverse and opposing political views. Will Indians place the country above creed or will they place creed above country? I do not know. But this much is certain that if the parties place creed above country, our independence will be put in jeopardy a second time and probably be lost for ever. This eventuality we must all resolutely guard against. We

must be determined to defend our independence with the last drop of our blood.

Failure of Democratic System

On January 26, India will be a democratic country in the sense that India from that day would have a government of the people, by the people and for the people. The same thought comes to my mind. What would happen to her democratic constitution? Will she be able to maintain it or will she lose it? This is the second thought that comes to my mind and makes me so anxious for the first.

It is not that India did not know democracy. There was a time when there were many republics in India and even where there were monarchies, they were either elected or limited. It is not that India did not know parliamentary or parliamentary procedure. A study of the Bhaddant Shikharanghar discloses that not only there were parliaments—but the emperors were nothing but parliamentarists—but the emperors knew and observed all the rules of parliamentary procedure known in modern times.

They had rules regarding seating arrangements, rules regarding motions, resolutions, questions, whip, counting of votes, voting by ballot, secret ballot, representation, rat jadhava, etc. Although these rules of parliamentary procedure were applied by Bhadda to the meetings of the Bhadda Sanghas, he must have borrowed them from the rules of the political assemblies functioning in the country in his time.

This democratic system India lost. Will she lose it a second time? I do not know. But it is quite possible in a country like India—where democracy from its long dream must be regarded as something quite new—there is danger of democracy giving place to dictatorship. It is quite possible for this new-born democracy to retain its form but give place to dictatorship in fact. If there is a landslide, the danger of the second possibility becoming actuality is much greater.

Stress on Constitutional Methods

If we wish to maintain democracy not merely in form, but also in fact, what must we do? The first thing in my judgment we must do is to hold fast to constitutional methods of achieving our social and economic objectives. It means we must abandon the bloody methods of revolution. It means that we must abandon



the method of cruel discrimination, non-co-operation and 'satyagraha'. When there was no way left for constitutional methods for achieving economic and social objectives there was some justification for unconstitutional methods. But where constitutional methods are open, there can be no justification for these unconstitutional methods. These methods are nothing but the grammar of anarchy and the sooner they are abandoned the better for us.

Hero-worship Explored

The second thing we must do is to observe the caution which John Stuart has given to all who are interested in the maintenance of democracy, namely, not 'to lay their liberties at the feet of even a great man, or trust him with powers which enable him to subvert their institutions.' There is nothing wrong in being grateful to great men who have rendered lifelong services to the country. But there are limits to gratefulness.

As has been well said by the Irish patriot, Daniel O'Connell, no man can be grateful at the cost of his honour, no woman can be grateful at the cost of her chastity and no nation can be grateful at the cost of its liberty. This caution is far more necessary in the case of India than in the case of any other country. For India, Hindu or what may be called the path of devotion or hero-worship, plays a part in its politics unequalled in magnitude by the part it plays in the politics of any other part of the world. Hinduism in religion may be said to be the salvation of the soul. But in politics, Hindu or hero-worship is a sure road to degradation and to eventual dictatorship.

Need for Social Democracy

The third thing we must do is not to be content with mere political democracy. We must make our political democracy a social democracy as well. Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy. What does social democracy mean? It means a way of life which recognises liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life.

These principles of liberty, equality and fraternity are not to be treated as separate items in a treaty. They form a union of which in the sense that to divorce one from the other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy. Liberty cannot be divorced from equality, equality cannot be divorced from liberty. Nor can liberty and equality be divorced from fraternity. Without equality, liberty would produce the supremacy of the few over the many. Equality without liberty would kill individual initiative. Without fraternity, liberty and equality could not become as a natural course of things. It would require a constant to enforce them.

We must begin by acknowledging the fact that there is complete absence of two things in Indian society. One of these is equality. On the social plane we have in India a society

based on the principle of graded inequality which means elevation for some and degradation for others. On the economic plane, we have a society in which there are some who have immense wealth as against many who live in abject poverty.

Life of Contradictions

On January 26, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics we will be recognising the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one value.

How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which the Assembly has so heroically built up.

The second thing we are wanting is a recognition of the principle of fraternity. What does fraternity mean? Fraternity means a sense of common brotherhood of all Indians — of Indians being one people. It is the principle which gives unity and solidarity to social life. It is a difficult thing to achieve.

Our Nationalism

I am of opinion that in believing that we are a nation, we are cherishing a great delusion. How can people divided into several thousands of castes be a nation? The sooner we realise that we are not as yet a nation in the social and psychological sense of the word, the better for us. For then only we shall realise the necessity of becoming a nation and seriously think of ways and means of realising the goal.

These castes are anti-national. In the first place because they bring about separation in social life. They are anti-national also because they generate jealousy and antipathy between caste and caste. But we must overcome all these difficulties if we wish to become a nation in reality. For fraternity can be a fact only when there is a nation. Without fraternity, equality and liberty will be no longer than words of paper.

Over the Self-realisation

These are my reflections about the tasks that lie ahead of us. They may not be very pleasant to some. But there can be no grousing that political power in this country has too long been the monopoly of a few and the many are not only beasts of burden, but also beasts of prey. This monopoly has not merely deprived them of their chance of betterment, it has sapped them of what may be called the

significance of life. These down-trodden classes are tired of being governed. They are impatient to govern themselves.

There urge for self-realisation in the down-trodden classes must not be allowed to devolve into a class struggle or class war. It would lead to a division of the House. That would indeed be a day of disaster. For as has been well said by Abraham Lincoln, a House divided against itself cannot stand very long. Therefore, the roomy room is made for the realisation of their aspirations, the better for the few, the better for the country, the better for the maintenance of its independence and the better for the continuance of its democratic structure. This can only be done by the establishment of equality and fraternity in all spheres of life. That is why I have laid so much stress on them.

I do not wish to weary the House any further. Independence is no doubt a matter of joy. But let us not forget that this independence has thrown on us great responsibilities. By independence we have lost the excuse of blaming the British for anything going wrong. If hereafter things go wrong, we shall have nobody to blame except ourselves. There is a great danger of things going wrong. There are fast changing. People including our own are being moved by new ideologies. They are getting tired of government by the people. They are prepared to have government for the people and are indifferent whether it is government of the people and by the people.

If we wish to preserve the Constitution in which we have sought to enshrine the principle of government of the people, for the people and by the people, let us resolve not to be tardy in the recognition of the evils that lie across our path and which induce people to prefer government for the people to government by the people, not to be weak in our initiative to remove them. That is the only way to save the country. I know of no better.

(From the Address Made)

Hindustani Sabha Centres in South India

From its very commencement the Hindustani Prachar Sabha has received demands for opening its centres in South India also, so that the people of the South may also benefit by the Sabha's activities. However, the Sabha kept its centres in Northern India only. It has been decided now to extend them in South India also, with the co-operation of Shri M. Satyanarayanan (Secretary, Telukana Bharat Hindustani Prachar Sabha). It is hoped that the people of South India will take to this important constructive progressive of Mahatma Gandhi and thus discharge their duties in the nation-building work.

ASHUTOSH KUMAR

SECRETARY,

Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Varanasi

FIRST STEP TOWARDS NON-STEALING*

It is glad tidings to learn that Ahmednagar Textile Labour has, in response to the appeal made to the nation by our beloved leaders, — Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Gopalrao Narde, Kharachand Deval and others — taken a pledge to make every effort to increase production. Ahmednagar textile workmen deserve congratulations for giving this lead.

Since 1847 — thirty-two years ago — till death, Gandhiji always taught that he who laboured honestly and used his tools carefully would ultimately become the de facto manager of his factory and the de jure owner would have to accept the position of being a nominal manager only. The worker has to realise the power of labour and by putting his full labour into the factory, acquire the strength of transforming legal ownership into Managing Trusteeship of the industry.

We believed or perhaps is involved towards the Directors in this transformation. It is not even to them disadvantage. Because ultimately even labourers are but trustees of their factory. God alone is the true owner, for the whole world is His and whatever small or big share therein belongs to Him. Every one must use it carefully, work on it, increase it and give its benefits to the world. None has the right to spoil, destroy, or wastefully consume anything. It is the duty of all to see that it reaches those who need it and who suffer an amount of its scarcity. He who does not do so wants to take it without working for it, or take more than what is just, or receive unfair consideration for making it available to others, or puts obstructions in their way, is a thief — whether the laws of the State consider it to be theft or no.

It is not that the rich share as theirs, and the poor none. Indeed, the present situation is an evil, that hardly any of us can be accepted under God's Law as Theft. We have all to make an effort to get out of this evil. The first step towards atonement (non-theft) is to give up idleness and do more work.

And as at present the paramount duty of every thoughtful person — to be an owner a labourer or a middleman — is to contribute towards increasing the wealth of the country, to be satisfied only with reasonable return to himself and to dedicate all extra gains to the country.

Fortunately the Labour of Ahmednagar was the first to receive the training from Gandhiji. It has earned its benefits also. May the workers apply that training further with greater effort.

T. G. MANNINGWALA

(Translated from Gujarati)

* Change came to the 50th Anniversary Day of the Ahmednagar Textile Labour Union on 4-12-48.

HARIJAN

December 11

1949

INDIA'S CONSTITUTION

The Constituent Assembly has come to the end of its prolonged labours and on 26th November 1949 enacted the Constitution which through the Assembly the people of India have given to themselves. It declares that from 26th January 1950 India shall be a "Sovereign Democratic Republic" pledged:

"to secure to all its citizens Justice,—social, economic and political,—liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, equality of status and of opportunity and

"to promote among them all Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation."

It is a lengthy document consisting of 395 articles and eight schedules, and is perhaps the longest among the constitutions of the governments of the world.

The last few days of the Assembly session were devoted to expression of opinions by the makers themselves upon their joint product. Some were completely satisfied with their labours, a few were hopelessly disappointed with it and a good many approved it with some "bells" and "provisions" but the right judgment could not have been better pronounced than by Dr Ambedkar himself to whom was entrusted and by whom was able discharged the heaviest responsibility that could have been laid at the most momentous period of India's national life, namely of drafting its first Constitution. In his last reply speech at the Assembly he said:

"I shall not enter into the details of the Constitution. However good a Constitution may be, it is sure to fail and fail because there who are called to work to happen to be a bad lot. However bad a Constitution may be, if they turn out to be good it goes who are called to work to happen to be a good lot. The working of a Constitution then, depends wholly upon the nature of the Constitution. The Constitution can provide only the means of a little help to the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary. The future on which the working of these organs of the State depends are the people and the political parties (they will set up as their instruments to carry out their wishes and their policies).

"What can we have the people of India and their parties with before? Will they uphold constitutional methods of achieving their purposes, or will they prefer revolutionary methods of achieving them? If they adopt the revolutionary methods, how ever good the Constitution is, it requires no guessing to say that it will fail. It is therefore futile to pass any judgment upon the Constitution without reference to the part which the people of India and their parties are likely to play."

The principles enshrined in the Constitution are the views of the present generation. It is not their duty to be an omniscient, I say here are the views of the members of the Constituent Assembly."

Very wisely to quote Dr Ambedkar's words again.

"The difficulty has to arise not only from passing a good Constitution, but also from its enforcement upon the people. It is necessary to ensure the rights to control the Government in its conduct or to making the Government or the Constituent Assembly to the fulfilment of its constitutional duties and conditions as to America or Australia, but has provided a most useful procedure for amending the Constitution."

The procedure for amendment is provided in Article 368 of the Constitution. Subject to certain provisos it can be done by a Bill in either House of Parliament, and passed by a majority of the members on roll and two thirds of the members present and casting their votes.

It is not unreasonable that the Constitution may require such amendments in the course of its working and may be, even of a radical nature. Even if this is regarded as impracticable, there is nothing to feel ashamed of it. If a child outgrows its clothes, so that they have to be cast off. It is good for the child, and also there is no blame on the tailor who made the first set. The dissatisfaction arises when the guardian begins to plan clothes several years ahead of actual use. A great deal of dissatisfaction with regard to the Constitution that has been passed is due to the fact that the goal of the Congress above rose much higher than and far ahead of its actual achievements and so when a lower goal was reached, having intellects three or four times and higher one the Congress was never in a mood to feel satisfied with what it regarded at the time.

Thus, there was a time when the Congress aimed at nothing more than "Local Self-Government" and "association in administration" but before it could get it, it had begun to aspire for complete Provincial Autonomy so that Local Self Government and appointments in the Executive Councils ceased to leave it any satisfaction. Before complete Provincial Autonomy was achieved, it had changed its goal into "Dominion Status" to be turned thereafter into *Swaraj* and *Purna Swaraj* respectively. Similarly, social and economic ideals of the younger elements always rose much higher than the stage actually lived by the people and aspired after by them. The result is that aspirations, legislation and the life of the people have not kept pace together. As their legislation has been far in advance of actual life, and as others it has not been able to satisfy intellectual aspirations of the younger generation. Perhaps, whether it pleased her or not the country had to pass through all the stages, and I say, financially necessary in the course of its growth. Thus between the Act of 1858 and the Constitution that will come into operation on 26th January 1950 if we examine carefully, we would see that we have passed politically through all these stages which had been the cherished Congress goal at some period of its life or other. We had a period of Provincial Autonomy or partial Dominion Status, of complete Dominion

States, *Amey*; within the British Commonwealth, *Paras Amey*, and so on, until we shall be a Republic with still a kind of connecting link with the hitherto British Commonwealth.

So, too, economically we have gone through various stages and shall, I think, go through more. We are witnessing capitalism to all its forms, we might have a taste of Socialism and 'nationalisation' sooner or later, to the world we have often presented Buddhism and declared that "it is the ultimate salvation" of all nations, — though actually very few are prepared to accept it or work for it in the present. But in God's good time it will also have its period of supremacy, though, may be, at that time people might have begun to dream of a new 'ism' as present unknown.

Socially also we have established in theory a Federal State, abolished untouchability, and declared equality of all irrespective of caste, creed or sex. In actual practice, we may have to work our lives out before we see it actually accomplished.

The Constitution may be looked at from this aspect. It marks a particular stage of our national life.

Of greater importance than the written document is an its great draftsmen said, the way in which we shall implement it. His final speech is one of the greatest speeches made in that Assembly. He is gravely anxious about the future of the nation. His anxiety is fully justified. Long extracts from that speech are published elsewhere in these columns and I hope readers will carefully ponder over the very wise counsel he has given to the nation.

In his speech there is only one point of counsel—I mean his reference to *Satyagraha*—which requires to be examined at length. I shall refer to it in a separate article.

In substance I endorse his opinion, "the sooner we realize that we are not as yet a nation in the social and psychological sense of the word the better for us." He has regarded the belief that we are a nation to be a great delusion. This is perhaps as much an overstatement as that of the *Qand-Ahms* that we are several nations. I would prefer to say, India is certainly not peopled by several nations. But the Indian nation is not yet fully and homogeneously developed. The existence of a single political government is essential for our full harmonious development and strength as a nation. But the difference between a free and united Indian nation in the eye of law and politics and enduring social and economic realities is very great and will require all the energies and abilities of nationally-created workers to obliterate it. But in substance, this is not different from what Dr Ambedkar has said. How happy it would have been if the commercial organizations of our country had realized and would still realize this!

Dr Ambedkar's appointment to the Chairmanship of the Drafting Committee reminds me of a similar incident recorded of Buddha. Incidentally, the campaign against caste and untouchability is as old as Buddha. Unfortunately the campaign is still as necessary. It was Upali, regarded by the then society as a person of a low caste, who was appointed by his comrades to be the senior disciple of Buddha, so that every one else would have to pay his respects to him. It was not a mere gesture of generosity. Upali later became the compiler of the Buddhist *Napa* (Law of the Sangha). The selection of Dr Ambedkar as their Chief by his colleagues (four of whom are traditionally Brahmins and one a *Satyad*) to this task of still greater magnitude than that of Upali, is creditable to his colleagues as well as the nation. The able manner in which Dr Ambedkar has discharged his responsibilities shows that intellectual ability is not a preserve of any race or caste. Given the opportunity and the training every caste and race can produce men of great ability and intelligence.

Wardha, 20-11-49

K. G. MANNUNWALA

"TO TANASPATI CONSUMERS"

This is the heading of a form which is being widely distributed throughout India on behalf of the Consumers' Indagative through its agents. It is translated in every Indian language. Retailers are asked to get these forms signed by their customers and forward them to "appropriate authorities." The form is an effect of the nature of an application by consumers of merchandise to Government that that industry should be encouraged by Government being a 'boon' to its users.

The Indians with the help of the immense resources which they command are carrying on this propaganda in its intimate manner. Agents it is reported to me are being told that unless they get a certain number of forms duly signed and returned, they would not be compensated. These therefore resort to all sorts of tricks to get signatures from customers.

Pressure will thus be brought upon Government to allow the industry to be carried on as it is in the interest of and because demanded by the consumer. All this trouble and artfulness is unnecessary. The fundamental issue is moral, as I have said often. If a consumer wants to use something because he "likes" it he may do so in a free, in which it cannot be cribed with guilt and with the knowledge of its correct value and composition. But those who do not want to take the hydrogenated oil should not be compelled to do so under the impression that they are taking guilt. The demand is for the removal of the deceitful and fraud-encouraging false path. To that there is no answer.

Wardha, 20-11-49

K. G. MANNUNWALA

INDIA AND CHINA

The civil war in China which had been going on for the past many years has come to an end and a Communist government is established. The Big Powers have now to decide whether and how the new government should be recognized. But that is only a matter of time and not very important by itself because what has happened or been allowed to happen, will have to be recognized somehow or other whether willingly or otherwise.

Generally India's sympathies have been with China because both have gone through sufferings and both have been exploited-colonies. India and China are friendly neighbours from very ancient times. Both are thickly populated and together constitute more than one-third of the world's population. There has been from olden days both exchange of goods as well as exchange of ideas and culture between the two countries. History testifies many missions which went to China from India to spread India's message. One was under the leadership of Fa-hien who is particularly noted. From China also Faxian and Hsueh Tsang and many other learned pilgrims came to this country, to see the birthplace of Lord Buddha. They came to this day.

In the middle ages however there was a break in these contacts. Besides benefit it would not be wrong to say that the state of being neighbours and the feeling of friendliness on both sides our physical contacts with China have been very few. An opportunity has come now to increase such contacts. The north-east frontier of India and the western frontier of China have both come nearer and in these days of quick communications, their distances have become reduced.

But for these very reasons some are afraid that China being a Communist nation the influence of her ideas and methods would very quickly spread into India. I do not share that fear. There would be reason to be afraid if we wanted to establish a Capitalist system here. But since our aim is the establishment of an order in which there should be the welfare of all beings and we have been attempting to do something in that direction throughout since and unambiguously at present there is no reason to be afraid of a Communist neighbour. If we are properly touched by such important events around us we must derive strength and inspiration and believe that all will go well.

While we have great sympathy with Communist ideas, our disagreement with their methods is also equally great. If we adopt their means, there is danger not only to India but also to the world.

But as the question of methods, I am afraid that the danger is as much from Communists as from Capitalists. Not only that, there is danger even from those who call themselves democratic nations and at the same time rely on militarism.

I mean the danger of achieving desired ends by violence. It is a fundamental question which stands before the whole world. The world has to solve that question and the important question is how India will act in that matter.

How I wish that India could say that as far as she was concerned she had solved the problem already! For thirty years we have conducted a non-violent fight and won the advantages of non-violence. We have witnessed the sufferings of the world and our own as victims of violence. We have also seen the achievements of our traditional ideology which has stress on non-violence, large-heartedness, sympathy, etc. It should be possible for us to declare that we have already solved the problem. I, for my part, believe that we have done it.

Even then we are weak. We have been kept dormant for years. We had the experience of shouldering responsibility for long centuries, but there was a break in the middle. Hence it looks as if we are now in facing responsibility. Under these circumstances it is not a matter for surprise though it is one for regret, that at the present moment some people are unable to keep to any firm ideology. I hope that we would get out of this uncertain situation quickly and reiterate our faith in non-violence.

As a matter of fact, not only Communists but Socialists also accept non-violence. It is not that either of them practice non-violence; nevertheless, they do talk of it. I hope that not only these ideas but circumstances themselves will also compel them to act according to their ideas.

A few Communists have been creating trouble and disturbance in the country. Not if we act according to our faith and engage ourselves in the service of the poor and unrest on parity of means they will also understand. If they are intelligent people, they would come to create trouble and then they will find that India welcomes their ideology. If they are not intelligent, they will weaken their own ideology by their acts. Even then that ideology will not disappear, because whatever is good as it has been accepted in Sarvodaya, which we want to spread and have been working for.

In brief, there is no need to be afraid of the events in China. Rather I feel refreshed. We must now develop good mutual contacts. It is said that the Chinese are a more practical people while we Indians are more idealistic. I do not know how far these opinions are correct, but there might be some substance in them. By mutual consultation, these two peoples should supplement what the other is deficient in. If we make use of the Chinese events from this standpoint, it will be possible to establish a world government that is an order for all humanity throughout the world.

Purnat, 2-11-49

VINODA

(Adapted from the Sarvodaya of November, '49)

AHIMSA IN SINO-INDIAN CULTURE*

I

If the question be asked, "What is the main thing in common between China and India?" I would answer, it is our common culture. If it be further asked, "What is the chief characteristic of this common Indian and Chinese culture?" my unhesitating answer would be, it is ahimsa. Hence the title of this article: *Ahimsa in Sino-Indian Culture*.

'Sino-Indian Culture' is a new term coined by myself about fifteen years ago. It has come into current use since the foundation of the Sino-Indian Cultural Society in both the countries, India and China, in 1934 and 1935 respectively.

Culture, in my humble opinion, and to put it in a very simple way, is the cultivation of the whole of human life, and not only of the spiritual side of civilization as is usually regarded. It is the compass, as well as the pole, of the progress of human society. It gives significance to human life and distinguishes human life from that of plants and animals. It helps man to realize at the first stage the real meaning and value of life, and ultimately to reach its real goal, its which alone there is eternal peace, love, joy, freedom and blessing. In this respect, there is not only much similarity but much identity between the culture of India and that of China. The most striking feature and analogy of these two cultures is the spirit of ahimsa.

Ahimsa is a word negative in form but with a positive sense. Mahatma Gandhi translated it into English as 'non-violence'. The ancient Chinese Buddhist scholars translated it into Chinese as *pu-hai*, meaning 'non-harming'. Its positive form is 'love', 'universal love'. That is *maïtri* in Sanskrit; *jen* in Chinese. These couples of words, ahimsa and *maïtri*, or non-violence and universal love, or *pu-hai* and *jen*, were born married. And they could never and would never be divorced or separated. They always carry the same message and disseminate the same gospel together. But the Chinese prefer to use the positive form rather than the negative, while Indians on the other hand prefer to use the negative one. Therefore the Chinese and the Indian have also become an inseparable couple in culture.

Why was the negative word preferred by the Indians? Gandhi once explained this by saying "all life is the flesh exists by some violence. Hence the highest religion has been defined by a negative word, ahimsa. The world is based in a state of destruction. In other words, violence is an inherent necessity for life in the body. That is why a votary of ahimsa always prays for ultimate deliverance from the

bondage of flesh." (C. F. Andrews: *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, p. 120)

The Chinese says, ahimsa, *pu* is in another way. He said "Men must be decided on what they will not do, and then they are able to act with regard to what they ought to do." If a man wants to do things good, he must first not do things evil. So also if a man wants to love people and other beings he must first not hurt them. If a man preaches love or *maïtri* or *jen*, but does not practice ahimsa, or non-violence, or *pu-hai*, then his love is no meaning. It is purely a false expression or hypocrisy. Therefore almost all the great religions in the world uphold a set of precepts to govern the acts of their followers.

Ahimsa in Sino-Indian Culture is not only a very prominent feature but also an ancient tradition. It is as ancient as the culture itself. Or as Gandhi said "Truth and non-violence are as old as the hills" (Harpur, 22-2-1935). In India, ahimsa is one of the most cardinal virtues and doctrines of almost all the religious and philosophical sects. It had been repeatedly taught and expressly stated by the sages in the ancient scriptures, such as the *Atthanga Brahmanas*, the *Shatapatha Brahmanas*, the *Chhandogya Upanishad*, the *Parasma Purana* and *Mahatma's Book of Law*. Therefore it was then declared in the *Mahabharata*: "Ahimsa is the Supreme Religion." And Gandhi did repeat the same words on several occasions. (C. F. Andrews: *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*).

But the gospel of ahimsa was first deeply and systematically expounded and properly and specially presented by the Jaina *Arhats*, most prominently by the 24th *Arhata*, the last one, Mahaveera Vardhamana. Then again by Lord Buddha. And at last it was embodied in the thoughts, words and deeds and symbolized by the very life of Mahatma Gandhi.

As ahimsa is one of the cardinal virtues and doctrines of almost all the philosophies and religious systems in India, so also it is in China. The only difference is, as mentioned above, that instead of using the negative word ahimsa, the Chinese preferred to use the positive word *jen*.

Confucius

Jen has a vast volume of meanings and a lot of diversities of interpretations. Different scholars of different schools have explained it at different times. Even the greatest saint of China, Confucius, gave a good many different explanations to different persons on different occasions. Once asked by a disciple named Fan Ch'ih, "What about *jen*", the Master said, "To love all people." (Confucius *Analects*). At another time asked by another disciple, called, Yen Yuen, about the same, he said, "To subdue one's self and return to propriety, that is *jen*." (Confucius *Analects*). Again answering the same question asked by another disciple, named Chung Kung, the Master said, "Don't do to others what you would not wish done to yourself." (Confucius *Analects*). Again at

* Paper read by Professor Tan Jian-shen, Director of Vajradharai Chinese Museum, and Cultural Representative of China in India, at the Public Library, Japan, on October 18. By the courtesy of the Japanese Office, Nagasaki.

another time another disciple, called Tzu Ch'ang, asked the Master about the same topic, and he said in answering: "To be able to practice two things everywhere under various conditions is *jen*." When asked what they were, the Master said: "Gravity, generosity, sincerity, earnestness and kindness." (Confucius Annotated Classics also said on several other occasions: "A man of *jen* will always rest in perfect virtue." "Only the man of *jen* can always love people." "A man devoted to *jen* will have no hatred.") (Confucius Annotated)

Chinese Scriptures

In *Yü-ching*, the Book of Changes, (the Vedas of China), it has been said: "The superior gentlemen realized in the virtue of *jen* will secure people." "The great virtue of Heaven and Earth is life. The great jewel of the man is his position. How is man to maintain his position? It is by *jen*." In *Shu-ching*, the Book of History, it is written: "The people have no fixed affections, but always think of the virtues of *jen*." In *Chung-yung*, the Doctrine of the Golden Mean, it was said: "Jen is the characteristic element of humanity, and the great essence of it is in loving all people, especially relatives."

Such passages in ancient Chinese scriptures are rather too many to be quoted one by one here. In general, *jen* means universal love. Some European converts rendered it into English as benevolence and perfect virtue. The Chinese classical scholars of the Sung Dynasty also explained it as "the nature virtue of the heart." I think the Sanskrit word *maitri* as understood by Buddhist religion and philosophy is the nearest equivalent to it.

This gospel of *jen* was first properly taught and preached in China about twenty-five centuries ago by the greatest Chinese saint Confucius (551-479 B.C.). Then again it was more profoundly and systematically expounded and demonstrated by the great Chinese sage Mencius (372-289 B.C.). Afterwards almost all the classical scholars of all the dynasties of China's long history cherished, promoted and propagated the same message but explained and interpreted it according to their own ways. In modern times, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Father of the Republic of China, had scientifically employed the lofty ideals of *jen* in his *Sun Mts. Chu Yi*, the Three People's Principles, for his national movement for the emancipation of China and the renaissance of Chinese culture.

TAN YU-MEHAN

Extension of Date

The last date for submission of contributions announced by the undersigned in the *Sarjan* of 5-11-49 has been extended to 31st December, 1949.

MAHAR G. MOTWANE
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GO-SERVANTS WANTED

All over India there is an awakening for cow-breeding work as a scientific measure, but for want of qualified workers it does not progress. Therefore, the Go-Servant Sangh, Wardha, has decided to take ten workers this year for training. The course will be for a period of 1½ years, the first one year being devoted for training in cattle breeding and the rest six months for practical experience in running a dairy.

The new class will commence from 1st January 1950 and intending trainees should reach Wardha by the end of December 1949. A stipend of Rs. 30 per month will be given to each trainee, which will meet the charges for food. No tuition fee is charged.

The qualifications needed for the trainees are that he should be a Hindu, must know Hindi and should have the capacity to run an independent dairy; he should also have some knowledge of English and Sanskrit for agriculture and cattle-breeding and a will to stick to it. He must be prepared to do hard physical labour. Such workers will, after their training, be sent wherever required. As far as possible, efforts will be made to find employment for the trainees in their own provinces.

Pay will vary according to the capacity of the worker, and will range between Rs. 75 and Rs. 150 per month, including all allowances. The Sangh cannot at present undertake to provide employment for every one, but considering the demand for such workers from all provinces, it is hoped there will be no dearth of employment for qualified workers.

There is also need for such adult workers who will devote all their time to that work with or without remuneration, which will range between Rs. 75 and Rs. 300 per month.

MAHARISHI SANGH, WARDHA

Secretary,

Go-Serv. Sangh, Wardha, Wardha

FOR PACIFISTS

By Mahatma Gandhi

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MARGHERA GANDHI)
Editor: E. G. MANSURWALA



VOL. XIII No. 42

AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1942

TWO ANNAS

CONGRESSION CLASSIFICATION

The Congress has 'classified' its position along the admission of H. S. S. members into the Congress. In effect it is a revision of the first ruling and should have been so admitted. For, there could have been no case for its reference to the Working Committee if a person was expected to resign from the H. S. S. or for the matter of that, the Hindu Mahasabha or the Hindu League, in order to join the Congress. Obviously, the reference could have arisen only because there was a suggestion that membership both in the Congress and the H. S. S. might be permissible.

Though the point has been settled for the present, I may respectfully warn the Congress that it is not out of the wood. The mind of many a Hindu Congressman is not quite clear about the difference of approach towards Indian culture as conceived (or dreamed up) by conservatism by the Congress, and that by the Hindu Mahasabha, the H. S. S., the Hindu League, etc. The fundamental point is whether you look upon India's future culture as a composite one, to which diverse factors have contributed and will contribute, or as one almost entirely developing on the track of ancient Vedic and Puranic culture. Nor is their attitude towards Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, and others very open. "New that there is Pakistan," the Congress Hindu often says, forgetting that there are still 15 crore Muslims in his own area. Any plea on behalf of the Muslims is deemed as "appeasement". The same seems to be the relation between the Punjab Hindus and Sikhs. It was this attitude which made the Muslims regard themselves as a separate nation, and it may be the attitude of the Punjab Hindus which is at the back of the cry for a separate Pakistan. We have condemned Mr. Jinnah for his "two-nation theory" often enough. Indeed, he had the temerity to say "not two but many nations". The Hindu Mahasabha and several Congress Hindus have resumed this and laid all the blame for it on the British, though they themselves are not prepared to look upon the Muslims as good nationals of India as themselves, and persistently try to relegiate them to a subordinate position.

If this communal-mindedness had not been there, there ought not to have been any confusion in thinking about the place of the H. S. S. members in the Congress organisation, and there would have been no attempt not only to justify the ruling as mere constitutional interpretation

but also to haul it, as was done by the Congress President and some individual leaders. Even such a staunch and clear-headed Congressman as Pandit Dwarikadas Mishra (Hindu Member, C. P.) is reported to have said,

"If you want to keep Congress alive and active and save it from decay and stagnation, Indian eyes should look at by looking those who subscribe to the creed and are anxious to join it." He noted that when Congressmen did not object to the members of Jamia Millia joining the Congress despite their demand for recognition for Islamic values, and not named those conservative Congressmen who had played an important role in the Congress's partition into the Congress Unit, why should the entry of Sanghites be opposed? The Sangh, he said, made religious and Indian culture against outside aggression which in the past had come from the H. W. Frieser and from the Sikhs under whose European arms. If the Sanghites believed in non-violence only and were prepared to defend the minority freedom and culture they should be welcomed into the Congress and if they wanted to join it" (Hindustan, November 11, 1940).

I am glad that some of the P. C. C. showed more clear thinking. I have nothing personal against the Hindu Mahasabha or the H. S. S. and no personal aim to grudge in the Congress. But if the Congress does not wish to depart from its 40-year old ideal, the Congress Hindus must carefully examine their true faith. Remember that the ideal of non-communal Indian nationalism was not a new element introduced into the Congress by Gandhi or Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It was born with the Congress and carefully nurtured by its great founders—Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Womesh Chunder Bannerjee, Chittabrata Sen, and many other respected leaders. It is that principle which has been made the pivot of the Indian Republic. If the Congress Hindus are not clear about it, the Congress will founder on the communal and caste rocks.

We are passing yet through a delicate stage. It is true that the loyalty of some Muslims is still a matter of doubt. Also, a great number of refugees are still full of anger towards the Muslims. In some places the Muslims are rather nervous and feel insecure. They look to the Congress for getting redress and just treatment. But if the Congress also fails them, the only result can be disunity and self-colonisation.

I hope my caution will not fall on deaf ears.

Wardha, 12-11-42

E. G. MANSURWALA

IMPOSSIBLE EXPECTATIONS

A number of letters daily received by me show that people expect too much more from me than I am capable of. Thus I am blamed for not yet getting the controls lifted, for not getting those responsible for the sugar scandal to quit their offices or punished, for not getting a minister or an officer, whom the people do not like, removed, for not getting a change in the methods of government, for "faking Gandhi" by not getting the death sentence of Godse and Apte executed, for not having succeeded in getting unseemly and noisy and obscene advertisements banned, for not prevailing upon Congress papers not to advertise newspaper views and other objectionable articles, and, in short, for not getting every evil which the people groan under removed. Some of my correspondents are highly educated people. They feel that I am not putting all my weight in the scales.

They must know that my political weight is as much below the normal as my physical one. I connect no ambitions or not considerably connected with any (except the Gandhi Sangh), have no disciples or followers, command no funds, carry no newspapers, make no speeches and possess no halo. If I order any great building, no poem will take me from my appearance as my important reader.

It is true that I edit the Harijan, which was Gandhi's paper and because of my long association with Gandhi, I have also formed personal friendship with several important people in the country. But that cannot give me or the Harijan the weight which Gandhi and his Harijan commanded. And still, even Gandhi and that all his influence was moral and of non-violent strength only. What is mine in comparison with his? And governments are not run to please personal friends, however much the personal regard may be. At least my views would be read with care and respect if there is an important article. For the most part, administrators cannot have time even to read news of persons who are not active leaders. When Governments have some deliberate policies and methods of deciding them, the policies will not be altered to suit the views of the Harijan.

So, when I present people's grievances, co-operations and aspirations through the Harijan, generally it would be wrong to ascribe more value to them than to 'letters from correspondents' in any good daily. Rather they should understand that my address is personal, to the people and not to Government. They must learn to regulate their affairs themselves by appropriate mutual help and co-operation. They do not realize their own strength, which, if they did, is greater than the strength of the Government. Government thrives on their strength and not vice versa. This strength is all constructive. There is no need for any violent or destructive action in it. But to realize it, they must begin in the initial stage at the lowest rung

of the ladder. I find that most of the people, and even leaders, both in the Government as also those who are dissatisfied with the present state of affairs and want to build something new, wish to capture the present machinery for a the Government, the Congress or Gandhi's name, so that they might have ready-built power and prestige to help them, instead of starting over. This does not seem to me a healthy sign.

My writing thus must not discourage or depress all those who are or are capable of being active workers. Getting weary either with Government or Congress or not will not help the people. I must not be content at all. If all will work on right lines and win people's affection, esteem and co-operation, they will be able to get much of what they desire in the way of good government.

There is a moral law which governs us all, and which none may break with impunity. Those who suffer first, we also need their ways first and shorten their sufferings more quickly. Those to whom the suffering is yet to come will have to endure greater shocks and for a longer period.

Varanasi, 14-11-48

K. G. MANSURWALA

SUICIDE ATTEMPT

Shri Kamath's fall for repeating the sections of the Indian Penal Code, which makes attempt to commit suicide a crime, deserves to be considered favourably. It has always appeared to me to be a ridiculous piece of law. The person who proceeds towards a suicidal act does so either under a spell of insanity or under circumstances which should arouse the sympathy of society and its guardians. Generally people are unwilling to die even if it were best for them to do so. But here is an act which is unpardonable if it fails to achieve its purpose. It means that in the opinion of the State there should be no half-heartedness or want of thoroughness in suicidal preparation of men. Push into or go not near the doors of death. But the Haridians of the Harijanists there are at times people who knock at the doors of Yarn, but are sent back by him. Why should they be punished as criminals by the State? There is no reason to believe that more persons will be tempted to undertake suicidal preparations only half-heartedly if such undertakings are not punished.

And, when the whole civilized world is on a march towards total warlike and employs all its scientific talents to devise means of doing so, in the speediest manner and on the largest scale, why should an insane or unhappy individual be punished for his or her unsuccessful attempt for it, directed against only himself or herself?

Such persons should be looked after without being weighed criminals, and the police should be authorized to take charge of them, if necessary, through provisions made in a non-penal law.

Varanasi, 23-11-48

K. G. MANSURWALA

THAT WAS DAFU *

During his visit to England in 1948 in connection with the Second Indian Round Table Conference, Bernard Shaw said (and upon Gandhi as St. Krishna's Avatar) that Gandhiji covered a wide variety of subjects from non-violence and world peace to economics, religionism and new professions. After the meeting, there was interest in his impression of Gandhi. "An impression of Gandhi?" he established, pointing up his eyebrows "you might as well ask me to give you the impression of the Himalayas!" The Himalayas overwhelmed you. How did you describe it? That was his favorite way of expressing appreciation of a great contemporary and a mark of his own greatness. For if Gandhiji had been asked about it, he would have said, as he did so truthfully say on a remarkable occasion, "Do not ask me about it, I am made up of little things. For, I ought to serve the feet of God's creation."

Shaw's confused his question. Once in the course of our discussion in the Agitation Palace at Poona, he was discussing Marxism with me. Suddenly he exclaimed, "I do not care whether Marxism is right or wrong. All I know is that the poor are being crushed. Something has got to be done for them. So we do it today, really. Even as I said I used to argue with my mother 'How can the touch of a stranger's police?' Even that, then, I know at least a stranger. He gave to the world of the suffering poor the name Gandhianism. To serve it and through it to serve and realize God was his life's aspiration."

If then he was to serve the masses of God's creation, he could not, he felt, do it through the power of arms but only through the weapon of the spirit or soul force which over the physically weaker too, which, like even a decrepit old man, a sick person, a helpless woman, or a child defied the law of its rights by winning love. I do not come upon violence and get into the hands of the Indian masses the weapon of anarchy which nobody could deprive them of. This anarchy or anarchy of his was not an intangible or a mystical thing. It was an organic and objective force at, say, coal or electricity. By coal or electricity you can propel engines and ships or make materials. Even more potent and capable of producing concrete and tangible results is modernity demonstrated in coal-burn or the power of electrification. That is the most precious heritage that he has left India and the world. It has enabled us to gain our freedom after 150 years of bondage and achieved what we could never have done by the use of the gun or the rifle. Take the case of the woman's franchise. Woman's suffrage was too trivial which could take equal part in it with men. As a weak Indian woman, how without any special effort get for themselves the right of franchise which it took over half a century of self-sacrifice agitation in England to secure. In the independence fight, even at a quarter of a century the special franchise of unemployability in our country has been abolished in law. The credit for it is due entirely to the non-violent character of our struggle. Thanks again to the non-violent character of our struggle for independence, four crores of Indians are today living in India with an equal status in law and citizenship rights in spite of the abuses caused by partition and advocacy of the "two nations theory." If we forget the secret of this strength or the use, we shall have lost our special heritage which has given India to India's name in the world. If the old law is never abrogated, shall it then be asked? On the other hand if we want to prove worthy of our heritage we must hold fast to the great truth of Gandhiji's non-violence, viz. the unbreakable constructive programme outlined by him and his plan of khadi, shakti and village industries—these poverty little things that can make us a

mighty nation in the 21st century. Non-violence, which stands through limited national boundaries and water, let the Coopers Institute, a middle non-violence little empire and some what, overruled their position non-violence or non-violence.

His life was an unbroken record of penance. During the Second Round Table Conference days he would make three return to his residence in the East End in the small hours of the night. But instead of immediately laying his weary head to rest in bed, he would remember the Gandhianism and sit down religiously to do his half an hour's methodical spinning in khadi thread with the spinning wheel. At the time of his visit the picture of the Indian independence of India would be before his mind's eye. I shall never forget the touching I got when near in all instances, I purchased a small (small of money for him for his penance. "What right have I to spend as much on myself while the poor starve," he murmured and went. He gave standing instructions to Marjorie (Mrs. Shaw) who used to serve him his meals that the daily expenditure on his food should never exceed 1 s. or 1 s. 6d. He wanted to leave the price at every time of his meals before parting with it. During his detention in the Agitation Palace he used himself to maintain the diary of his daily culture breaks in order that he had not a minute in excess of the strict requirement of the body which he reported partly and simply to an hourglass of his service.

Again did he require for some of the small things of his life? He then did not hesitate to make his life as it is for instance of the time of the Gandhi Fast that he known as the High Fast. At the termination of his last High Fast in 1948, thousands of Indians would stand out of their parish and that into his room at 101a House to tell him how they had lived in their homes during those spending days with him and prayed for his long life. The kind of unspeakable message and prayers from persons that inundated him at the successful ending of his fast in spite of the very of communal machine that had recently prevailed here. He demanded was a protest to everything at the end of it. It is his living spirit, his own presence of truth in thought, word and deed. He professed what he believed and wherever he professed he was always lived up to with God as witness. That was what made his anarchy a world-shaking force.

We are the heirs and trustees of this power, the weapon of the spirit which he gave us. It is the right and duty of all those who regard him as their motherland to ask the people of India, what they have made of this precious legacy. Have they like a faithful steward added to it or have they like the Prodigal this squandered or wasted it? We are in the light of looking every the better by which we have started in the world. But it should not be forgotten that whatever is gained by truth and ahimsa can be preserved and retained also through the same means and even after that we are that independence has been gained, the policy is non-violence. That, evolution of non-violence, the practice or continued with for which Gandhiji stood? Shall the religion which Gandhiji's Hinduism and Islam and other religions of India's freedom like the last Hinduism and Islam and the Islam spirit is referred to as "non-violence" or the culture which they represented as "ahimsa"? If that happens which God forbid—we shall have to practice denied Gandhiji whatever we might profess to the contrary. It should be the policy of every man and daughter of India not to let such a thing happen while he or she is alive even though they may be in a minority of our

FRANKLIN.

Correction

In the *Harizon* dated 15-12-49 on p. 222, column 2 lines 3 and 4 for "Incidentally" read "Friedrich".

* By the permission of the All-India Radio—being the text of a broadcast address in Hindustani made for overseas transmission on the 1st of October 1948 from the New Delhi Broadcasting Station.

HARIJAN

December 18

1949

TWO PLACES OF SATYAGRAHA IN DEMOCRACY

In his otherwise very thoughtful and able speech at the last session of the Constituent Assembly, Dr Ambedkar said:

"If we wish to maintain democracy not merely in form but also in fact, what must we do? The first thing in my judgment, we must do is to hold fast to constitutional methods of achieving our social and economic objectives. It means we must abandon the violent methods of revolution. It means that we must abandon the method of civil disobedience, non-cooperation and Satyagraha. When there was an 1857-58, the constitutional methods for achieving economic and social objectives there was some justification for non-constitutional methods. But when all-India constitutional methods are open, there can be no justification for these non-constitutional methods. These methods are nothing but the grammar of anarchy and the reason they are abandoned for better or not."

If the learned Doctor had said that until all constitutional methods are exhausted, no non-constitutional methods—even non-violent—should be adopted for removing an evil, and that now that the nation has got a very good democratic republican constitution there should hardly arise an occasion for such methods as civil disobedience, non-co-operation and Satyagraha, there was nothing to say against it. Even under the British rule Satyagraha was never regarded a justifiable step as long as all constitutional remedies that then existed had not been exhausted. Gandhi was never in a hurry to rush in for Satyagraha. In fact he was even often blamed for tarrying too long.

"Those only can take up civil disobedience who believe in willing obedience even to laws made by the State so long as they do not hurt their conscience or religion," he held (*Young India* 3-11-21).

He even went to the length of submitting to an invasion against which he had agitated, if he was accused of its removal as soon as possible. For,

"A born democrat is a born disciplinarian. Democracy comes naturally to him who is habituated morally to yield willing obedience to all laws human or divine. I claim to be a democrat both by instinct and training. Let those who are ambitious to serve democracy qualify themselves by achieving first the end and test of democracy. Moreover, a democrat must be utterly selfish. He must think and dream not in terms of self or party but only of democracy. Only then does he acquire the right of civil disobedience." (*Wardha*, 27-5-39)

He had demonstrated that in his fight in South Africa against the aggression of Indians. The registration certificate, required even for expressions of his holder, or if he was a criminal. On being promised that this law would be repealed, if he made a posture of submission to save the face of the Government, he went to the length of advising the people to take out certificates. This was furiously resented and a non-cooperation award was made in him as he proceeded to the Registration office. Undaunted though wounded he got himself registered first.

"Since Satyagraha is one of the most powerful methods of direct action a satyagrahi exhausts all other means before he resorts to Satyagraha. He will therefore not startily and continuously approach the constituted authority, he will appeal to public opinion, educate public opinion, state his case calmly and coolly before everybody who wants to listen to him, and only after he has exhausted all these avenues will he resort to Satyagraha." (*Young India*, 30-10-27)

Should not this amply satisfy any administrator of a democratic State? Indeed this is a principle which stands good irrespective of the form of government under which the satyagrahi lives.

That occasion for Satyagraha should be never in a good democratic popular government, that in an irresponsible authoritarian one is a different thing. In fact, one of the tests of a thoroughly satisfactory democracy may be laid down to be that it should give an occasion to a satyagrahi for resorting to that remedy and in case of a hasty resort to it by an autocrat it should end in failure by abandonment without even the necessity of a repressive measure by the State.

But everything said and done it should also be realised that Satyagraha is not a right, but a duty of a responsible citizen, which in a proper case he must perform for the very success of democracy. Or, if you call it a right, it is a right which does not depend upon its recognition in the chapter on Fundamental Rights of a country's constitution. In the very next sentence in the last quotation, Gandhi continues:

"But when he (the satyagrahi) has issued the appealing call of the inner voice within him and launched out upon Satyagraha, he has burnt his boats and there is no receding."

If at times it involves breaking of laws, it is for fulfilling a higher law which can be traced traced only to some moral law to the individual and both moral and temporal law to the nation. If constitutional remedies fail, if the government happens to be administered by, as the learned Doctor himself says, "a bad lot", and in the name of political parties and concrete moral methods the administration gets controlled by selfish concerns, and from top to bottom by a corrupt machinery and lawless law, is

short, if an unpleasant situation prevails and all economic, social and moral progress is held up in the name of law itself, there are only two courses left open for the downtrodden masses either armed rebuke against the State or resort to non-violent civil resistance and non-co-operation with evil. The former is ruled out by the Satyagraha.

"They are a remedy worse than the disease sought to be cured. They are a token of the spirit of revenge and impatience and anger. The method of violence cannot be used in the long run" (Times India, 9-5-30)

At the same time,

"Satyagraha is to a State law wholly or largely unjust is an immortal barrier for liberty. A citizen who thus realises the evil nature of a State is not satisfied to live as its sufferer, and therefore appears to the others who do not share his belief to be a nuisance to society whilst he is endeavouring to compel the State without committing a moral breach, to amend him. Thus considered civil resistance is a most powerful expression of a crafts anguish and an eloquent protest against the continuance of an evil State. Is not this the history of all reform? Have not reformers much to the disgust of their followers discarded even innocent evils associated with an evil practice?" (Times India, 16-11-31)

Indeed the non-violent Satyagraha is the only method which will preserve and secure the health and progress of society and the State. So far from telling the people not to resort to Satyagraha, a statesman of India should rather tell his people that in spite of this Constitution, if the Government was not well administered, all constitutional remedies proved ineffective, and their representatives betrayed them, then the people should remember that Gandhiji had showed them a direct and sure method for remedying all the ills namely of drawing the attention of the State and driving away its lethargy as well as vice by voluntarily courting suffering through Satyagraha. Even a fascist and dictatorial constitution would bend before Satyagraha much more easily would a democratic one do. Did not Lord Hardinge through Governor-General and Viceroy of India, lend all his support to the Satyagraha in South Africa?

Dr Ambedkar regards Satyagraha methods as unconstitutional. I understand that this is a disputed proposition among eminent statesmen and jurists.

It may be pointed out that General Smuts, Gandhiji's adversary in South Africa, considered the Satyagraha movement there as a constitutional movement (Speeches p. 481). Lord Hardinge, the then Viceroy of India, also approved of Gandhiji's Satyagraha in South Africa. Charles E. Mearns describes Gandhiji's system of such disobedience as being "within the harness of legality" (See his Political Power,

p. 176). Sir Stafford Cripps expressed astonishment that the Indian general public in the Congress class in a democracy under certain conditions, C. R. Attlee remarks that in the absence of democratic method of action resort to unconstitutional is, even if right, seems to bring about fundamental change is inevitable. (Why I am a Socialist editor is, Stanford Arnold, contributions by C. R. Attlee and Sir Stafford Cripps — The Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi by Dr Gopabandhu Das, p. 242 footnote)

But the question whether it is constitutional or not is of secondary importance. The most important thing is that the spirit, the discipline and the training of Satyagraha should really be rather widespread in the people than otherwise. The more disciplined and satyagrahi a people are, the less will its country need armaments and police. There can never be a successful democracy based on force. It can exist only if it is based on the love of the people. And it cannot thrive and remain pure if it is not cherished and restrained by Satyagraha, whenever it goes astray. It is the greatest lesson which Gandhiji taught in the downtrodden, the oppressed and the low-caste of the world. We Indians will be worthless even with an electric lamp if it fails to impart the "light" of Satyagraha to the rising generations.

Wardha 5-12-48

K. C. K. MATHUR-ULLA

I am obliged to that excellent compilation of Prof. K. K. Das, *Discourses from Gandhiji*, for finding the various references to Gandhiji's writings. I have often found it to be a very handy and useful book for finding Gandhiji's writings on any point. It should be possessed and read by every student of Gandhian literature in India.

—K. C. K.

Another Exhibition

I referred in an "Indian Industrial Exhibition at Ahmedabad Hyderabad and other places" in a previous article. *Swarnam and Swadish*. I understood that another exhibition called "All-India Industrial Exhibition" is being organised at Hyderabad under the patronage of Shri L. M. Gupta of the Hyderabad Civil Service. It is to be opened by H. V. Keshu C. Bangopalechari on December 31st. The President desires me to clarify that no article does not refer to this exhibition assuming me that "this Exhibition is not being held by any commercial firm or under the auspices of any private enterprise. It is being held under the patronage of the Government of Hyderabad and is being organised by a Committee consisting of official and non-official honorary workers who have nothing to do with any business houses," and also that "the Exhibition will be confined to products of Indian origin and manufacture."

I have nothing to say against a fraction of this nature.

Wardha 5-12-48

K. C. K.

*Published by the Harijans Publishing House, 10, Motilal, 21st St. A., Poona, 21, 22 A.

AHIMSA IN SINO-INDIAN CULTURE

II

Mencius

Mencius was the first sage who attempted to apply this perfect doctrine to practical politics. When he first met King Hui of the Luang State, the king asked: "Venerable sir, since you have not counted it a far to come here, a distance of a thousand miles, may I presume that you are likewise provided with counsel to profit my kingdom?" He replied: "Why must Your Majesty use that word 'profit'? What I am 'like-wise' provided with, are counsel to *see* and *go* or *benevolence* and *righteousness*, and these are my only topics."

"If Your Majesty say: 'What is to be done to profit our kingdom?'" and the inferior officers will say, "What is to be done to profit our persons?" superiors and inferiors will try to snatch this profit, the one from the other, and the kingdom will be endangered. There never has been a man trained to *see* or *benevolence* who neglected his parents. There never has been a man trained to *go* or *righteousness* who made his sovereign an after-consideration. Let Your Majesty also say: "I *see* and *go* or *benevolence* and *righteousness* and these shall be the only themes." Why must you use that word 'profit'?" (The Works of Mencius)

With this noble mission, Mencius went from State to State and preached to and discussed with the kings one after another. Although none of them did actually act on his wise advice and made real use of his presence, he has left behind him an indistinguishable spirit of love, mercy and benevolence in the Chinese polity through all the long centuries. A few passages from his exhortations to the heads of the different States and his discussions with his disciples will illustrate a little more his lofty ideal.

"The root of *see* lies in *see*."

"Think with the reverence due to gift the others in your own family so that the others in the families of others shall be similarly treated. Treat with the kindness due to profit the people in your own family, so that the people in the families of others shall be similarly treated."

"The carrying out of his filial duty by a prince will suffice for the love and protection of all within the four seas and if he does not carry it out, he will not be able to protect his wife and children."

"*See* or *benevolence* is the most honorable duty ever conferred by Heaven, and the gold basin in which one should drink."

"*Benevolence* is the broadest foundation of man, and *righteousness* is his straight path."

"The benevolent man loves others. The root of respect shows itself in *shun*."

"*See* or *benevolence* is man's heart, and *go* or *righteousness* is man's path."

"*Benevolence* subdues its enemies just as water subdues fire. Those leaders who spread the good behavior do it as if with one way of water

they could drown a whole neighborhood of fire which was of 100,000,000. *See* subdues force and extinguishes evil. *Go* is the way of *see* and *go* subdues force. This method, therefore, greatly overcomes those who are not benevolent."

(The Works of Mencius)

Lao-Tzu

Lao-Tzu, another of the greatest sages of China, older than Confucius, was perhaps the only Chinese who preferred to use the negative rather than the positive phraseology in discussion on his principles. He would like to lay stress more on the passive side of things rather than on the active side. For instance, the Confucianists used to say: "The heart of Heaven is *benevolence* and *love*," but he said:

"Heaven and Earth are not benevolent, they treat all created things like paper dogs who are to be sacrificed. The sages are not benevolent, he treats upon the people in the same way." (Lao-Tzu: Tao Te Ching)

Again he said:

"He is certainly *loving*, and yet it leaves nothing undone. If kings and princes could but hold fast to this principle all things would work out their own righteousness. If, having returned, they still desired to act, I would leave them to destroy by the stupidity of the *Mandarin*. The Tao (doctrine) of the *Mandarin* Tao brings about the absence of desire. The absence of desire alone tranquility. And thus the empire will really last." (Lao-Tzu: Tao Te Ching)

Lao-Tzu was also perhaps the first sage, not only in China but in the world at large, who openly and strongly opposed the use of violent force and weapons and condemned war. He said:

"He who knows a *peace* of man is harmony with Tao will not embrace the Empire by force of arms." Such a peace is real, to bring satisfaction to his folk.

"Where troops have been quartered, friendship and desire spring up. In the track of great armies there must follow ten years."

"The good man when a victory and then stops" he will not go on to add of violence. Wishing to benefit men, he will not attempt to show his strength. He who because he is not chosen, after his victory he will not be overbearing."

"Weapons are instruments of ill omen, hateful to all creatures. Therefore he who has Tao will have nothing to do with them." (Lao-Tzu: Tao Te Ching)

He went even as far as to say:

"The clearest and still wettest soil not by a natural rock."

"The best soldiers are not warriors. The best generals do not lose their temper. The greatest conquerors are those who overcome their enemies with out words." (Lao-Tzu: Tao Te Ching)

Mo-Tzu

Another great Chinese sage who preached the same gospel of *ahimsa* or non-violence as Lao-Tzu and *go* *see* or *love* as Confucius and Mencius but in a different way from them all, was Mo-Tzu.

Mo-Tzu lived a little later than Lao-Tzu and Confucius but earlier than Mencius. He was born about 500 B. C. The roots of his life, his ideas and works are very similar to that of the ancient Indian Buddhist philosopher Nagarjuna and that of Gandhi. I therefore have sometimes called Mo-Tzu the ancient Mahatma of

China and Mongolia, the modern Ma-Tsu of India. Ma-tsu denounced him by saying: "If there is benefit for the world he will do it even by grinding every last body down to dust!"

Ma-Tsu preached the Gospel of Non-violence and appeared war not only by words but also by action. Once when he heard of the news that the Chin State was to attack the Sung State, he immediately went from his native State Lu, waited for ten days and ten nights, to see the king of Chin and persuaded him to stop the aggression, and he succeeded in his effort.

According to Ma-Tsu's philosophy, all people should only love one another, should not fight and hurt anybody, this is the will of Heaven. He said:

"Heaven wishes people to live and benefit each other, and does not want people to hurt and hurt each other. Why? Because He loves all and loves His will."

"How do we know that Heaven loves all and benefits all? Because He punishes all and punishes all."

"How is it that the will and wish of Heaven? That is to love all people under Heaven?" (Fables of Ma-Tsu)

He thought that non-loving is the only cause of chaos and calamities and attacking a country and killing people are the greatest sins in the world. Thus he said:

"How were chaos and calamities caused? They were caused by people not loving each other. A man loves his own house and does not love the other's house, he therefore wrecks the other's house for the benefit of his own house. A man loves his own body and does not love the other's body he therefore wrecks the other's body for the benefit of his own body. Others, with love his own family and does not love other's family, they therefore wreck other's families for the benefit of their own families. The State wages war for his own country and does not love others countries. They therefore wreck others countries for the benefit of their own countries."

If all look upon others' houses as their own houses, who will steal? If all look upon others' bodies as his own body, who will murder? If all look upon others' families as his own family who will exploit? If all look upon others' country as his own country, who will attack? Therefore when all love each other there will be peace and when all hate each other, there will be chaos and calamity." (Fables of Ma-Tsu)

Again he said:

"To kill one man is called wrongful and cruel, cruel and cruel punishment. According to K'uei, ten men is ten times wrongful and even crueler ten death punishments. And to K'uei hundred men is hundred times wrongful and even crueler hundred death punishments. Now the greatest wrong that is to attack a country but render no punishment."

"Is this right?" (Fables of Ma-Tsu)

Again he said:

"Which are the greater sins among the evils of the world? That are those crimes of the big squires attacking small countries, and those deeds of the nobles attacking the small families, and those deeds of the strong robbing the weak, of the group of lords oppressing the group of free, of the slaves despoiling the rich, of the high class oppressing the low. These are the greater evils of the world." (Fables of Ma-Tsu)

ORGANIZATION OF SPINNING CLUBS

Village saving implies the planning and execution of village economy. The organization of spinning clubs is the first step in this direction on account of its capacity to make the village self-sufficient in its clothing requirements. The formation of such clubs throughout the length and breadth of China constitutes the beginning of the attempt to establish a non-exploiting society. Without a planned self-sufficiency scheme with this end, not even the best of institutions will succeed in establishing a society of the people.

But each small unit as a spinning club can achieve the great aim of making society self-sufficient, only if, along with enjoying complete freedom of action in themselves, they are knit together in an orderly manner and in spite of separate independent status of each, there is a common thread running through their activities and their expenses and members have a clear conception of their aim and work and also order their own lives in a manner consistent with the aim.

With a view to deliberate upon this aspect, the first all-China meeting of the storekeepers, craftsmen and workers of spinning associations was held at Sze-pang in U. P. on the 11th and 12th of November last. Naturally the largest number consisted of the constructive workers of U. P. and Bihar. The programme of spinning clubs was discussed from various aspects and several suggestions were made. A detailed report of these proceedings will be published by the Charika Sangh shortly. Some of the suggestions made will involve a change in the rules and regulations framed by the A. I. S. A. for such clubs. These will be placed before the meeting of the Trustees to be held in December next and the final decisions will be announced thereafter as soon as possible. In the meanwhile, some of the most important suggestions approved at Sze-pang are published here for the information of spinning clubs, so that they could be acted upon immediately.

(1) The minimum number of members had and sufficient members for organizing a spinning club is decided from 10 to 5, provided all the five must have belong to different families.

(2) A member of the spinning club must not be a dealer in wool yarn or silk cloth, or Sarees.

(3) The Secretary or supervisor of the club must be an amateur as well as a sufficient member of the Charika Sangh and every member must become an amateur member of the Charika Sangh.

(4) The function of a spinning club must cover together the organizational spinning and study and discussion at least once a month and preferably more frequently say once in a fortnight or week.

(5) The clubs must make their own arrangements for getting the raw wool. But as this would take time in the initial stage the Charika Sangh will furnish them provisionally with enough for getting such yarn upon which a month of their receipt, or within two months. If the wool is not to be delivered when being wanted. It then applies to only carry them only, shall of a special type that require longer time.

Spending Chits, are requested to put these suggestions into practice.

The deliberations at Saragpur point to the importance of holding such conferences in every province or division. The Secretaries or Organisers of spending chits in the Province, assembly members and workers of the Charika Sangh concerned with this work should be invited to such meetings. The Provincial Secretary or Organizer will announce the time and venue of the meetings in his province or division. It has also been suggested that the expenses and arrangements of the meeting must not be a burden on the meeting centre but all should share in the work and the expenses. Also, opportunity should be taken at the time to meet with the people to as great an extent as possible. Chits cannot be made any suggestions in this matter are requested to address them to the Secretary or Organizer of the Charika Sangh of their division as soon as possible. It is proposed that every province will carry out this programme during the period of 15th December to 15th March next.

Saragpur, 27-11-49. KISHORCHAND GANDHI
Secretary A.S.S.A.

(Translated from Hindi)

CONTRIBUTION TO DELAY

It is necessary for common citizens like us to realize how we ourselves contribute to administrative delays and confusion. Since the institution of popular committees we have enormously increased the volume of work in the Secretariats. I believe it must have become at least four times more than what it used to be under the British regime. This is an estimate made from what I receive myself by way of copies of letters sent to ministers or important officers. Every week I receive letters and other communications with the postscript "Copies sent to the Governor-General, Prime Minister, Dy. Prime Minister, Minister for _____ and so on", the last copy being to the "Editor of the Harjan". The communications are at times typed, at times hand-written carbon copies, and in various languages. Very often they are not personal or specific complaints but suggestions, advice, general complaints, expressions of approval and opinions on administrative matters and policies.

I can say from my own limited experience at the Harjan and Gandhi's Secretariat, how impossible it must be for any minister or his secretaries even to read all the correspondence which he gets everyday, and it is too much to expect that a secretary can put before his Chief every such communication or even acknowledge its receipt to the writer. Nevertheless, the secretary, at least, if not the Chief, has some day to go through it and use his discretion. It may easily happen under these circumstances that

in some cases the secretary may commit a mistake in assessing the importance of the communication and neglect to attend to a really important matter. Also, at times the letter would remain on the Chief's pending file and soon become part of a goodly pile before the Chief can attend to it. It also causes loss and misplacement of letters, apart from delay and unnecessary neglect of genuine complaints.

We must therefore be more restrained in sending letters, etc. Moreover, it is no use sending a letter to a minister who is not in charge of the matter complained of. For instance, if you have a complaint against the Railway administration, it might be necessary to address the Minister for Railways. But if you send a copy of it from the Governor-General at the top to the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister, the Commerce and Supplies Ministers also, each of them would simply forward it to the Railway Minister. Thus that minister would get several complaints for the same matter, each in a different envelope, the Secretary (or rather his clerk) might easily make the mistake of regarding each complaint as a new matter and register it under different numbers. This leads to further confusion and delay rather than speedy disposal of the complaint. For each would be forwarded as a matter of course to the proper officer for report, who might have already received it direct and forgotten all about it!

Apart from confusion and delay, this necessitates increase of clerical staff, more postal expenditure, more stationary and waste of time of several officers.

And in addition to all this, if a copy of it is sent to me, I am at a loss to know what I should do with it. Since it has been already sent to the proper authorities, and since it is a pending matter, I have nothing left to do. Nevertheless, my assistant has to register it, I have to peruse it, often to acknowledge it, sometimes also to keep it on file, thus leading to waste of time, increase of work, piling of files, and postal expenses. All this can be avoided if the writers are more frugal with their own money and time and stationary.

Mumbai, 18-11-49. E. G. MACHHUPWALA

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TWO ANNAS

PEACE AND STRIFE

The Fundamental Things

I do not know exactly what question will receive particular attention at the World Peace-Net Meeting. A detailed questionnaire was given up by the Secretaries, and it touched a variety of subjects—Religion, Education, Science, Industry, Commerce, Government, etc. Each aspect of life has to be examined from the standpoint of creating a world of peace and non-violence. Each of them has been availed of by men both for fostering the spirit of love, peace and benevolence, and for encouraging dangerous hatred and war, carrying fire and sword, and inflicting misery and pain on human and animal life.

All these various topics are but superficial branches of life. The fundamental thing is man's heart and his immediate surroundings—his family and neighbourhood and his capacity to spread itself in the universe. If I am capable of quarrelling with my father or son or wife or brother or neighbour, or of torturing a dumb animal, or being selfish in my relations with any of them, or of harbouring the memory of an unfriendly act, or of being wary by any of them to me, or of regarding none but those who belong to the same group familiar to me as entitled to my love, regard and service, there is little chance of peace and goodwill reigning in the world.

It is often said that the appearance of a single sparrow is not the spring, but it does indicate the beginning of a change in the season, and leads one to expect that within a fortnight or more, more sparrows will arrive, and so also the spring. Similarly, a few honest souls who have led their lives in tune with the Infinite, may not be sufficient to change the course of the world, but they create the hope that with persistent and diligent effort mankind can attain that stage. Anyhow, those who have been concerned of it and called to it cannot do anything else. Whether they receive worship and honour or abuse, insult and persecution from all sides, they go to live by and work for their creed and to believe with Gandhiji that if non-violence has failed to succeed yet, it is not because non-violence is an insufficient power, but that we, through whom that power has to work, are not efficient vehicles for its manifestation. And so, whether we work in the public and propagate

our thoughts in the people or lead a private and unadvertised life, every activity of ours must be directed as much towards our own steady moral improvement as of our neighbours. The first result of our efforts we must seek upon our own life. We cannot establish peace outside unless we are at peace with ourselves and spread love and peace in our immediate surroundings.

Foundations of War and Peace

So many things come to one's mind, as one thinks of the problems of war and peace. Here is it that Philosophy and Religion, claiming to be quiet and message of God, History and Education, supposed to be quiet and message of culture, Science and Industry, regarded as quiet and application of nature's forces, Commerce and Government, deemed for the purpose of maintaining prosperity and just order—in fact, every human activity aimed for the good of man and the world has become an instrument of war! Which is the compass which he has lost or damaged, so that he is unable to find the right direction, and pursues fruitlessly in the wide ocean and frequently dashes against hidden rocks?

No one says that he wants war. Hitler and Mussolini did not want it for their own sake. Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill did not want it, Truman and Acheson do not want it. India and Pakistan do not want it, nor Kashmir. Ordinary people all over the world do not want it. Every one is a pacifist in that sense. And still there are wars, and mass killings, and other kinds of destruction in the wake of them. Why is it so?

The thing is that no one wants war and certainly not to take the offensive if only one condition is fulfilled. Namely, he is allowed to have his own way in respect of life, property, and activities and either adjust themselves to his convenience. If there is a hindrance there, he has to 'defend' himself, for, to have his own way he regards his birthright. And once taking the offensive is the best defence, he wants to keep himself better prepared violently than others. Thus every one points to the other and says, 'What can I help?' The other one does not believe in peaceful methods. He will not allow me to go my own way, and adjust himself accordingly. And I have no course left but to get him out of my way."

Or if I say to my neighbors, "I love you and help and heal to me and to you," and in my way or art unfairly leverage on I without my heart of friendship to you and say to you whom — peace be with you. But if you are not so good, but are selfish and unreasonable, I shall fight you," then my position is of doubtful quality. If Peace is to succeed and be supreme in human affairs, I must be prepared to take the risk of being unjustly treated by my neighbors, and seek some way other than one of violent action to meet the injustice. With all our egoism and elaborate military preparations war is a risky job and uncertain about the result. Even victory becomes a defeat. And yet every one believes in war methods unconditionally, but will adopt peaceful methods only if the other will do so. Thus cannot bring peace among nations any more than it can among neighbors. Some one has to take the initiative unilaterally with the risk of being run over and crushed down completely by another power. He has to do so on the strength of the Spirit and the inherent truth and justice of his own stand.

But rulers with a sense of responsibility to their countrymen can hardly be expected to show such courage. People would throw them out if they tried to. Rulers with responsibilities and expiatory ambitions can have it still less.

How may then this problem be solved? How much may rulers be expected and prevailed upon to undertake by the pressure of public opinion? And how may renewed public opinion be organized and strengthened on this subject? Warden 24-11-48 E. G. Mahabir/M.A.

ARMIES IN SINO-INDIAN CULTURE

III

Mahavira and Buddha

The foregoing paragraphs have dealt at sufficient length with the ideas and messages of the Chinese sages and sages. Now turn to India again.

In India, Mahavira Jaina, and Sakya-muni Buddha preached almost the same gospel in the same way. The fundamental principles and teachings of both of them, such as the pantheistic ideas or the five rules are nearly the same. Those of Buddha are: First, non-killing, second, non-stealing, third, non-robbery, fourth, non-lying and the fifth, non-drinking. And those of Jaina are: First, speaking-the-truth, second, being-a-part-and-not-to-be, third, non-killing, fourth, non-stealing, and fifth, observing-chastity.

The Three Jewels (triratna) of Jaina, namely, (1) samyag-dharma, right conviction, faith and perception achieved, (2) samyag-jnana, right knowledge, (3) samyag-charita, right conduct, are all included in the Eightfold Noble Path (aryasamarga) of Buddha, namely: (1) samyag-truth, right view, (2) samyag-samkalpa, right thought, (3) samyag-nee, right speech, (4) samyag-karman, right conduct, (5) samyag-agra, right livelihood, (6) samyag-vyapara,

right effort, (7) samyag-samadhi, right concentration, and (8) samyag-vivada, right meditation. Both these sets of rules are right ways leading to the same goal, Nirvana.

Buddha, both Mahavira Jaina, and Sakya-muni Buddha believed in the doctrine of Karma and reborn. They both denied the omnipotent and omniscient God, and believed that only with own soul and effort could work out one's own salvation.

The similarity between the two religions, Jaina and Buddhism, is so great that some Western writers mistake them for one and the same. The real facts are that from the religious point of view they are indeed very similar to each other, but from the metaphysical point of view they are quite different.

But the most striking feature of the two religions is the same teaching, the same gospel of ethics in both its positive and negative senses, in its negative sense of "abstain and perfect harmonious towards all living beings", and its positive sense of "attain and eternal happiness for all living beings".

Goodwill

As Love is the indispensable partner of ethics as stated before, Truth is another inseparable companion of ethics. As Goodwill once said:

"Ahimsa and Truth are so interwoven that it is practically impossible to disentangle and separate them. They are like the two sides of a coin, or rather a smooth untempered metallic disc. Who can say, which is the obverse and which the reverse?" (From Yogi's Manual, 121).

Ahimsa, Love, Truth are the Trinity of One which we may call the Supreme, or God, or Heaven, or Brahman, or any other name we like. In carrying out their mission the Trinity have again a number of allies or comrades such as Charity, Goodwill, Selflessness, Fearlessness, Forgiveness, etc. Thus Goodwill said:

"In its positive form, ahimsa means the largest love, greatest charity. If I am a follower of ahimsa, I must love my enemy. I must apply the same rules to the wrong-doer who is my enemy or a stranger to me, as I would to my wrong-doing father or son. This active ahimsa necessarily includes truth and forgiveness" (Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi, 345).

"Ahimsa is the extreme limit of forgiveness. But forgiveness is the quality of the heart. Ahimsa is impossible without forgiveness."

"Let us now examine the root of ahimsa. It is uttermost selflessness. Selflessness means complete freedom from a regard for one's body. If man desired to realize himself, i.e. Truth, he could do so only by being completely detached from the body, i.e. by making all other things feel aside from him. That is the way of ahimsa" (Young India, 4-12-36, 284-285).

India-China-Christ

Now, what is the truth of ahimsa? The Truth is that All living beings in the world have the same life and the same soul. They belong to the same Mother, come from the same origin and will return to the same home. It is like a tree of which the stem, branches, leaves, flowers and fruits all come into being from one and the same root. It is also like an ocean, of which all individual beings are but the separate drops. We therefore belong to all, and all belong to us. Thus the Chinese sage said:

"Heaven, Earth and I were born at the same time, and all beings are one and the same with me (Chuang-Tzu, Tao-Pu-Chi)

"All beings are one" and "Love all beings. Heaven and Earth are one and the body." (Lao-tzu quoted by Chuang-Tzu)

"All things are already complete in me" (Mao-tzu, Book of Hsueh)

"All people are my brothers and all beings are my fellows" (Chuang Tzu, Tao-tung)

As such, we therefore should love not only all people but all living beings. We must treat all of them as ourselves and must not hurt any of them causing them pain, just as we would not like any of them to hurt us causing us pain, following the golden rule in the great Epistles taught by the greatest Indian sage: "Do naught to others which if done to thee would cause thee pain." Jesus Christ and Confucius also gave us exactly the same message. Jesus Christ said in the Sermon on the Mount: "Whoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." Confucius said in answering to a question as to "What is the most simple way one may follow for his whole lifetime?", put by his disciple: "What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others."

Lord Mahaveer explained this message in an even more lucid way in the following passage:

"The man who will live in the house, should, in accordance with his creed be devoted to all living beings. We are bound to be fair and equal with all."

"Towards your fellow-creatures be not hostile, that is the law of Him who is kind to all."

"All beings have pain, therefore one should not kill them."

"A man who hurts another will bring wrath to the eyes of Him, in whose sphere he has lived."

A cruel man does cruel acts and is thereby involved in other troubles, but cruel undertakings will in the end bring about misery" (Chandragupta, A. D. D. Kanak)

"In happiness and suffering, in joy and grief, we should regard all creatures as we regard our own self and should therefore refrain from inflicting upon others such injury as would appear undesirable to us if inflicted upon ourselves." (Upanishads)

This is the reason why most Hindus especially the Jains and the Buddhists would refrain from taking any flesh for their food. The Jains would even refrain from taking fresh vegetables, because they are living, and to hurt any living thing is to injure a deadly sin. They go even so far as to drink only boiled water or even breathe with a cloth across their mouth to avoid breathe and insects passing inhaling the air. They would also sweep their path but they may tread on insects. According to them, under the law of ahimsa, killing of vermin is also forbidden so that airplanes have been established for dearest animals rather than that they should be put out of their misery by the destruction of life.

People may think that the way which the Jain preach and follow is rather impracticable and therefore unreasonable. This is a wrong notion. It may be impracticable but is not absolutely unreasonable. It is impracticable because humanity has not yet progressed enough. When humanity has sufficiently developed and reached a certain higher stage, this law of ahimsa should be and would be followed by all.

From what has been said above we can have an outline of the spirit of ahimsa in Sino-Indian Culture. The facts related and the passages quoted are only those which came readily to my mind and were easily available. Similar facts and passages of the same kind are too numerous in Chinese and Indian literature and scriptures to be quoted in full. It is even difficult to make the best adequate selection of them. These facts and passages were not merely religious ideals or ethical principles but actual and real events in history. Looking over the histories of India and China, from the very beginning to the present day these two countries have never attacked or invaded any other country, never exploited any other people though they have often been attacked, invaded and exploited by other warlike peoples. But those who invaded India and China were often subdued and absorbed by Indian and Chinese cultures and have enjoyed with the Indian and Chinese peoples their natural wealth and harmony of life.

It has been therefore my firm belief, and also my humble contention, that we Chinese and Indians, the two greatest peoples of the world, should culturally join together and mingle together to create and establish and to promote a common culture called Sino-Indian Culture entirely based on ahimsa. By creating establishing and promoting this common Sino-Indian Culture we shall further create, establish and promote a common World Culture on the same basis. By creating establishing and promoting a common World Culture, we shall create and establish a great union of the world. And by creating and establishing a great union of the world, we shall lead the world to real and permanent peace, love, harmony and happiness.

TAN TUNG-SAN

HARIJAN

December 23

1948

UNITING FOR PEACE

The World Council Meeting meets again during the Christmas Week at Serapgram after (taking from the name of its proceedings at Santiniketan) a week of serious thinking. The members gather together on the Christmas Eve and under the shadow of Gandhi's own cottage, and will therefore be naturally reminded of that great Prince of Peace, Jesus Christ, as well as the greatest modern exponent of his message, Mahatma Gandhi. Indeed, these two stand the tragic range of Buddha. It may interest foreign friends to know that it was at Serapgram and in Gandhi's own cottage that Sri Dharmapala Kowaldi breathed his last sometime before Gandhi's demise. It was due to the popular writings of Sri Dharmapala Kowaldi that Buddha's L. B. and Teachings became available to the people of Maharashtra and Gujarat and that somewhat neglected area far forgotten before the people of his own country about like a new messenger.

Sri Dharmapala Kowaldi had attained fame as a scholar of Pali and had worked for several years in the academy of U. S. A. as well as U. S. S. R. as an Orientalist. The most recent political trends seem to indicate that the philosophies of life of U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. are diametrically opposite and irreconcilable. Sri Kowaldi found several lovely things in both and loved the people of both the countries equally.

Sri Kowaldi's own career and character and the way in which he lived and outside he gave his life through a fast unto death were complete in themselves. A perfectly patriotic Indian taking the highest interest in the emancipation of this country, his patriotism did not stand in the way of loving Americans, Britishers, or Russians and to make himself perfectly at home among all peoples. He had also lived in Ceylon, Nepal and Burma in Buddhist temples housing at the feet of Buddhist monks of various countries. He became a convert to Buddhism, but he did not identify himself with any Buddhist sect or church and did not have interest in the religious life of his own. Brahmin ancestry from Pudukkottai to the random Maharashtra Sant Yashwanth. He found kinship between Buddha and Yashwanth.

Not that he had not his own, three and fifteen "pimpasanas" and propitiaries. He could not brook in particular deliberate love-reverence and lies in the name of religion, and religious interpretation, whether interpreted by Hindu Brahmins or any one else. Yet this is an essential quality of a seeker of Truth, though

the way of pointing against untruth might vary in every individual according to his discipline and temperament.

I am reminded of Sri Kowaldi on this occasion not because of the accident of his death at Serapgram, but because he was an example of a Citizen of the World. He could have said without reserve that he was simultaneously a citizen of U. S. A., Russia, Burma, Ceylon, Nepal and of course, India. By day by, by birth he was, I think a subject of Portuguese India. He felt that, provided political division of every country and sect could be controlled by the people of U. S. A., England and Russia or of India and Pakistan, could be made to live and work together for the good of all. This is a great principle, which must be borne in mind by every worker in the cause of Peace. Indeed, is it not strange that U. S. A., England and U. S. S. R. could unite together for winning the war but cannot do so for maintaining peace? There is something incongruous in that, which should be sought out and removed.

Mumbai, 10-12-48

K. S. MACHANEWALA

PRECIOUS METALS AND STONES

It is not in the domain of things for Governmental concern to be presented by the public with addresses of welcome intended to express welcome particularly gold or silver, said the Prime Minister, Pethi Gidari. It is a STANDARD, 1944 New Delhi, 22 November 1948.

It has long been the custom for public and sometimes private organisations to make presentations of addresses of welcome to persons they seek to honour. These addresses are enclosed in envelopes of varying value. Sometimes the letters are of silver, sometimes even gold. I have repeatedly urged that such addresses of welcome should not be placed in expensive envelopes. In particular gold and silver should be treated as well as of course any form of Jewels or precious stones. Beauty and artistic excellence do not depend upon expensive metals and stones.

"Mahatma Gandhi was against the practice of giving expensive addresses. At one time this is to be avoided but, more specially at the present moment when there is the utmost need for economy such extravagance is not only avoided but, but rather to be rejected."

I should also like to add that the practice of presenting such addresses by public organisations to Governmental Governmental services and is not a valid state procedure to follow.

"I am sure that Provincial Governments and Municipalities will be good enough to follow the advice laid down above and to advise their officers accordingly."

—P. T. I.

This is whatever so far as it goes. I do not know why the rule should not be made obligatory upon all holders of public office.

But it raises a most pertinent question. What is the proper place of precious metals like gold and silver and stones like diamonds and rubies in life? Silver is somewhat used in everyday life in the shape of ornamental etc. It is also used though less as nowadays for coins. So it is subjected to some wear and tear and risk of being lost in daily use like any other article of consumption. Gold is less so. A few articles

of gold are used by upper middle and wealthy classes in their daily life, in the shape of ornaments, watches, etc. As money it has become almost rare. Generally it has to be kept carefully concealed and taken out for display only on festive occasions. A little can be used for medicine, which is perhaps the only complete and irreversible consumption of the metal. Pearls and valuable stones like diamonds, rubies, etc. are of much less ordinary and effective use than gold. They are recovered from deep mines and seas and have to be generally assigned to the depths of strong vaults and can be used only for display under proper safeguards. A very small number of very inferior type and size may be used in delicate machinery like watches etc.

Nevertheless these precious objects have attracted men from times immemorial and he has always liked to invest his savings in purchasing them. They have also provided an interesting field for men to develop his artistic faculties. An additional reason for their preference is that they do not rust and get worn by inclement weather or by being buried in earth. And so though they do not fetch any interest or regular income and are dead capital commercially, even the most business-minded industrialist goes in for these things to a degree proportionate to his income. Indeed, they are a part of barometer of his wealth. And though he might ridicule the ideas for investing his savings in silver (and gold ornaments instead of in his companies and banks) he himself is not altogether innocent of that tendency. Indeed he also thinks that in a period of crisis these metals and stones might enable him to get cash and save him from poverty and so, to a certain extent, they are better than stocks shares, promissory notes and even banks and houses. There are even better than loans, money policies. He can run away to any other country more safely with these than with other forms of property.

It is for this reason that essentially three substances which have little land or other necessary value are still regarded most valuable possessions, and ultimately, get into the hands of those very countries and people who are most commercially minded. Thus for several centuries India was a hoarder of trade and was also the greatest store-house of wealth. When Britain controlled the destiny of India and also controlled all others in trade, she took good care to see that India's gold and silver reserves were kept in England and not here U. S. A., I believe, is the greatest store-house of gold (and silver) now. The best place of storing them are State (and to a limited extent, private) treasuries with occasional display for the benefit of the public on the presence of stock, large dignitaries, businessmen, ladies, bridegrooms and dandies.

These three metals and stones are a part of reserved capital or better gold "cash in hand". They bear no interest and can be made use of

only by changing them into currency of a smaller denomination. They are like currency notes or cheques of large amounts.

But as articles of consumption, they have a display value, and to a large extent only that. Display is childish, if not foolish, but the needness for it sticks as to man, for few men, if at all, entirely cease to be children, whatever their age. Even private societies and games have to put them on. So since these things must stay in the world, and have a value on account of their keeping qualities, men should be allowed to handle them at times for the gratification of their own vanity, and for providing food to the eyes of spectators fond of them.

The State should be their central store-house and as a single repository the largest one. That does not mean that the amount of these metals and stones possessed by the State should be larger than the total amount possessed by the people. So they should be judiciously distributed among the people through sale. But their constant return to the State should always be encouraged.

Consequently if it pleases people's sense of appreciation, museum art and, if you like, vanity in possessing valuable objects and jewellery to officers of State—whether in regular services or elective posts—that sense may be allowed to be gratified on condition that all these presents immediately become State property. Government might either immediately auction them or sell them by, and by to the people in the very form in which they have been presented or in a converted form, or melt them into buttons or keep them for display to museum as an ornamental ornaments as it might deem best. What should not be allowed is the claim of the recipient to a personal and proprietary interest in the presents. Just as the payment of a bribe to a public servant has been not recognized as conferring no personal ownership on the recipient so too should be the presentation of jewellery. If the present is made to a public working outside Government, it should be converted into money and the money treated in the same way as bribe for public use.

Varanasi 22-11-49. K. C. BHAKTAVATSALA

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THE POWER OF PRAYER

44 the Scriptures have had importance on Prayer. It is the medium for the Divine Grace to descend and transform the individual. Can Divine Grace descend into the hatred-and-warfare world? Yes, it can, provided the approach is pure and steady. God Himself being Peace and Truth, the resolution of the two qualities completes the process of attaining God-head. The resolution to attain Him must come from Him and Him alone, and this is the test for each individual. man seeking Unity with God must seek unity with every being. Prayer alone can achieve this. The function of Prayer is to lead the devotee 'from the Unseen to the Seen—from Darkness to Light—from Death to Immortality.' Loughfow said: 'Judge not the Lord by visible signs, but Trust Him for His Grace.'

No nation or community worth the name exists in this world which does not offer some kind of prayer to the Divine Father, be He called by the name Lord, Jehovah, Allah, Narayana, Vishnu, Shri Krishna or Deus. Prayer is the first breath of Life Divine. It is the pulse of the struggling soul and its result is a quiet mind of unswerving thoughts. Prayer is the greatest solace of the afflicted and the suffering.

It is this special power of offering prayer and holding communion with the Lord as well as the power of knowing that distinguishes human from the rest of the creation. Prayer may be offered with various objects and all forms of prayer are efficacious when offered by sincere and persistent hearts. Every person feels himself more elevated and purified after offering prayer than before it. Man in his Evolution has to pass through various stages of existence, attaining more and more spiritual upliftment and ever developing the divinity in him to higher and higher degree of perfection.

From Time immemorial we are enjoined to conduct congregational prayers, to meet and talk together for offering a common prayer to the Almighty with a common end and aim. Prayer enables the devotee to stand as firm as a rock in face of greatest temptations and trials. Christ bore the crucifixion with forgiveness and prayer is a great example. It also protects him miraculously from danger, if the devotee looks to Him alone as his sole refuge. Thus, in the Mahabharata Dronapadi, when she was being strangled naked in the open assembly, three herself enquiry one the hands of God, and in the wicked Kauravas could not do it, however much they tried to molest her. Again the immortal Prishada son of King Bhishmashrunga, by his strong faith in God stood firm against the most cruel tortures. He never yielded, be it a snake pit, or deep waters, or a hard down from a mountain peak. This is surely the power of prayer.

In recent times we had a galaxy of saints, who have performed miracles by the power of

their ardent prayer; and in our own times, Mahatma Gandhi's very largely demonstrated the power of prayer. He not only stood unbent against personal danger but also brought about peace and friendliness where there was killing and hatred just a few days before. Was not the Almighty answered Gandhi's prayer and delivered another India from bondage? The power of prayer is infinite and unsearchable, unnameable, and it must be left to be known and it is the song of breath. The power of prayer alone would save mankind, save nations from war and its ghastly aftermath. It only can change the hearts of men everywhere, make nations come together without fear, suspicion or jealousy, and understand that all of them are children of God, whatever their race, colour, sex or country. No nation is superior and particularly nearer to God, and that peoples of the world are essentially one and the same, that all should love and respect one another, work together, live together and attain the common good together. By prayer and its power alone can the evils and the contradictory problems of the world today be solved, and no power other than this, no intelligence or invention of man, can save the world. The knowing of all the atomic secrets will not solve the riddles of this world but the supreme power of prayer can establish Universal Brotherhood of Man, bring about harmony in human society and establish the Kingdom of God upon the Earth, making it like Heaven. Thus alone man's task will be fulfilled and his mission in life made complete.

W. PARHASTACHANDRA

QUESTION BOX

Dairy-milk and Constructive Workers

Q. In the context of the present economic programme of the Government, can there be any large-scale development of khadi?

A. The Government is like milk from a dairy, that is neither too good nor too bad with from a single cow, if the animal is of a high class breed, is superior in, and, if it is of a lower class inferior to that of a dairy. Democracy is like dairy milk, while monarchy is like a single cow's milk. A democratic government is representative of the sum-total of its people's development.

Hence, those who have thought about khadi and have worked for it have to demonstrate that khadi can become universal. Then the Government will take it up. The Government cannot close down the mills today and think of popularising khadi, because public opinion is not in favour of it. In your province, the Prakasham Ministry drew up a scheme to curtail the mills and give encouragement to khadi, but the majority fell. There might have been other reasons for its fall, but this was also one of the reasons. This shows that public opinion in Madras was not favourable.

In Malabar even cotton does not grow and, therefore, only five or ten thousand out of the one crore of Malabarians can wear khadi out of the yarn that is being spun here now. If the government declares tomorrow that the people in South Malabar should wear only khadi and mill-cloth will not be made available to them, then the people would revolt and protest that the government was going wrong. Therefore, we must create a favourable public opinion. If the people demand, the government will certainly do it. I do not think that Pandit Jankarilal's government does not want khadi. Shri Rajagopalan has hinted about khadi work, and perhaps he spins even to this day. I know that he is sorry that people do not spin and do not wear khadi but he cannot immediately stop the mills and make the country khadi-clad. What I wish to urge upon you is that even a good reform cannot be forced on the people. Therefore, it is our duty to create public opinion favourable to it.

Your government has passed the Prohibition Act, but you do not carry on any propaganda for its success. If that intolerance continues, prohibition may fail. The government is incurring a heavy loss on its account, with the result that the Central Government has instructed the Madras Government to go slow with this scheme. The explanation is that if the Madras Government experienced financial difficulties, the Centre would not come to its help. Even then the Madras Government has brought about complete prohibition within three years. But we do not show now the same enthusiasm for this programme as we did before, when we were fighting the British rule. Then we used to evince much enthusiasm and say, 'This government rules by making the people drink'. But Gandhiji wanted prohibition not for making a political stunt out of it but for raising the moral level of the country. In his view, it was a moral movement. That is why in the Gandhigram Part, though Salt Satyagraha was withdrawn, the right of peacefully picketing liquor shops was insisted upon.

I wish to ask you why we do not now conduct a propaganda against drink. The reason is that after the attainment of independence, our enthusiasm has waned. We have begun to feel that the period of work is over, now it is time for enjoyment.

Let me give another example. The Madras Government has passed the Temple Entry Act. There is also a law that hotels should admit the Harijans. But I know that there are many villages where the Harijans are unable to enter the temples or hotels. If they do so, they are socially boycotted. If we do not propagate against untouchability and convert the minds of these people, what more help can the government render after passing appropriate laws? It cannot convert people's minds. I must say that if this state of affairs continues and our official

and voters vote as they are, it might well happen at the next elections that a new government might repeal the Temple Entry Act.

Take the case of the Central Provinces. The government there banned the polishing of rice but the people have resorted to polishing it at home. What can the government do to them? Well may I say that instead of polishing the rice in every house, it is better that it is polished in mills. Really it is the duty of C P workers to go to each and every house and propagate for unpolished rice. If workers do so, they would help the government and their struggle would be enhanced. Then the government also will regard our words seriously. If today we ask the government, it will say, 'We banned the polishing of rice, and passed Prohibition and Temple Entry Acts, but you have not done anything to propagate these reforms, how then can we rely on you to propagate khadi?'

I do not mean to say that all that the government does today is good. But I can say that we have not the best of our men in the government. As the machinery is old, they are unable to do all good things they want to. Even then, if we co-operate with the government in the good work that is being done, both the government and ourselves together can achieve much.

Constructive Work and Power

Q Why does not the government utilise the services of the constructive workers in spreading the constructive programme?

A The respective spheres of work of the officials and the constructive workers are different from each other. If the government appoints you in the place of officials, your moral power will be lowered. Moreover, in all your original places some other workers will have to be found. What workers can do officials cannot, and what the officials can we cannot do. Our government can help us in our work, but to conduct propaganda and create public opinion is our duty. Thus we do not do, but simply go on criticising the government. Again, government appoints officials on certain posts. If we wish to appoint a worker to take the place of a Collector, he must be one capable of doing Collector's job. After all, what can officials do? If we believe that we can do social service and create public opinion by entering places of power, it is nearly an illusion.

VINAYA

At the Village Workers' Camp
in Kalapatti,
Palghat, South Malabar
(Translated from Hindi)

GLEANINGS

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by Man

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NOTES

Please Note

The *Marjan* often publishes letters, appeals, etc. of a few approved institutions. Their addresses are always given therein. So correspondents should address their communications directly to them. Remittances should also be sent to them. If they are addressed to the Marjawan or Marjan office immediately, or to me at Wariba, it leads to misplacement of work, waste of time and energy, delay, possible misplacement or loss of letters, unnecessary burden on registering and accounting clerks and peons and their sub-bosses, additional work to postmen, also extra postal and stationery expenses. All times I receive letters meant for another institution. They are forwarded to the latter. If they are not replied to by it, the correspondents write to me again complaining want of reply! How can I help it? The correspondents should also remember that I and some of our institutions do not have any regular means to do delivery work, and so members of the writing staff have to be entrusted with this work. This can be done only in the case of their regular work.

We complain and often invent excuses of delays of red tape and cost of administration, but we realize how we ourselves contribute to both by multiplying work.

Students and Census

Shri R. Subraman of the Hindustani Talim Sangh writes:

The time is approaching when preparations will be made for taking the census of our country in the villages, the pupils and teachers may be able to give an useful service. In certain cases elaborate arrangements will be necessary as all High Schools in the locality have to be coordinated. The Union city students and teachers may be entrusted with the task of collecting all statistical data and possibly supervising the census operations. This will be real social studies and will make our rising generation better educated. This work cannot be achieved by any amount of lectures, textbooks or teaching. I am now considering about the economy in which is more to come — as it will attract the attention from the field of pure education to economic and finance."

I believe it is usual to send school teachers in census work. Here it is made for its educative value, and with a view to motivate pupils in it. Such practical outdoor work will be of greater help than studies within the four walls of a class-room, in understanding social sciences and in developing a social outlook in the younger generation. Of course, responsible work relating to the census will have to be done by elderly people, but even children might be able to render some assistance, if properly organized. The economical aspect is not unworthy of consideration.

Wariba, 6/12/49

R. G. M.

"Above All Nations — Man"

On August 22nd and 23rd, 1945, the first two Jōshō bombs were released over Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the Japanese war-lords surrendered. The most amazing thing is the reaction of the survivors of these awful crimes. Led first by the Mayor of Hiroshima and followed by the Mayor of Nagasaki, the survivors of these sinister crimes have dedicated their cities to world peace, and with great magnanimity and charity they have forgiven and then put to shame the war criminals of the victorious countries and declared that they would make their suffering a sacrifice for world peace and understanding. The public park in Hiroshima has been set aside for world peace centre. Each year "no more war demonstrations" have been held since in 1948 the common people of the world have begun to unite with those of Japan.

The Mayor of Hiroshima writes:

"After eleven days of that great tragedy in 1945 when the new age started, energy was first released here this world, we people of Hiroshima have been deliberating on how we are to devote ourselves to preventing future wars. We have been doing all that is in our power to reach this end.

"On May this year our national Day as in this nation, unanimously passed the proclamation for not taking to the destruction in the post-war-morning city of Hiroshima, and on July 7th when the anniversary was held here on the 10th, it was again unanimously approved by an overwhelming majority of the citizens thus creating it to be proclaimed on the very day of our peace festival. It is thus with utmost vigour that we are fully ready to apply our constant effort to the creation of the city of Hiroshima as the symbol of world peace period both in material as well as spiritual aspect."

World Peace Day was observed in 35 countries. Perhaps the most dramatic ceremony was in Berlin, where, after an open-air meeting in the public park, a large brass bowl was unveiled to bear the inscription "Above all nations — Man". An eternal peace flame was kindled in the bowl, which the city of Berlin will keep burning.

(The War Resister, No 56)

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TWO ANNAS

SUGAR SHORTAGE

There is intense dissatisfaction among the people on account of sugar shortage. Why have you remained silent on it? Please publish the people's expressions of their views."

If the expression of my views will pacify the people and sweeten their tea cups, I would do so a hundred times. My view is that in the meantime present, the people must put up with their lot with patience. Grumbling will not help. Even sugar will lose its sweetness if it is taken grumblingly. If possible, let us sweeten our cups with a little honeycom while sugar is not available. Let us hope that we shall have it in sufficient quantity in a few months.

Think of the future. Think how we can escape from the intrigues or machinations of sugar tycoons, wherever they are, i.e. manufacturers, wholesale retailers, petty purchasers, or ministers and Government officers.

This can be done in two ways, by creating on a co-operative basis and on the spirit of non-profit-making, small scale per and sugar factories in every district, leaving no distribution to the district only. Prevent the sugar and per, wherever practicable from palm trees, instead of sugarcane.

Another way suggested by a friend is to create an all-India organisation of the type of a charitable society working as trustee for the workers and the people with a staff taking only moderate remuneration—to take over or found such sugar factories as have to be worked as a large-scale industry. His argument is that in the ideal of Servadaya is to persuade every owner of property or business to hold it as a trustee for the people, the proper way to do it is to organise such work through associations registered as charitable societies. Not a penny should be distributed as dividend or commission. It should be spent for the people or for further development of the industry, or for the benefit of the cultivators and labourers concerned. This is on the model of the Charitra Singh conception. This suggestion deserves to be considered. But it can be done only by influential leaders. The first is what men of ordinary classes can work out if they will in their small spheres.

Wardha, 21-12-33

E. C. MARSHWALLA

WHAT SHALL THE PEOPLE DO?

The President of a Town Congress Committee writes:

"I read that Pyarelal's article, our last previous issue, in the edition of 19-12-33. The article given in the preceding paragraph of this article is good. I try to follow this myself as far as possible and advise others also to do so. But, reacting to indignation in Government officers making things worse, while sugar and other commodities are not, has suggested in the last paragraph that "it ought to be checked within twenty-four hours if local people were also and more of the sugar has to be organised means to take the necessary steps. It is my own idea which that the suggestion contained above is a practical one even sugar authorities like the top Congress leaders who held the reins of Government in their hands, do not pay heed to such complaints. I thought through that Pyarelal in the beginning and used to make like suggestions to other people. They accepted them and made complaints in writing to the authorities. But the suggestion is that almost all the Government officials are bound up with these suggestions in an organized manner and were in progress to begin to accept. The result is that people who want to help the Government have to hang down their heads while others' hands and feet and people have all interest in making suggestions and become silent with deep-judgment and frustration.

"I had been after a day since November 1933. After several meetings in the Chief Commissioner, he called me for an interview in May 1934. He listened to me patiently for about half an hour, and assured me that he had understood the matter completely and promised to investigate into it promptly. After this, he had been written to a number of times but with no result, according to information received from another official high functionary who believed in their independence and therefore they made such suggestions. I wrote to the then Mr. P. M. K. Sharma, the Deputy Prime Minister of Rajasthan, passed by P. M. K. Sharma, who wrote but only the Prime Minister's Secretary replied that the matter had been referred to the Chief Commissioner for necessary action. But even so nothing happened was received from the office.

"After such conditions you cannot expect any action to leave the next week, and later in the work of purifying the administration in a spirit of service, it is like in our other towns officers individually.

Therefore I have no courage left in the matter to complete in the collection of an advisory scheme to do so and I feel that the expression of my view has been similar to mine. The fact is that within the administrative machinery is pushed on as long as the top Congress leaders, who are in power give immediate attention on receipt of such complaints. It is a great mockery to give such action to the people as that Pyarelal does, and it will only add to their frustration.

"But I must live at least partly like a Pariah and almost giving back service to the people, but the Government is not making action in this direction?"

Let it be granted that these complaints are true and that to get things done from Government departments is like breaking one's head against a wall. Let us also grant that there is no leader or organisation, which can intercede on behalf of the people to get their grievances heard. Let it also be granted that the editor of *Hindustan* and Shri Prerimal are good for nothing and can do nothing in the matter. The question then arises, what shall the people do then? Should they sit with folded hands or alternatively, should they rise as a mob? By neither of these methods are the people's problems going to be solved. The administration has got to improve and the people have got to work for it. And the only course left is the path of Truth and Ahimsa, to tread continuously the path of service and self-sacrifice and to remember that ultimately only by Satyagraha can the people make their voice heard.

The writer says "Under such conditions, you cannot expect any citizen to leave his own work and take to the work of purifying the administration in a spirit of service, if he has to run after such officers indefinitely." If he had said every in place of any I would have accepted his statement. But if there is not any citizen who is not prepared to work for the betterment of administration to the extent even of risking his everything in a spirit of service and sacrifice, then it should be taken that the people do not deserve a better administration than what they have. Every reform in a country requires for its achievement life-long efforts of many men of noble spirit. If there is an attack on the country by an enemy, we have to sacrifice many young lives and properties of the people to defend ourselves. Similarly, only if there are people who will consider it their life-mission to fight against evils like poverty, disease, ignorance, misadministration, bribery, corruption, black-marketing, etc. and who will pursue their efforts unswerving, will the people be able to progress towards happiness, peace and prosperity. Witherstone had to spend his lifetime in order to get slavery abolished in England. When Gandhiji was requested by a tailor, named Motilal, to get the customs restrictions removed on Saurashtra, he asked him "Is there anybody who is prepared to sacrifice his everything for this?" He replied "I am one, but I am only an ordinary tailor, who is nobody." But Gandhiji and I. Two are quite enough for my purpose." And Gandhiji took up this question on the weakness of a single cord to stand by him, and succeeded. Now citizens have themselves to become both their Motilal and their Gandhiji. For the cause of the Harijans the lives of Shri Viththal Karsit Shinde, Gandhiji, Thakurabhai and many others have been spent and will have to be spent in the future. In the

case of Shinde Shriji (now) Gandhiji had to give his life and we do not know how many more lives may still have to be sacrificed for this. The moral is that unless people are prepared to give up their lives and devote themselves completely to the task of removing evils in administration from whatever department they have the experience of, the situation will remain as it is. If one out of every thousand persons connected with such affairs will throw himself diligently into this task, and another co-operation from others, every evil can disappear. Otherwise, pertaining to the Congress President and others can avail them nothing, much has complaining to the Editor of *Hindustan*.

Wardha, 12-11-59

K. G. MANDREKAR.

(Translated from Hindi)

LAND ALLOTMENT IN EAST PUNJAB

Facts and figures are now available regarding the "final" land allotment in the East Punjab. They clearly expose the reactionary character of the present Congress regime in this unfortunate province.

During the last two years the sturdy and prosperous peasants of the West Punjab who came to the East Punjab as landless homeless, helpless refugees, have undergone untold sufferings owing to gross maladministration on the part of the Government.

Now, after two years of frustration and waste, the "final" decisions have come, decisions which have totally shocked the patient peasant masses. For they find that while 50 "refugee" landlords are to get 204.9 acres each on an average, 234 lots of poor peasants will get only 1.5 acres each on an average i.e. the highest holdings will be about 300 times larger than the lowest ones.

Here are the complete figures of land allotment.

No. of Candidates	Total Net Allotment (Figures in acres)	Average Net Allotment
50	10,245	204.9
50	12,070	241.4
200	30,550	152.8
440	65,000	147.7
575	85,140	148.2
4,545	1,70,477	41.9
30,000	4,10,977	13.7
71,000	8,65,554	12.2
95,240	9,76,244	10.2
1,24,707	5,60,545	4.5
4,64,000	16,10,000	3.5

These figures clearly show that the whole land allotment policy has been conceived in the interests of a minority of big landlords to the detriment of the masses of poor farmers. The policy is designed not to rehabilitate the peasant masses on an economic basis but to preserve and strengthen the vested interests of the landed aristocracy. The poor peasants have not only been given miserably small and uneconomic holdings but in small fragmented patches at long

refugees from each other and from the areas from which they have been temporarily settled.

Even far from solving the problem of impoverished peasant refugees, it will only aggravate their sufferings. It will be impossible for them to rise out a living from the tiny patches given to them. It will lead to interminable disputes among them about boundaries and water supply. And it will compel them once more to migrate to distant places to earn their food and living.

While there is such loud talk of rural development and revitalization of agriculture, the East Punjab Government has adopted a policy which deliberately makes agricultural holdings more uneconomic than ever before, more fragmented than ever before.

It is clear that the Congress Government is interested neither in the welfare of the refugee peasants nor in the revitalization of agriculture but in maintaining the status quo in land distribution and agriculture in keeping the position of the landed aristocracy intact. Not only have the upper class minority been given the bulk of the available land but also the best land, the irrigated areas, the garden colonies, the lucrative vegetable lands near the towns. It is this minority, viz., on account of blood-relations or political support or pecuniary considerations, occupy a privileged place in the hearts of the majority and therefore in the rehabilitation schemes. It is their interests that govern the policy of the Government, not the interests of the common people of the province.

If a truly democratic government had been in power, having the interests of the people at heart, the rehabilitation policy would have been used as an instrument for bringing about a fundamental transformation of the stagnant rural society of the East Punjab. It is not generally appreciated that the great Punjab calamity of 1947 was also a great historic opportunity to bring about such a transformation. Land could have been redistributed on a just and equitable basis. The problem of land shortage, which was aggravated by partition, could have been met and all the rural refugees easily and quickly settled through the establishment of a province wide network of Government-aided co-operative farms. Thus a peaceful agrarian revolution could have been accomplished in a short time.

But the great opportunity has been wasted. Instead a most reactionary and retrogressive policy is being pursued which would only increase the sufferings of the rural masses and leave agriculture in decay.

But the Congress Government should take a warning from history. Those who attempt to preserve their vested interests at the expense of the people at the present time are only digging their own graves. The militant kingdoms and empires of the world have been swept into oblivion and are even now being swept into ob-

livion by the whirlwinds of peasant discontent. Nothing can stand before the elemental land hunger of the present masses.

There is still time and scope for adopting a revised land policy in East Punjab somewhat on the following lines:

1. That the distribution of land be made on more equitable lines and the Government declare that one acre is the distributable land.
2. That rehabilitation schemes must not only those who were peasant proprietors in the West Punjab but also landless agricultural workers.
3. That the peasants are given an average of fifteen acres each, when the area available is about 35 lakhs cultivated and 45 lakhs uncultivated.
4. That holdings be divided as far as possible where the peasants have already temporarily settled as that is a minimum movement is involved.
5. That the Government accept and declare co-operation as the basic principle of rehabilitation and encourage the establishment of village groups or co-operative farms to which these farmers be allocated land on a just basis.
6. That the integrity of the people coming from same areas in the West Punjab should remain intact by settling them in same areas in the East Punjab so that they may continue to enjoy their old social contacts which is essential for their otherwise hard life.

If the Government does not soon revise its policy and meet the basic needs of the peasant, forces will be released which will vent gas or in right hands. No government can arrest the forces of history.

MULRAJ SINGH (a refugee)

[Note: Perhaps the reason for allotting very large areas to a few is that they had lost also equally or even larger holdings in the West Punjab. But if the policy of status quo is stressed, no reform can be achieved. Land must primarily be held by the person who can cultivate it himself and so a family should hold no more land than it could personally cultivate. They can and should be encouraged to form co-operative societies or partnership holdings and thus create large consolidated holdings. But cultivation through labourers and tenants must not be encouraged. They should be compensated, if necessary and possible, in some manner other than land for their greater losses. As a matter of fact, a great social like a great revolution is recommencing life on a clean slate. No should a holding allowed be so small as to be uneconomic. An acre and a half is, I believe, not considered by any one as economic, not even perhaps 47 acres, the figure above it. It is better that people be encouraged to take to other means of livelihood than cultivate uneconomically except again jointly with others and along with other subsidiary occupations.]

23-12-48

—K. G. W.]

GLIANTING

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HARIJAN

January 1

1934

MESSAGE FROM THE NEYAGRAM HUT

(This following is the text of the broadcast made by the Secretariat on behalf of the World Peace Day by Dr. Gandhi's list at Neyagram on 29th December 1933 on the eve of the commencement of the Harital)

About one hundred Pandits of the world have been meeting in India and discussing in an earnest manner the great problem of establishing peace in the world. They send their greetings and good wishes to the peoples every where. Those who have not come from 24 countries but they do not claim to represent their States or Governments which have their own way of looking at things and solving their problems. The Members of the Conference are ordinary men and women following different traditions in life but seeking for peace — peace which is not merely absence of war but peace positive which is goodwill in action — justice for which they have worked and suffered in their own humble way. Their appeal is to the common men and women of the world to search for the causes which breed war and to remove them. These causes are rooted in the desires and ambitions of individuals and nations, these desires and ambitions conflict with similar desires and ambitions in others. Lasting and fruitful peace can be secured if individuals and nations curb their ambitions and keep them within limits. In modern times achievements of man in the conquest of nature have served only to what that ambition and pour oil on its flames. The world has seen two devastating wars within a generation, each fought with the object of ending wars but succeeding only in leaving a legacy of hate and another war in the making. Mahatma Gandhi sees the futility of trying to end war by war by more deadly armaments and better reorganisation of the peoples. He tries to tackle it at its root by making the individual a fit instrument of peace — simplifying his life, reducing his individual needs, spreading and securing confidence and love all round, far from himself going down to meet to fear him. For creating the atmosphere that will be helpful and beneficial in producing that kind of individual, our lives have to be remodelled. Life is an integrated whole and man cannot achieve peace while living a life which breeds war. Environment undoubtedly influences man but man can alter and change his environment — man in fact creates them, if he is determined and follows the straight and difficult path which is no other than that which has been pointed out to mankind by all sages and prophets in all the great faiths of the world, no other than the one taught by the Hindu sages of old scribes persons

otherwise — non violence is the supreme law and duty — no other than what Christ taught is the great lesson on the Mount. Man has not only to realise and internalise the great principle but to find ways and means to implement it in his everyday life. That can be done by each individual adopting what may be described as one word as simplicity for himself and active goodwill towards others. Simplicity requires and demands greater and greater dependence on oneself and independence of others. Active goodwill can manifest itself in service to others. Individuals constitute nations and run influence their conduct and conduct by their lives, even more than by their words. They can also exert influence on their Governments to change over from a war basis to a peace basis. But to do this effectively they must purify their own lives and simplify their own needs. When we speak about simplifying needs it does not mean reducing ordinary and normal standards of living. It only means that they should not allow themselves to be enslaved and dominated by those material needs but should be in a position and have the strength to control them.

When we think of peace in the world we may not ignore the fact that exploitation of one section of humanity by another is the direct effect of the domination and enslavement of the exploiting section by its ever-increasing need of satisfying its ever-rising standard of living. It is also the direct cause of conflict between individuals and between nations. Exploitation must therefore end in every form — social, political, economic and even religious — and everywhere in Asia, in Africa, in Europe and in America. Education of the individual, which is the most thing in education of the people at large is the art of simplicity and self-dependence, in methods which can enable him to seek happiness within himself and to do without having to exploit others is an essential process in the establishment of peace. Man today possesses knowledge and capacity which can enable him to satisfy all his requirements for a comfortable and contented living. But his resources are being used to an ever increasing extent for destructive purposes. They can be diverted to constructive work, if only every section of humanity can be persuaded to realise that even his own comfort and happiness will increase if it knows how to seek it in reconstruction rather than in exploitation — if it can turn hatred into love, fear into confidence, right into duty and exploitation into service. The appeal and proper therefore of this Conference of the Pandits of the world is to the common men and women of the world in so to shape and mould his or her own individual life so to make it an abode of peace. The appeal to the nations is to utilize the material and moral resources which each possesses for constructive purposes. Let the nations bravely abandon their present preoccupation with instruments of destruction and defence

made use of as a (small) wheel in an every kind of package.

Wardas 21-12-49

S. S. MARSHALL

SPINNING WHEEL IN A HOME FOR THE HOMELESS

The Mahatma Supram Ansh-Ashram at Ahmedabad has been rendering for many years past useful service to orphans and unfortunate women who have fallen a victim to social evils. It provides them with food, clothes, residence, etc. Generally such institutions are run on public charity. The institution could not remain outside the influence of the reawakening which Gandhiji brought about in the masses.

Gandhiji always maintained that a system which enables an individual to get his maintenance without eating any labour on his part, is by itself derogatory to the self-respect of the individual concerned and finally brings about his moral deterioration. He therefore insisted that charitable institutions should run on self-supporting lines and he always considered the *charkha* as a panacea for all the ills of the Indian people for it has the inherent capacity of helping one to become self-supporting.

The lady in charge of the ashrama is a full *Shikharva*. She is doing social service for many years on Gandhian lines. Three years back with the help of a few friends she started the spinning wheel in the ashrama. That women and orphans will be able to support themselves by spinning was brought home to them. As time went on the number of spinners increased. Since the ashrama used to get all its clothing requirements (and cloth) gratis from donors in the beginning, the *Shikharva* woven from the yarn spun by them was sold, and the individual spinners were given remuneration for spinning to enable them to be self-reliant in respect of clothes. If an able-bodied woman, not engaged in studies or some such activity, spun 200 hanks per year she was given six sets of clothes per year (of course, handmade since the ashrama used to get them free of cost). At present there are 20 women who have pledged to be self-sufficient and spin much more than their own requirements, so that they are able to meet their personal miscellaneous expenses also. On average each spins 300 hanks during a year. Some even get as much as Rs. 20 to 30 by way of remuneration from spinning during a period of three months. It may be noted that they spin only during their leisure hours after finishing their domestic duties which include also looking after orphan children.

The following figures show the present state of the spinning activities in the ashrama:

Number of spinners	21 to 30
Yarn produced	24 coils
Yarn spun	11, 220 to 24, 000
Cloth produced	1, 800 sq. yards
Cloth sold	1, 800 sq. yards
Amount realised	Rs. 2, 000-00

During 1949-50 the *Shikharva* of spinners, artists, *Shikharva* artists, net profits of Rs. 1, 200-00. It is used in carrying the spinning activity.

The spinning activity having been firmly established a *Shikharva* weaver was employed with a view to starting weaving and with the aid of the Government, two *Shikharva* are being trained in weaving. This training will enable elderly women to earn honourable and independent livelihood from a cottage industry. It will give them self-confidence and their former helplessness will vanish.

The ashrama took up this year the appeal of Shri Marudhai Gandhi to observe Gandhi Jayanti by organising a spinning programme for eighty-one days. The result was more satisfactory than expected. The figures given below show how such programmes are really useful in a campaign of "More Production".

Number of days	81
Spin hours of spinning	4
Number of spinners	42
Yarn spun	22, 25 to 24, 000
Yarn sold	2, 225
Amount	24

Each spinner spun 70 hanks during 81 days. Each one will get 22 sq. yards of cloth for 24 lbs. of yarn. Along with the cost of making shawls and weaving. Cloth, which is available at Rs. 2 per yard in *Shikharva*, will cost them only 14 annas per yard.

The ashrama boys also contributed to this activity according to their capacity:

Number of days	20
Spinners	19
Yarn spun	24 to 26
Number of hanks	200
Amount	10

Each boy spun 20 hanks, i.e. equivalent of 2 sq. yards of cloth.

The *charkha* has produced the spirit of self-help in other matters also. It has added to the moral strength of the ashrama, along with social and cultural developments. E.g. the male-*Shikharva* and the moral servants of the ashrama have been more than dispensed with. The ladies now do the cooking and other work, by turns. The *Shikharva* of the ashrama informs that the expenses of the ashrama are reduced by about Rs. 2, 000 to 2, 500 per year. This is the economic gain of the *charkha*, but far more important is the moral gain. Physical labour and self-help have purified the entire atmosphere of the ashrama.

The Mahatma Supram Ansh-Ashram has set a good example to other charitable institutions by adopting the spinning wheel. So long as social evils there are unfortunate women from society, such institutions are badly permeable. But if the person in charge of such institutions is inspired by high ideals of social service and puts into practice the constructive programme of Gandhiji, there is hope for moral

uplift of these unfortunate women through honest and honorable way of earning their food. The experiment of the address reveals what potential capacities lie hidden in the spinning wheel.

DELEPHAN S. DEWANI

(Translated from Gujarati)

GUJARATI NAI TALIM CONFERENCE

A Conference of Nai Talim workers of Gujarat was held during the last week of December at Baniya Ashram, Vadodra (Baroda). The resolution passed at the Conference state that national education has led nowhere in terms of satisfaction different from the education given into accepted form. It is now necessary to give a foundation of the full form of the revolution that the following movement will give. Education idea of the spirit of Nai Talim education of Gujarat.

Full Planning of Nai Talim

1. (a) The period of basic education should be extended from seven to nine years. In middle the pupil is to continue with an extra hour/week of the total and theoretical study. In these years, in one year the age to follow the pupil will be 15 with a national degree of self-education. It is also necessary to allow him to work in intellectual and physical form of the work as well as in the hands work.

(b) The full-time education should begin after nine years of this education and is carried on the above 15th. After which there might be a professional and vocational course of two or three years.

(c) Nai Talim institutions and Government are requested to coordinate with in and provide facilities for each part of the specialized courses and the Gujarati Nai Talim Sangh (NATS) is requested to prepare a syllabus for each grade.

Pre-basic Education

As preliminary to and for getting the full benefit of basic education the Conference request that it is essential to popularize pre-basic education of the child from three to seven. This can best be done near about the houses of the children through mothers. Mothers must therefore be trained for the purpose. GSEI is requested to coordinate the responsibilities of the nature of pre-basic education (schooling) carried on by educational institutions of Gujarat and prepare a guide for giving the teachers of such schools a full approach to the work.

Nai Talim in Social Service

2. The basic principles of Nai Talim deserve to be applied in all branches of social service, such as night classes study circles, technical class and village industrial centers health and welfare centers sports and programmes are daily in requested to lay down the fundamental principles applicable to all such activities and should insist all such institutions to accept them.

Preparation for Basic Education

3. The constructive movement that schools which have not been yet converted to basic schools should, by way of preparing ground and atmosphere for basic education undertake activities for lowering barriers of class bias, superstitions, law, caste, and class, playing love for truth and not mind freedom to work for production of knowledge of life work in itself, regularize, etc.

Study of English during the Basic period

4. The common experience of all Westernized teachers is that the students of an English speaking school in the same village consider a local school as a great obstacle in the way of the river. Parents become isolated and get drawn to the English school out of their fear. The local school is thus almost neglected at an age when the work of first four years should begin

in their educational journey. The Government of Gujarat is to be requested to lay down the following:

(a) The Government of Gujarat should lay down the syllabus of the English language in the basic period of the study. The Government should lay down the syllabus of the English language in the basic period of the study. The Government should lay down the syllabus of the English language in the basic period of the study.

The Government of Gujarat should lay down the syllabus of the English language in the basic period of the study. The Government of Gujarat should lay down the syllabus of the English language in the basic period of the study. The Government of Gujarat should lay down the syllabus of the English language in the basic period of the study.

The Aim of Self-supporting Schools

5. The matter of Nai Talim (Gandhi) and self-supporting schools is the last of the movement of the Nai Talim school. This is needed both for giving the pupils self-education and also for the organization of primary education throughout the country. Institutions, supported with GSEI believe that their experience with them to help the a nine years basic school will give much more leading to the pupil to be self-supporting and the total production of the whole school will be a Talim to do the service of the learning world.

The Conference strongly advise all Nai Talim schools to be in the line of realizing the ideal of self-supporting schools.

The spreading of pre-beds

6. While the Conference believe that the purpose of preparing in schools is to make them self-supporting, as a preliminary to this the pre-beds should first be applied to meet the primary education of the pupil. Also it is to produce the necessary atmosphere for the ideal of self-education in schools, the Conference request that every school which has introduced the character should also be itself in the first instance for making the pupils self-education in schools. For the purpose this should be given to the pupil for the use of money and working changes to be done by the school to be supplied himself with necessary clothing and only surplus work should go to the institution. Where the pupils are very poor, even the cost of the books should be utilized in their houses.

The place of Yaka in Nai Talim

7. The experience of GSEI schools leads them to conclude that spinning should be fully taught on the character. The Gandhiji Education Committee (GEC) of Gujarat (Gandhiji) has also expressed the same opinion. After pupils have well prepared in spinning all the schools during the first three years they should be encouraged to start spinning on the last period school house. The Yaka to be used in schools should be those made from basket with a wheel or wheel disc.

Shala-Chakra (School Chakra)

8. The experience led in Nai Talim schools should be such as are made from locally available material, simple and effective. The shala-chakra modelled by the Gandhiji, Yaka, is a simple and cheap wheel which can be made by pupils themselves. The Conference recommend all Nai Talim schools to introduce the pattern and to make further experiments in being satisfied in respect of implements. It recommends the Gujarat Government to introduce the shala-chakra in all its spinning schools.

Examinations

9. The Conference is of firm opinion that the present system of examinations is an evil which should be immediately abolished. Order an examination should only be introduced in Nai Talim schools. They kill the spirit of enterprise, self-reliance, inventiveness, cooperation, service, honesty and other characteristics of self-reliance and make the pupil uninterested and selfish.

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: B. C. KARNATAK



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AMMEDIARAD — SUNDAY, JANUARY 2, 1950

TWO ANNAS

"A PILGRIMAGE FOR PEACE"

Just as the public is aware that after Gandhi's tragic death that *Pyramid* was asked by friends and associates to take up the writing of Gandhi's full-length, authentic biography. An outline of the plan of the book was published in *Harjan* of March. But, for various reasons, the work has not been able to reach that stage in a regular manner till now.

But *Pyramid* utilized the interval to prepare for publication a series of interviews to the full-length biography, particularly bearing on the last years of Gandhi's mission, a *Pilgrimage for Peace* in the last volume of the series. The last one will deal with his "On the Road" mission of peace and reconciliation in Kashmir. The third in the series, Dr. Bhabha Nayyar's story of the twenty-one months' detention in Aghinik Prison with Gandhi. The following are extracts from the *Harjan* to the last volume. — [24]

In giving precedence to these publications I have been led by the consideration that they embody Gandhi's reply to the acute challenge which confronts the world today. They unfold in minute detail the theory and practice of non-violence of the strong, to posterity which especially his last days were devoted. The substance of these volumes will later be incorporated in a condensed form in the full-length biography of Gandhi.

In the autumn of 1948, Gandhi made an extensive tour of the North-West Frontier Province in the company of Khan Sahib Akbar Ghaffar Khan. Never shall I forget the ecstatic satisfaction of the soul which filled him throughout that memorable tour. To witness it was a rare privilege.

I covered the story of that tour in a series of articles in *Harjan* at that time. These talks, as Gandhi used to remark, constitute the most systematic and comprehensive exposition of the theory and technique of non-violence that he ever gave in any place.

Nor is this surprising. In the Frontier Province Gandhi had to expound non-violence to a set of people who not only had no living tradition as background of non-violence for a long time past, but whose entire history for the last two thousand years had run counter to it. Non-violence was not only not an extension of what they had held and practised for a long time past, but it was in many ways its reverse. Gandhi had therefore to begin from scratch and reduce his philosophy to its simplest terms.

*This will be published by the newspaper Publishing House on the line of this month.

so that even a child could understand. In the discourse to the Khadi Khidmatar officers Gandhi has described in minute detail the nature and working of non-violence with an unswerving thorough-going patience and care, and delved deeper and deeper till you come to the pulsating spring of the Godhead electrified in the human heart, from which it gushes forth.

Gandhi's tour of the North-West Frontier Province was undertaken under the shadow of the Munich crisis. That gave to his utterances a distinct international slant, and he did not hesitate to claim for his message a world-wide application to meet the challenge of brute force which the Munich crisis demonstrated.

It has been argued that the weapon of non-violence can be of avail only when the power opposing it is susceptible to moral appeal, but is of no use against a power that has, by the totalitarian technique of suppression and unscrupulous propaganda, rendered itself impervious to world opinion or any other moral influence. For instance, it is pointed out that if the German Jews had resorted to Satyagraha, the Nazi rulers would have thought nothing of mowing them down by machine-gun fire as if they were a herd of diseased cattle and thus putting an end to all trouble and trouble-mongers once and for all.

These friends seem to forget that non-violence does not depend for its working upon the surrender of the tyrant. It is independent of his will. It is self-sustained. For instance, it was not lack of will or confidence in his capacity to annihilate that "dark contemptible superstitious horde" — as Christianity was then known — that stayed Rome's hand when he started burning alive Christian heretics to illuminate the nocturnal garden spots of Rome or throwing them to gladiators and hungry lions in the Colosseum to make a Roman holiday. Enlightened public opinion of his day was wholly on his side. To exterminate Christians like a pest was regarded as a heinous and heinous act of public service. They were regarded as by nature corrupt and steeped in religion, enemies of the State and of true religion. — Nor were the Christians sufficiently numerous or important to employ "embarrassment tactics" successfully. And their persecutors knew it. Had they actually decided upon their extermination, nothing would

have prevented them from it. And yet, they did not, because they could not.

Be baffling as reality, as novel in character and contrary to all that they had all along recognized or were familiar with was this new force that convinced them that they did not know what to do. And before they were aware of it, it had like a hidden heaven penetrated and permeated the entire race. The triumphant smile on the face of the Christian martyr, as he proceeded calmly to the stake to be burnt alive, at first surprised, then catatonic and finally understood and overwhelmed the completeness and serene self-confidence of the proud patrician. The inviolable proof non-existence of the Roman cohorts was not proof against this subtle force. It insinuated itself secretly into the families of the high and the mighty and gained a footing even in the Imperial household.

Coming to our times, ancient testimony as to the superiority of the power of non-violence to physical strength or the winning of the future in nature and primitive society is furnished by that great ancient Prince Kropotkin in his *Mutual Aid as a Factor in Evolution*. Even in wild nature, where there is not any curb or check upon the destructive propensities of the strong, Kropotkin has shown that "the fittest to survive are not the physically strongest nor the swiftest but those who learn to combine so as mutually to support each other."

But, against the sceptic, whilst in an academic way many people would today endorse the declaration embodied in the Atlantic Charter that "on spiritual as well as realistic grounds the transmutation of the use of brute force is inevitable in the long run", the present trend of human evolution as typified in the rise of totalitarian dictatorships is explicit. This argument ignores the phenomenon of dialectical transformations and mutations in nature and history. A close study of natural and historical phenomena shows that when a particular tendency in nature or society has reached its peak, it is very often ripe for a mutation, i.e. transformation into the opposite by a sudden leap.

As the number of people growing under the iron heel of militarism grows, the stage is set for the discovery that if the oppressed masses simply elude the fear of death, it might not be necessary for them to die to regain their freedom. The deadliest the weapons of destruction become, the greater is the chance of humanity's learning to confront them with a power of an altogether different kind against which they cannot prevail. Armaments can but destroy. Yet, total destruction is not what the tyrant seeks, but co-optation, willing or forced, of the victim and this no power of armaments can extract from a people if they have the strength to say "No". The moment, therefore, the people become aware of real force or the power of the spirit, which armaments can neither destroy nor

subdue, the arms will be rendered useless and the wheel of tyranny will fall.

The earliest and perhaps the most brilliant recorded historical instance of the triumph of this power of the spirit is to be found in the encounter on the plain of Taxila between Alexander and the Indian sage Dandamis, who, according to the Greek chronicler, "though old and naked was the only antagonist to whom he (Alexander), the conqueror of many nations, had met his match". The reader would do well to ponder over the inner meaning of that episode, symbolizing as it does the reply of the East to the challenge of the armed might that was hurled at its head 500 years before the Christian Era.

"The East bowed low before the West
In patient deep disdain,
She let the lightning thunder past,
And plunged in thought again."

Today the same challenge is being repeated in an even more accentuated form and more more people's thoughts are beginning to revert to that weapon and source of inexhaustible power which is India's peculiar heritage from the past and promise to be her special contribution to the world's future progress. Humanity is in the grip of the atomic nightmare. What is the nature of the power which Gandhi had set out to discover and present to the world? How can it be developed in the individual and in the mass? What is the type of organization needed for it? How does it differ from the other type of organization based on violence? How is a non-violent attitude to be related to the world around us which not only does not swear by unadorned ahimsa but actually believes and practices largely its opposite? These and other equally vital questions confronting a votary of ahimsa will be found posed and answered in these pages in Gandhi's own words.

But whilst ahimsa on an individual scale is independent of one's environment and can be practiced anywhere and everywhere, a non-violent order calls for a particular type of socio-economic milieu. What will the mind and face of a society based on non-violence be like? A few glimpses of this world order in miniature based on ahimsa will be found in the two articles on Taxila. It is an enchanting world—that once existed in actuality—a world of Arminian simplicity, individual freedom and natural living, honest, healthy industry and loved labour, a world in which there was the sweet law but a highly developed social system, a world in which war was abolished and violence in its broadest sense outlawed, response in the political or less than in the religious sphere. And all this achievement sprang forth from the seed of non-violence. Now Gandhi and Baldev Khan endeavoured again to plant it in the hearts of the Afghani *Shahzad* of the North-West Frontier Province will be found described in the following pages. Let the reader

ponder over the inner meaning and significance of this experiment and decide for himself whether it is not worth living for and dying for.

THE DEFENCE POLICY OF FINLAND

[The following is from Aatos Ruuska, one of the secretaries of the International Fellowship of Reconciled Nations. Both he and Mr. Kallio, whom he speaks, are druggists at the World Health Office.]

The train stopped some two hours before we were due to reach the capital, and some Finnish policemen, under the charge of a single Russian soldier, fastened bullet-proof shutters to every carriage window and sealed all openings. A Russian engine, bearing the Sovietist star, took the place of the Finnish one we had had. For an hour we travelled on in complete darkness; no one in Finland has any idea of what is going on in the Occupied Zone. The entire population has been evacuated.

Twenty kilometers before Helsinki, the Finns delivered us. Of the Russians who had conveyed us through the forbidden zone, not a trace remained. And so it is that Russia's 180 millions weigh on the four million Finns, although nothing is seen of it. At Helsinki freedom reigns. The papers publish what they like. It is to it that this little country can live so calmly, and not be awed still in this atmosphere of terrible threat and mystery.*

The day following my arrival, Mr. Kallio, the Minister of National Defence, sent his car to fetch me from the Quaker Centre where I was staying. The mention of the possibility of a Pact with Russia roused Mr. Kallio. He got up, his white hair standing on end in protest. "I accepted," he said. "The office of Minister of National Defence because I am an anti-communist of such long standing that my holding the post was proof of the nation's will to peace. It has ordered too deeply to go to war again. It will not go to war, indeed it cannot go to war. But my own will to peace is so strong that I will never — you hear me, never — sign a pact that might involve us in fighting against any other nation whatever. Eighty per cent of our members of Parliament are of the same opinion. We are united, and the Russians know it. We would sooner refuse to sign anything at all, and accept the terrible consequences of a Russian occupation than help by a military alliance to contribute to the danger of a conflict between East and West."

My feelings were more and more stirred as it dawned on me that this man standing before me was a great man, indeed a very great man. Here was a Minister of National Defence who refused out and out to have anything to do with armaments — a conventional objector on whom lay the responsibility of defending his country by other means than the use of force.

(The War Resister, No. 30)

SUGGESTIONS FOR SATYAGATA MELA

It was decided to hold melas at all places where Gandhi's ashes were scattered. Such melas were held throughout India on the 15th February this year (1949) and will continue to be held every year. A mela was held on the banks of the Ghaghra river also, but it did not appear to have been previously expected. It was, of course, attended by a large number of people from the nearby villages and also adjoining districts. I do not know who made arrangements for this particular function, but as it is a Satyagraha mela, it should be organised on behalf of all. It is not desirable to restrict it to any single section or group. The best thing would be to attract it to those who believe in the constructive programme. Perhaps also expect it to be so. This applies to every one of its kind throughout India.

One special feature of the melas here, which I liked most, was that the people brought baskets of jasmine petals to their offering. I heard later that many more would have done likewise if only they had known it. From this and other delicate arrangements, it would appear that there was not sufficient publicity of the programme of celebration. Even the last speakers finished their job not well and the people could not hear well. This is only by way of illustration. While I wish to say that the idea of offering baskets to commemorate me, it should be organised properly. Those who offered baskets did give an appropriate number, but in my opinion each one should offer only one basket. It is not wrong to give or accept more. But one basket each is enough for the occasion. If one goes more to see me the petals for himself or someone it especially so the Ghaghra branch, which will make it for the poor. But if each one gives one basket, it will also be possible to find out how many brought the offerings. I would like to see many people do, not go to attend the mela. Though personally pilgrimages do not interest me much I make this suggestion in the hope that by tomorrow like this, it will be possible to place before the country a different and better conception of what pilgrimages ought to be like. This is also likely to give an impetus to the return and revivification of other pilgrimages which have become more or less like bazaars. The workers should go from village to village and explain to the people the idea of offering baskets. If this succeeds, a good conception will gain root and sweep about of India will be inspired to offer something or other for the sake of the country. It seems all time it may happen that some will go there without a basket of petals. I am not suggesting that some can go without a basket, but when it becomes a convention, people would like to observe it.

Through this offering of baskets the idea of sacrifice through work would be spread and people would develop a truly spiritual outlook. But as I do not favour the offer of more than one basket, I should also discourage money-contributions. The idea is restricting the offerings to one basket is to give expression to the idea of equal regard and at the same time to encourage whole self-sacrifice. It would encourage the idea that what we produce by our own labour is the best offering and this kind of spiritual offerings would give dignity to physical labour (instead of its money). Otherwise such places would become centres of greedy people and this would defeat all. We would be saved from all these evils if we do not accept money.

Mishkhatpur, Wardha, 9-15-48. VIJAYRA.
(Reprinted from the *Satyagraha*, November, 1949)

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HARIJAN

January 2

1950

THE ESSENTIALS OF PLACE*

My friends in the same faith,

On behalf of my brothers and sisters here, I welcome you all with love and respect. Let me first greet you humbly and with devoted feelings, because to me you are the manifestations of God. I do not know you personally, but I know that you are all doing God's work. You have come here from distant corners of the world, and while by treading this soil you have sanctified us, you have also increased our responsibilities. But it is by your help alone that the burden can be lightened.

The power that drew you here has ceased to exist today in physical form, but it is my daily experience that in its subtle form, it is present here even more than before. Had Raju been alive, he would have offered you the nuclear of his spiritual thoughts. It is not given to us to offer you that. But you can see the little work we are doing here. The defects that you may discover—and they are many—are all ours; and if you see any good therein, take it that it springs from the immortal sector of his thoughts.

Weapons of Ahimsa

Ahimsa is not merely non-participation in destructive activities; it principally manifests itself in constructive activities—services which lead to the upward growth of man. People say that the Goddess of ahimsa has no weapons, I say that that is wrong. The Goddess of ahimsa has very powerful weapons at her command. They are the weapons of Love and are, therefore, creative and not destructive. Yet they do destroy; they destroy hatred, inequality, hunger and disease. It is true, however, that the weapons of ahimsa look small in size and slow in action.

People say that these small tools of ours will not work in this machine age. But we gave them a trial and found by experience that they do work even in the machine age. We plied the spinning wheel and the hand-mill and we found that in spite of the machine age, the wheel gave us the yarn and the hand-mill the flour. Then we went on with the experiment further and you can see some of the results. With charkas in the house, we have made an effort to discipline ourselves in ahimsa. This has helped us to purify our lives. Along with this it has been our desire to serve the unhappy to the extent of our capacity. I request you to see this work with sympathy along with the kindness of an on-looker.

*Opening address read at the World Peaceful Meeting at Bangalore on 28/12/49.

Our main shortcoming is that we have not yet been able to fully identify ourselves with the poor around us. As far as I can see, this is not possible so long as we do not give up our dependence on money and do not rely completely on body labour. We do perform a certain amount of body labour, but it is not enough. We should pledge ourselves to earn our bread through body labour alone, and free ourselves from dependence on money. Without this ahimsa can never manifest itself as a great Power. I believe in the very letter what Jesus Christ said (and would paraphrase it thus): "It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for the rich (one attached to money) to enter Heaven (i.e. realise ahimsa)", however much he may protest it by mouth. My mind is working on these lines these days. I am trying to think out how we may put this principle into immediate practice. I am trying to persuade my friends to leave money alone and set going with production. It is yet to be seen how far I shall succeed in this.

War and Peace

Now let me briefly place before you what I think about World Peace. The whole world today is thinking of a third World War and if we continue to think about it constantly, it may as well come about. But I am not afraid of World Wars. I am rather afraid of small wars and quarrels. To me a World War appears to come very close to non-violence. I always say to friends, who believe in violence, 'If by reason of your faith (in violence), you cannot take the vow of non-violence, do not bother about it. But at least take this vow that if you fight at all, you will fight World Wars, and that you will on no account fight small wars or busy yourselves with petty quarrels.' I have even said that World Wars are divine. When we do not understand what is right straightaway, the all-mighty God sends World Wars to stimulate our thinking, and to make us draw speedily towards ahimsa. World War does make us rid of limitations which make him think in narrow grooves and impels him to think in terms of humanity as a whole. This is a big step forward towards ahimsa. But this is not true of small wars. They are the worst enemies of ahimsa and all the time push ahimsa further and further away. We therefore ought to be on our guard against them. Those who believe in violence are not aware of this. Their effort, therefore, is to prevent World Wars as far as possible and to go on with small wars.

Once we realise that ahimsa has mainly to fear from local and small wars, our task becomes easy and we get the right direction. That sets us to the service of the people around us and we endeavour to see that there is no discord within our field of service. Then we turn our eyes inward, and realise the need for the purification of our minds. This leads us to the right solution of our problems. But if our minds always dwell

on the bogey of World Wars we do not get down to the root of the matter, but become involved in superficial thinking and external organisations only.

Organisation of Peace Army

This leads me to my views about organisation. I referred to it in my letter to the Shantiniketan mission. Very often we think of ahimsa, but do so in terms of *himat*. To a certain extent, this is unavoidable. None the less, use of wrong words leads us astray. For instance, we speak of an army of peace. We think that we should maintain a standing army of peace so that it could be detailed immediately to offer assistance and self-immolation, whenever there was a breach of peace in any part of the world. But here is a point that needs thought. The farther you send an army of violence the better for it; for, its duty is to hate. Therefore, the less it knows its opponents or the more false its opinions about them are, the more intense will be its hatred. But in non-violence we have to conquer through Love. Therefore, an army of peace can serve better only in a familiar field. What sort of an army would that be? It will be a band of social workers engaged in producing food by daily manual labour and in serving the afflicted, completely identifying itself with all fellow-beings in a spirit of humility. What should be the weapons of this army? As described by Saint Tolstoy in the *Komogora*, and as Gandhi has laid down in the rules of his ashrams, they are the vows of truth, non-violence, self-control and the like. Call these observations weapons if you will, but it is entirely a different concept.

The light of ahimsa cannot be spread by the external and formal mechanics of organisations. History shows that Jesus came alone and the light that he brought pervaded the world—not through church-institutions or "Christian" governments, but in spite of them. The light inspires us even today. The same is true of Buddha. He was a prince but his message could not be spread by the authority of the State. It spread because he threw his kingdom away like a blade of straw.

After all, what is it that will spread non-violence? It is not the body that can do it, for the body is an embodiment of violence. Ahimsa is assimilated to the extent one rises above one's body. Non-violence is the natural state of the soul. What ahimsa, therefore, needs is the quest of the spirit, the purification of the mind, service of living creatures, love universal and fearlessness. This has become with me such an unshakable conviction that I keep on telling myself in the words of St. Francis: "Do not get entangled in organisations."

We are working here on the idea of *Sarvodaya Samaj* is society for the well-being of all. People ask me about the form of its organisation. I explain to them that it is not an organisation in the usual sense of the term, but an idea. But people do not understand this and they try to

turn it into an organisation. And the hesitation for organisation these days is so strong that unless we carefully guard ourselves against it, the *Sarvodaya Samaj* may not only turn back into an organisation but may even take the shape of a political party, before we are aware of it, and then the inspiration which the name and idea of *Sarvodaya* brings will wither away.

I do not wish to dilate upon these ideas at length. You are all men of experience and have made your own experiments. In all humility I have briefly placed my ideas before you and you will please take whatever you find worthy of consideration.

Vegetarianism

Finally, I would like to mention one special point about India. I believe that India's special contribution to the history of ahimsa is the giving up of animal food. Not that all Indians are vegetarians, but the idea commands the respect of all. I have seen many a cruel person among Indian vegetarians and many a kind one among meat-eaters. In spite of this, I still believe that vegetarians will go a long way to help the evolution of ahimsa and humanity will be imperfect without it.

Nature Cure

The practice of Nature Cure follows in the wake of a natural vegetarian diet. Sage, in his last days, was never tired of singing its praises. It is possible that some will ridicule me for my reference to Nature Cure in a discussion on World Peace. But I cannot leave this subject alone, because it appears to me to be part and parcel of a clean life. And since I am ill these days, it is good that I strengthen my faith in Nature Cure by referring to it here in conclusion. My friends advise me to take some other treatment with a view to speed up the work. I tell them that I am not in a hurry. I do not mind if I just live a few days longer in this world.

The Culture of India

You have come here with great faith in the hope of gaining something from this country. I believe that your hopes will not be belied. "I took upon the world with the eye of friendship, so that the world may also look on me with the same eye." This is the message of the Vedas given to India in very ancient times. In historical times Lord Buddha by his life revealed the same truth in this country. Although we have not yet been able to put it into practice selflessly, still history bears witness that even in its days of power and glory, India hardly ever invaded another country. It came easily to an ordinary Indian village to think of all men as brothers, while the idea of nationalism does not come easily to him. And it is in the villages that real India lives. Even in the worst days of the British Government's oppression in this country, our great national poet was busied engaged in founding a world university at Shantiniketan, 'the Abode of Peace', and singing

songs of Universal Love, and our political leader taught us lessons in abstinence, and strictly forbade the use of violence even for the winning of Freedom. We made many mistakes, but we lived and worked for thirty years within the limitations set by him. It is but natural, therefore, if you should expect something from this country.

The question is: Which direction are we going after the passing away of Gandhi? also, which direction is our Government going? I cannot speak of the future. But as I see things today, I feel consolation that Gandhi's best colleagues, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, leads our country at present. Whichever may be the shortcomings of his Government in internal affairs, its whole weight, as far as international affairs are concerned, is thrown on the side of World Peace and the freedom of all nations.

None the less, our people do feel some darkness after Gandhi's death. Some feel that we have perhaps begun to forget Rupa. The fact is that there, to whom this remark might apply, never cared for Rupa's principles even during his lifetime; but those who had cherished him in their hearts have not forgotten him. Even so, there is darkness and I think that the reason is that we remember Rupa too much. Whenever there is an occasion for some deliberation, our first thought is always: what did Rupa say or do in such a situation? This manner of thinking sometimes throws us into darkness instead of leading us towards light. But this will not go on for long. Gradually we shall begin to think for ourselves about affairs and have courage to make new experiments on our own account. Even if that does not come about, there is no great cause for anxiety, because for God's grace we too shall not live far away. He will take us away and will send others in our place who will think with fresh minds. They will become God's instruments and will carry on the work as dear to His heart, until affairs provide the world.

Therefore, please do cherish hopes about India. It is this hope of yours which makes us weaklings strong; and how can Rupa, which gives strength even to the weak, fail to make the hopeful all the more strong?

My humble salutations to you all again.

Paramahansa, Yernar YERNA
(Prescribed form filled)

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NOTES

A Parable

Shri Vinoba has said in his address published in this issue: "I am not afraid of World Wars. I am rather afraid of small wars and guerrilla." This and the subsequent sentences caused surprise to some members of the audience. A little reflection would show that Shri Vinoba has uttered in his characteristic way a profound truth and drawn attention to a shortcoming in our attempts for preventing another World War. Is it possible to prevent a World War if all along small wars and breaches of peace were continually going on between some countries or peoples in one part of the world or another? We say that there have been two world wars within a generation and there is the danger of a third ahead, and we are told that the atom bomb can prevent it. But let us reflect whether there was peace all over the world—and if so, how long—between the end of the first and the commencement of the second World War. How long did the Sino-Japanese war and the Civil War of China last? How long did Italy, Germany, etc. maintain peace? Whether repression had ever stopped in Imperialistic countries? Is it possible that such strikes should continue and still there should be no danger of a world war breaking out some day? The existence or non-existence of the atom bomb cannot prevent a world war; at best it can only make a difference in its deadline. Whatever be the weapons of war, in order to stop a world war, it is necessary first that there should be no strife and no violence during the interval. If these are prevented, a World War can never come. This is the implication of Shri Vinoba's seemingly paradoxical utterance.

Vinoba, 28-12-38

K.S.K.

Reward

His Excellency Shri Asafli, Governor of Orissa, is pleased to announce a reward of Rs. 1,000 to any one who can plan the best and cheapest labour-saving device which can be useful to farmers in Orissa in any kind of agricultural operation, e.g. land-clearing, ploughing, sowing, weeding, harvesting, threshing, etc. It should be simple and capable of being manufactured from materials easily available in any part of Orissa preferably by local artisans and its repairs should likewise be simple.

Economy, simplicity, easy availability of materials plus efficiency shall be the important criteria in judging the merit of the design.

A Committee of experts will be set up to assess the merit of the design received. The Committee's decision shall be final. The competitors are requested to send their designs with sketches and explanatory notes in sealed covers to the undersigned by the 15th February, 1939. All designs received will be treated as confidential.

Public servants under the Government of Orissa are not deterred from participating in the competition.

Cuttack

B. KISHOREA

Secretary to the Governor

W. C. Ramaswami

In the article *Congress Clarification* (18-12-62), I referred to the late Shri Wyomachandra Bonnerjee as a Christian. I am informed by his granddaughter that this is incorrect. He never changed his religion and remained a Hindu to the end of his life. His wife, Shrimati Hemanguladevi, however, did become a Christian in 1972. I regret the incorrect statement.

Wardha, 26-12-62

K. G. M.

ASHRAM ACTIVITIES

(By K. K. Gandhi)

I

Worship

(1)

A hymn was sung after the shikha. Indeed singing hymns was the only item of the prayers in South Africa. The shikhas were aided in India. Marginal Gandhi was our leader in song. But we felt that that arrangement was unsatisfactory. We should have an expert singer for the purpose, and that singer should be one who would observe the Ashram rules. One such was found in Narayan Manohar Khare a pupil of Pandit Vishva Dhanurkar whom the master kindly sent to the Ashram. Pandit Khare gave us full satisfaction and is now a full member of the Ashram. He made hymns singing interesting, and the Ashram Shayanavali (hymn-book) which is now read by thousands was in the main compiled by him. He introduced *Kamadhya*, the third item of our prayers.

The fourth item is recitation of verses from the Gita. The Gita has for years been an authoritative guide to belief and conduct for the Sayagadha Ashram. It has provided us with a text with which to determine the correctness or otherwise of ideas and courses of conduct in question. Therefore we wished that all Ashramites should understand the meaning of the Gita and if possible commit it to memory. If this had been not possible, we wished that they should at least read the original Sanskrit with correct pronunciation. With this end in view we began to write part of the Gita every day. We would recite a few verses every day and continue the recitation until we had learnt them by heart. From this we proceeded to the purpose. And the recitation is now so arranged that the whole of the Gita is finished in fourteen days, and everybody knows what verses will be recited on any particular day. The first chapter is recited on every alternate Friday, and we shall come to it on Friday next (10th June 1965). The seventh and eighth, the twelfth and thirteenth, the fourteenth and fifteenth, and the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters are recited on the

same day in order to finish 28 chapters in 14 days.*

At the evening prayer we recite the last 18 verses of the second chapter of the Gita as well as sing hymns and repeat *Kamadhya*. These verses describe the characteristics of the *sthyagras* (the man of secure understanding), which a *Satyagrahi* too must acquire, and are recited in order that he may consistently bear them in mind.

Repeating the same thing at prayer from day to day is objected to on the ground that it thus becomes mechanical and tends to be ineffective. It is true that the prayer becomes mechanical. We ourselves are machines, and if we believe God to be our master, we must behave like machines in His hands. If the sun and other heavenly bodies did not work like machines, the universe would come to a standstill. But in behaving like machines, we must not behave like inert matter. We are intelligent beings and must observe rules as such. The point is not whether the contents of the prayer are always the same or differ from day to day. Even if they are full of variety, it is possible that they will become ineffective. The Gayatri verse among Hindus, the confession of faith (Shikha) among Christians, the typical Christian prayer in the Gospels on the Mount have been recited by millions for centuries every day; and yet their power has not diminished but is ever on the increase. It all depends upon the spirit behind the recitation. If an unbeliever or a person repeats these potent words, they will fail quite flat. On the other hand when a believer utters them always, their influence grows from day to day. Our staple food is the same. The wheat-eater will take other things besides wheat, and these additional things may differ from time to time, but the wheat bread will always be there on the dining table. It is the eater's staff of life, and he will never weary of it. If he considers a dislike for it, that is a sign of the approaching dissolution of his body. The same is the case with prayer. Its principal contents must be always the same. If the soul hungers after them, she will not quarrel with the monotony of the prayer but will derive nourishment from it. She will have a sense of deprivation on the day that it has not been possible to offer prayer. She will be more discontent than one who observes a physical fast. Giving up food may now and then be beneficial for the body, indulgence of prayer for the soul is something never heard of.

The fact is that many of us offer prayer without our soul being hungry for it. It is a failure to believe that there is a soul; as we believe that also exists. Such is the sorry plight

* Later on the Gita recitation was divided every seven chapters of every fourteen days, and the chapters were distributed among the days as follows: Friday, 1 and 2; Saturday, 3 and 4; Sunday, 5, 7 and 8; Monday, 9, 16, 21 and 22; Tuesday, 23, 24 and 25; Wednesday, 26 and 27; Thursday 28.

of many among us. Some are intellectually convinced that there is a soul, but they have not grasped that truth with the heart; therefore they do not feel the need for prayer. Many other people believe they live in society and think they must participate in its activities. No wonder they hanker after variety. As a matter of fact however they do not attend prayer. They want to enjoy the music or are merely curious or wish to listen to the sermon. They are not there to be with God.

(Continued from page 1 by T. D. D.)

(To be continued)

HINDU MAHAJANNA AND R. S. S.

Dr. N. S. Khanna, the new President of the Hindu Mahasabha, has obliged the public by clarifying the relationship between the Mahasabha and the R. S. S. I report his words as follows:

"There is no organizational connection between the R. S. S. and the Mahasabha but it seems to me that there is a vital organic connection between the two consisting of identity of thought. Both were based on Hindutva culture."

"What is this identical ideology?" According to Dr. Khanna,

"The Mahasabha stands for a secular or, more correctly, a non-religious nationalism where all people in whatever religion, or community they may belong will be equal before the law and will have equal opportunities."

This does not on the face appear as necessarily conflicting with the makeup of the present Government. But Dr. Khanna himself does not think so. He says

"We believe in Hindutva against the Government though we have some criticism of ideology."

He is also reported to have observed that "The idea of a secular State showed 'a confused and a divided mind'."

But T. D. Navarcar is more explicit. He is reported to have said,

"The idea of a secular State was aimed at a country which was inhabited largely by Hindus and it was their good luck to establish a Hindu nation."

It may be questioned whether the statements of Shri. Mahasabha leaders could be taken as lending to the R. S. S. One must turn, therefore, to the writings of Shri R. S. Golwalkar himself. In his booklet, We or Our Motherland Defined, he says,

"...realizing the nation understanding of 'Hindu' in our present conditions, the definition is necessarily based upon an ideal in the country. Historically, the Hindu race with its Hindu Religion, Hindu Culture and Hindu Language (the sacred Shastri or Veda) formed and has developed the Hindu Nation. That, in fact, in Hindustan today and most parts with the Indian Hindu nation and people after her lies the Hindu Nation. All those not belonging to the national, to Hindu Race, Religion, Culture and Language naturally fall out of the pale of real 'National' life."

"We regard in Hindustan, the land of the Hindus, (and) should have the Hindu Nation—according to the five essential requirements of the

national nation, except of the ordinary world. One especially only these elements are truly 'National' as aim at rebuilding reorganizing and reconstituting from its present decay the Hindu Nation. These are the national parties, who, with the aspiration to glorify the Hindu race and Hindu land in their heart, are prepared like nobody and strive to achieve the goal. All others seeking to be national and thereby indulging in a system of action determined by the Hindu Nation, are traitors and enemies to the National Cause or to take a more charitable view if unconsciously and unwittingly but have made a country more dangerous and unstable (p. 10-11) (pp. 44-45) (last edition)

In the next chapter, Shri Golwalkar poses the question:

"What is to be the life of all Great, rich, India, happy in her own land, though not belonging to the Hindu Race, Religion and Culture?" (p. 46), and answers it as follows:

"...all those who fall outside the Hindu fold of that Hindu race have to place in the national life where they abandon their differences and are gladly merged themselves in the National Race. As long however, as they maintain their race, religious and cultural differences, they cannot but be only foreigners, who may be either friendly or inimical to the Nation." (p. 46).

"There are only two courses open to the foreign elements either to merge themselves in the national race and adopt its culture, or on the other hand to leave the national race. This is the only logical and correct solution."

The last Hindu prophet in Hindustan when Hindu culture the Hindu culture and language must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu culture, must submit to the law, laws of government, of the Hindu race and culture. If they want can they give up their culture of language and organization towards the land and the nation conditions but must also preserve the positive attitude of love and devotion towards—their own work, they must come to be together and may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu nation, sharing nothing, sharing no privileges, for how any permanent treatment—not even of least rights. There is at least should be no other course for them to adopt" (p. 46-47).

Let Congress Hindus decide how far this ideology accords with that of the Congress, and whether the R. S. S. is only a cultural organization unconnected with politics.

Varanasi, 27-12-54

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TWO ANNAS

THREE CIVIC DUTIES*

Love

From time immemorial we have conceived Bharatavarsha as one country. But from the Ashoka days until today there had been no unity, government in this country. Even then Bharat has been one culturally and spiritually. Even in the days of Ashoka, India was not one, because if I remember right, the Pandya in the South remained as a separate sovereign entity. Today India has become politically united for the first time. Ashoka reigned wide and far in this country, but that was only nominal, because the methods of government of those days were different from those of today and therefore effective rule could not be enforced over wide areas as now. Today an order issued from Delhi comes into force throughout the country from the very next day. But in those days, it would have taken many years not to speak of days.

Now that our country has become one, great responsibilities have devolved on us. We need not be afraid of them, but we should be careful about them. The unification of our great country under one government is a great event in the history of the world. Our country is almost a continent—a federation of many states. China is similarly a big country but what is happening there is dreadful. We are not afraid of the spread of Communism, but the civil war going on there is terrible. Similar events are taking place also in Burma after her independence. In India too there were great disturbances after independence. These in fact started before independence and we know to our cost what a great harm they have done. By the mercy of God we were able to overcome them, but we must take a lesson from them.

We are a country of many provincial and sub-provincial distinctions. Therefore the lesson we should take is that in a big country like ours, whatever may be our distinguishing characteristics, whatever it be, we must turn them to our advantage. They can be used so much to our disadvantage as far as our advantage. We can benefit from what is good in the various provinces, languages and castes or we can start

quarrels over such differences. In order to keep united, we must spread goodwill among ourselves. We must love one another as brothers and sisters. Then only can we sing about *Tanhe Maranem*. For that, we must understand the distinction between the body and the soul; then we shall take the inner meaning of things, ignoring the outward differences.

Productive Labour

The next duty for maintaining our country's freedom is that every one must do some productive physical labour. Without that the burden will fall on a few and there will be no peace in the country. We know that our country has been impoverished on account of foreign subjugation during the last 150 or 160 years. We have lost our occupations. Our lands have become exhausted. The area of agricultural land per capita is very little. Unless therefore every one works and produces, there cannot be peace and happiness in the country.

Character

The third duty is the building of character. There is widespread bribery and corruption all around. Black-marketing is of course there, but even the open markets are not honest. We must put right this state of affairs. We must take a vow to keep away from bribery and corruption. Instead of blaming others, we should purify our own lives. We should see that in all circumstances—whether in a town, in another place—our conduct is right. Even if we have to face difficulties in practicing what is right, we should not take to the path of untruth.

You are all *Khad*-workers and wear *Khad*. You should imbibe the purity of *Khad* in your lives. The sweat and the tears are both white. *Khad* weavers must be like the sweat which separates milk from water and not like the tears. The country expects *Khad*-weavers to discriminate between truth and falsehood and pursue the path of truth. If we do so, even though we might be a handful, we will be able to influence the people and the atmosphere will change. It is of course needless to say that strength lies only in truth and not in untruth. A spoonful of curd can convert a basketful of milk into curd, but a basketful of milk cannot turn even a spoonful of curd into milk. Similarly,

* For paper speaks at the *Tanhe Khadi* Festivals on 14-15-16.

if a few develop the strength of character it will have its own effect on others.

In brief, the three things required are love, productive labour and purity of life. If we develop these things, we shall raise India and her rise will help the world to rise high.

VIJAYODA

(Presidential from *Shikhi*)

NOTES

'Save Food' Programmes

In aid of the 'Save Food' programme, our Committee has decided to collect 25,125 interesting 35-3-504 signatures from our Bikaner District of people who will forgo their rice quota for the week in which the Independence Day falls i.e. from 30-1-50 to 30-1-50. These signatures will be presented to the Premier of Bombay. It is estimated that thereby a saving of 217 mounds of rice will be made.

I. A. SHAH

Secretary, Food Committee
Bombay Education Dist. Congress Committee

Kilns and Exports

The following information has been reported in the *Strids of Madani* of 10th November.

The Government of India have accepted the recommendations of the Export Promotion Committee on developing Indian export trade and entrusted the Chief Controller of Exports with this responsibility. A Committee Ministry from New Delhi under

The Government will bring in the matter of the Provincial authorities the construction of the Committee regarding the effect of seasonal, India-relevant stoppage of rail traffic on the export trade in India and other.

It is obvious that this trade policy is immoral and brutal. The importance of export trade is great. But the moral standards should neither be lowered nor transgressed. If the Government, manned by the nation's leaders and headed by Pandit Jyotiraj Mohra, who is doing a great service to world humanity by drawing into their own the message of Mahatma Gandhi accepts un-ethical policies, the people will follow in their footsteps and the leaders' effort in the manner to re-establish morality in their individual, social and national life, will be meaningless and will sound false.

If the Light of Mahatma goes down even in a particular sphere, the entire moral nation also gets darkened.

If it is our objective to bring some material betterment to our country by the means of exports the means we adopt should not be such as to lower and weaken the moral behaviour of the country.

Instead of peeling the skin of some cattle alive, we must and can find out other sources for our export trade.

And what if we cannot do so? It is better to remain poor and to wait than to sacrifice principles.

V. SAKSHIPANDEY

ALL INDIA SPINNING COMPETITION

Competitions in spinning and other allied processes were part of the efforts not only to introduce new ideas in *Shikhi* but also to revive the art. Such competitions were continued to be held for some time in the beginning of the Khaddar Movement, but were discontinued later on.

Industry, speed and general efficiency of the hand in spinning and other allied processes and other handicrafts, which were witnessed by those who started the movement even in the dying stage of these crafts have become more or less legendary now. We think that we imported new life into *Shikhi* but our faith to attain that efficiency and speed of production is waning today. When such things are not witnessed nowadays it is but natural that our faith in them should also disappear. It is also possible that after some days even the belief in the legend about the speed of the hand may be lost. The present machinery has not only weakened our hands but has also weakened our imagination regarding the efficiency hands are capable of attaining. Thus is a danger to the progress of *Shikhi* and village industries.

It will strengthen our enthusiasm and faith in our programme if we search for the skill of hands in all parts of the country and encourage it wherever it still lives. This work can be done by organizing competitions in these activities. The Charika Singh, therefore, realises the necessity to revive them. A good opportunity for such all-India competitions will be the coming Sardasade mela during April 5 to 15. The Charika Singh has decided to make the necessary arrangements, provided the organisers of the mela give the necessary permission.

Schemes have been drawn for such competitions in hand spinning, combined spinning, hand-lum spinning, fine spinning, carding, reeling, weaving, etc. and a committee has already been entrusted with the work of framing rules and regulations. Only those who have attained a specified standard of efficiency will be allowed to take part in the various competitions. Prizes will also be awarded. A booklet regarding the scheme is under preparation and will be available by sending postage stamps of four annas to the Central Office of the Charika Singh, Sarvagam.

We hope that *Shikhi*-lovers will carry this information to all those qualified and encourage them to take part in the competition and thus help the Charika Singh in its *Shikhi* work.

Sarvagam

CHANDRANATH SHARMA
Secretary, A. I. S. S.

FOOD SHORTAGE AND AGRICULTURE

By Mahatma Gandhi

Paper No. 2-4-3

Foreign No. A. 5

NAVATYAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 125, AMERINDAR

CONFLICT BETWEEN BUFFALO AND COW

Of the two varieties of cows in Gujarat, viz. Sahiwal and gir, the former is well known for its good breed of cows and buffaloes and high yield of milk. There are three centres of the Sahiwal cows in the Kutch District distributed as follows:

Centre	No. of cows	Acres of land
Desundi	500	500
Vijaya	200	200
Harbada	100	100

The Saurashtra has been carrying on agricultural and non-agricultural activities in these three centres through co-operative societies of Sahiwal Sahiwal Sahiwal co-operatives. At Desundi, a water-pump has also been installed. The Saurashtra also maintains a practice of gir cows in the Sahiwal Sahiwal. Similar efforts must be made in every district of Gujarat, wherever land is available, so that cultivators might be induced to maintain cows. But except for a meagre one in the Kutch District, there is no uniform co-operation in favour of the cow.

The cultivators of Gujarat prefer to keep buffaloes. The result is that cows are reared only by Sahiwal and Sahiwal. But there have no land. They, therefore, have to take their cows to distant go-downs and forests for grazing them and to let them loose in the fields of cultivators after the crops have been reaped. This practice sometimes harms crops also. The Sahiwal and Sahiwal are different and poor. There is no proper institution to instruct them and guide them to adapt themselves to changing times and no co-operation is given to any who attempts it. Rather this class is looked down upon with some ill will by the cultivators (including Congressmen), because their cows and other animals frequently harm the crops. Thus there is some to sympathise with them, and still less is left to their difficulties. The Government is not free from this antipathy towards them. They are making use of District Police Act Public Security Act, etc. against them and more penal laws are under consideration.

No doubt crops must be protected. But as against unreasonable penal laws there is not a single piece of legislation meant for the welfare of cows. They are like a remedy which will kill the patient instead of curing him of the disease. Under the effect of these penal laws, many cows have been destroyed bringing ruin to their keepers in its train. They too have now taken to buffalo-keeping. That buffalo-milk sells at a higher price is also one of the reasons for this change-over. Cows are fast decreasing in numbers resulting in dearth of buffaloes. Cultivators are not able to purchase such costly buffaloes and thus in turn fall upon agriculture. Some lands remain uncultivated for want of buffaloes.

In the 'Give More Food' drive, the Government has begun giving fallow land to cultivators for the purpose of cultivating crops only

Consequently, no land is available for cow grazing. If the Government are disappointed that cultivators should maintain cow or more cows as a condition of taking new pieces of land, some cows could have been maintained. Instead the difficulty of grazing cows has increased. In order to bring more land under cultivation Government has offered some concessions and facilities. But though go-downs is a part of agriculture itself, there is no provision for its protection and development. There are seven schemes in the Kutch District where attempts are made to improve the breed of the cow. But Government has given up till 1948 only 17 bulls to serve 1500 cows. So a large number of cows are served by indifferent bulls. The result is deterioration of the race. To this must be added want of adequate nutrition as a contributory factor.

Several constructive institutions founded by Mahatma Gandhi such as the All-India Spinners Association Harijan Sewak Sangh All-India Village Industries Association, are carrying on work throughout the country in an organised manner. But the Go-Dena Sangh has still remained unorganised. In Gujarat, the Government and the Congress organs from time to time function such as Gujarat celebrations Charlie's Week, Harijan Day, feeding camps etc. But none of them give any place to pre-war work in its programme. Congressmen seem to take no interest in this line of work. The result of this indifference on the part both of the people and the Government is that cows are disappearing from Gujarat and buffaloes are on the increase.

In pursuance of its pro-buffalo policy, the Government of Bombay have launched a scheme of providing modern sheds fully provided with water, fodder, and other facilities for buffaloes at a cost of Rs. 25 crores and with a view to make the Kutch District the Denmark of India, they have installed water-pumps, arranged for fodder, silage, stubble, roads etc. and organized co-operative societies of buffalo-keepers who will sell all their milk to the city of Bombay. Similar plans for other large cities are also under consideration.

This policy requires to be carefully considered. In Gov. F. S. J. Gandhi observed: 'There should be no necessity of either buffalo or its milk in Bombay. An effort should be made on a large scale to obtain pure cow-milk at cheap rates.' The policy of the Government of Bombay is just the opposite of this. The terrible consequences of this will be the total disappearance of the cow in Gujarat. Since buffaloes are reared by cultivators, they get sufficient grass etc. They do not need any protection. Even then great schemes are undertaken to protect buffaloes, while go-downs being neglected and poor, cows do not get sufficient nutrition and are exterminated.

MAHENDRA K. DODIA

Barmer, Gujarat Sahiwal Sangh

HARIJAN

January 15

1950

SHALL WE NOT PRAY?

Shri H. V. Karmad writes:

I have given notice of a resolution to the effect that the inauguration of the Republic of India be preceded by the assembly in a solemn prayer to God. I shall be grateful if you will support my suggestion through Harijan. I think that such a ceremony will do in consonance with our national genius in view with the teachings of all our prophets and rulers including historical leaders and will impart a sacred or holy touch to the unique occasion."

I regret that the words like 'God' and 'Prayer' should have created such an amount of fruitless debate among those who speak in the name of the people of India. The subject does not considered religious itself in the following: "We start our Republic with a state." If state is a very strong word, I ask, whether we do it with indifference and levity? If that is ruled out, why should we fight the of acknowledging the fact that we start our new life with faith, vigour and solemnity and express these feelings in a suitable manner? Whatever that manner is it is Prayer. And to whom is that faith, vigour and solemnity addressed or dedicated? Is it to Satan? If that again is an improper suggestion, is it to the individual eyes of the representatives who will take part in the function? With all their goodness all of them considered are but a particle of dust in the universe. If there is faith anywhere and solemn and solemn dedication to any power it is a power less if you like, multitude of powers which includes them and the whole creation and even that which is beyond creation.

Since we all unanimously wish that the Republic of India should prove a blessing to Bharat and that we should all be guided to work for it our common wish is our common prayer and that common wish should be suitably expressed on an auspicious occasion. When so pressed in the beginning it becomes a mere (unconscious) utterance, when at the end, it is more (conscious) benediction.

Above all what the representatives should bear in mind and consider conclusive is that they are to inaugurate the Republic in a representative capacity. Their own personal likes and dislikes (such or want of it) must be subordinated to those of the people. What do the vast bulk of the millions whom they represent expect to be done on such great occasions? How do they carry out major functions in their own private or group life? This is a ceremony much greater than the coronation of a King. Can there be any doubt about the place of prayer on such an occasion against the background of Bharat?

But if the representatives cannot decide upon any form of common prayer or take part in the one fixed upon, let them all keep a few

minutes of silence or attend to common and individual duties, without (even if only) silent prayer or a silent prayer, let those who cannot pray, silently and respectfully watch those who do.

Wardha 2-1-50

S. D. MANDHAWA

WORLD PACIFISTS AT SEVAGRAM

The last week of December at Sevagram, — the week of the World Pacifist Meeting — though filled with physical strain for me, was also in many respects a period full of significance.

The guests came from all the continents of the globe, and represented 24 countries including India. It was suggested that there was no representative from Soviet countries, though there were some who had lived or travelled in Russia and were acquainted with individual Pacifists there. None came from West Pakistan also. Also every colour from Black to White was liberally represented. Every one could see that under variously coloured skins and physical characteristics and through various languages, religions and civilisations, there was a common humanity with common aspirations and sentiments and that every one gave evidence of being a member of one family under Heaven.

The way in which the work was devised and carried out deserves to be told. In the first place a Steering Committee with a convener was appointed. It was in charge of the business as a whole. It arranged the programme for each day as Chairman, the names of persons who had to introduce or elucidate the subject of the day before it was opened for general discussion, the time to be allotted to each speaker and such other details. It also arranged for taking notes. Any one who wanted to take part in a particular subject had to contact the convener of the Steering Committee and communicate his wishes to him.

Several important topics had to be discussed. If they had all to be discussed before the whole meeting, none could have been tackled with satisfaction to enable the meeting to come to speedy decisions. Even a Subjects Committee could not have dealt with these adequately. So the topics were divided into three parts, A, B and C and a separate 'Committee' was appointed for each to consider matters entrusted to it. These Committees were again sub-divided where necessary into sub-sections called 'Committees'. Thus, one of the Committees was divided into as many as eight Committees. Each Committee or Subcommittee made a short report of its conclusions to the whole House. Members of the House concentrated upon it, their suggestions were noted down and the Committee or Subcommittee, as the case may be, was asked to consider its report again in the light of the remarks made and see what alterations were necessary. The meeting was conscious that they were a very small part of the Pacifists of the world.

over and, therefore, they could not do anything which might be binding upon all. Therefore, no attempt was made to pass any report as a "resolution" of the meeting, unless it was unanimously approved and even so it was passed more or less as a "recommendation"; which Panist organisations in the world might consider. Generally the resolution was that the report had been received and returned to the Editorial Committee for circulation as public literature in such manner as might be suitable. The Editorial Committee was authorised to exercise the editorial privilege of pruning and amending in the light of discussions held. If there was a fundamental difference of opinion on any report, the report was simply received and recorded. This meant that the subject needed further study and should be reconsidered in future.

Then within a short period and without lengthy speeches amendments, consisting of votes, etc., a good deal of work was done in the full meetings. Of course to enable the full House to work expeditiously the various Committees and Commissions had to work night and day. The Committee members had hardly any leisure to idle away.

I am not in a position to give even a gist of the various reports. They will be published in course of time by the Editorial Committee. The reports which would interest all Panists were those relating to Principles of Non-violent Way of Life and Education for Peace (presented respectively by Richard B. Gregg and Wilfred Wellock). Both of them were very kindly welcomed. The resolution on Indo-Pakistan Union (moved by Richard B. Gregg) was important for Indo-Pakistan workers; there were several others such as those relating to Palestine, War Criminals, Refugees and Displaced Persons, etc. of interest to other countries. They were all drawn up by persons who had made a careful study of these problems.

In a vast country like ours, unless the management adheres strictly to fixed limits such meetings might easily become unmanageably big and from the point of view of serious work and discussion not very fruitful. Nevertheless I wish that it had been possible for a few more Indian workers in the cause of non-violence (who were also anxious to participate in it) to be invited, and also some arrangement made for a few junior promising workers to profit from the discussions by listening without causing distraction and disturbance.

These World Panists wanted to come to India to learn at the feet of Gandhi himself. His death having made that expectation impossible, I entertained ever since, a doubt about the qualifications of ourselves—the Indians recipients of his message—to train them to India. What treasure I thought had we collected and preserved from which we shall give with confidence to our distant friends? Like the "Prophet" of Khalid Ghann, I constantly asked

myself, if this was $\frac{1}{2}$ of our period of harvest, in what fields had we sown the seed and in what unwatered seasons? But those who know the foreign Panists in a more personal way than I did not think that this meeting should be dropped, and so it came about. And now that I have seen it, I must say that it was a very wholesome thing for us to have known them. The visitors came here in a spirit of learning. One who comes to seek and to seek only good, never goes away empty-handed and finds good even from a heap of rubbish. So they must have taken only what was good and wholesome. But I feel that they also taught us much. It is difficult to say whether those, who presume to meet them as teachers or privileged disciples of a great master, benefit from teaching given by people claimed as learners. The egoistic attitude might prevent them from benefiting from even a wholesome lesson. My conclusion as a teacher and even as a head has been that I have often learnt as much from my pupils and assistants as I have imparted to them. In this particular Conference, I had no teacher's ego and so I reaped all the benefits of a learner.

With Vinoba I say "my congratulations to them all!"

Wardha 3-1-30

L. G. HARBROWALA

COW AND VILLAGE FIDELITY

San Manish Datta's article published elsewhere requires serious consideration both by the people and the Government. Living for the day without worrying for the morrow is a good policy provided one condition is fulfilled, namely that this day's difficulties are solved in a right manner. But if we think of removing our worries of the day anyhow, it is certain that to-morrow's worry will come with redoubled force.

Let us leave aside for a moment all such problems as whether or no cow-rearing is superior to buffalo-rearing or vice versa; and whether glass or concrete is to be preferred as an article of diet; and consider the question from the point of view of agriculture only. Are buffaloes necessary for agriculture? If yes, how far? and whether India needs annual milk? If yes, how much?

If we believe that we cannot do without buffaloes in agriculture at least for the next twenty years, a well set out to make them unaffordably costly. If buffaloes are too costly and there is scarcity of grass and fodder for them, there cannot be increase in agricultural production, prices of agricultural produce cannot be brought down and the standard of life of the cultivators cannot be raised. These propositions should be accepted as indisputable. Even if we contemplate for the future a policy of total elimination of the bullock by mechanisation of agriculture, i.e. introducing pumps and tractors as it and of solving the above problems through co-operatives and of milk by rearing buffaloes (and buffaloes being allowed to be slaughtered,

or done so much by neglect as heretofore), people must realize and Government should declare that all sentimental and religion-based talks of *go-poles*, *go-ares*, and *go-rekhis*, should be given up; propaganda against slaughter should be abandoned and no protests should be made against slaughter of cows and buffaloes. In India dead animals are more valuable than living ones. The Indian Export Committee has already agreed that the indiscriminate banning of the slaughter of animals has adversely affected the export trade in India.

Whether an objective is right and good, or wrong and bad, being definite about it helps clarity of thought and implementation. Its uncertainty leads to adoption of mutually inconsistent measures so that not a single object is achieved.

Even with a national policy as laid down above it is necessary to consider its effects on the present food scarcity and high prices. If the aim is to make our country self-sufficient in food by 1961 is not to be retreated from, the question to be considered is whether the aim is to be achieved by resorting to tractors and engines only or shall we need bullock-cultivators also? If all food crops are to be produced by tractors alone and the bullock is to be used for raising only commercial crops, such as groundnuts, cotton, tobacco, tea, coffee, plantains, sweet potatoes, fruits, etc., it may be possible to assume that the difficulty is solved for those non-food crops fetch good prices and hence their cultivation can afford to pay the high prices of bullocks, grass, fodder, etc. And in that case the cultivation should be as duly advised. But if the major portion of food crops is to be produced with the help of bullocks, and there is little doubt about this, there is no alternative but to make bullocks, grass and fodder cheaper than now and there is no way out but to accept the cow for the sake of bullocks. For the latter cannot be manufactured in any machine factory nor through the bullock or any non-grass-eating animal. Though methods of artificial fertilization dispensing with the physical presence of the bull have been discovered, science has not so far found a method to have calves without the intervention of the cow.

Thus the problem of agriculture is such as cannot be separated from *go-poles*. If it becomes impossible to maintain cows and bullocks on account of exorbitant cost, the aim of self-sufficiency in food must remain a mid-winter day's dream.

All experts both official and non-official are unanimous that cow is more economical than bullock. Gauriel, however, seems to feel other wise. This is not because the bullock is cheaper than the cow but there are other reasons for it. In past years, people used to consume very little milk. The ordinary people including bullock-keepers themselves, took butter-milk for their own consumption and *gher* was a rare, costly-

day and only on the occasion of the fairs of festivals and dream parties. There being no rival for *gher*, the profit they earned from *gher* enabled them to maintain the bullocks. But now when transport has come in the field as a competitor of *gher* and prices of grass, fodder, oil-seeds, etc. have gone high, *gher* does not fetch even its gross cost. Hence the usefulness of bullock has shifted from *gher* to milk itself. The increasing habit of tea and coffee contributed to making the demand for milk larger than ever before and big markets opened for milk in the cities. This made milk-trade a profitable occupation for some time and so cultivators took to it rapidly. It made up for the loss in agriculture and the bullock became a helpful investment particularly to widows and to agriculturists in times of unemployment. This position has changed now. The bullock is not even self-supporting far less a profitable occupation. Even though there are co-operative societies, etc., the rates at which milk is sold are hardly adequate to meet with its basic cost. The result is that the bullocks which had come in to make up for the loss in agriculture, now starts to even lose its cost from agriculture! But if there had been sufficient reserves before agriculture the agriculturist would not have gone in for the bullock at all. Cow would have been preferred. It was the high price of *gher* which induced him to prefer the bullock in the cow and then the high price of milk induced him to part both with milk and *gher*. Even then bullock has not become self-supporting and no attempts are made to make it self-supporting by constructing good roads and running speedy motor-cars. While this will help speed, export of milk there is no reason to believe that it will make bullock self-supporting. The only thing certain is that cow and bullock rearing will be made more difficult.

Whether the Government and traders realize this or not, the people of villages — agriculturists — at least should realize their self-interest. To throw away milk, *gher* and grass for collecting bundles of currency notes is suicidal. The first pillar of prosperity of the village is its people brought up on plenty of food grains, milk, *gher*, etc. healthy and handsome cows and bullocks trees giving building-wood and good fruits, and all-round unity, contentment and co-operation in all classes of people. After satisfying the requirements of the local people that which remains may be exported. To reduce this wealth is to make half-starved or to starve the people of the village and the labourer, and in order to collect bundles of currency notes to grow commercial crops produce *gher* and milk for the market and to think of building impressive houses and sending away sons to become doctors and lawyers or engineers and keeping water-cure is wrong business. Its consequences are that milk, *gher*, grass and health are lost to the village. Along with them go

men and women, some intelligent boys, who come up the village, and settle down in 1948-49 and the majority notes that seemed to flow into the villages go back to cities in exchange for city goods and services. Otherwise no one remains in the villages, even to look after the expensive houses built by them. If the people of villages realise all this fully, the remedy is in their hands. There are not the centres of the village. It is here of apparent prosperity of commerce which is common to villages and the cause of village unemployment.

Wardha 14-12-49

K. C. MATHURWALA

(Presented from Gopend)

COMMUNITIES AND CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

"The following programme has just come to my notice"

"In the North in Cape Province the natives, among and working that set up their own communities the way of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar Gandhi were a little better than now. They share in business of the United Cooperative movement that the way the way goes (like in Communist organisation). They remained (I think) that a man who was intelligent enough to lead his fellow in the north would be intelligent to lead them in another more practical and successfully more (like) result. In the field now, therefore, they asked the Communist Party of the South Indian and started the Co-op on the road to prosperity. For in the Communist Organisation there is a focus of constructive action that made common is now in them. In they expanded Co-op and built up membership they found themselves no longer able to accept the Communist ideology. The Co-op gave immediate and visible proof of the members of the U.S."

"The constructive workers and organisations should make a bold bid to co-ordinate with Communists with both and demonstration. With both because this can be done and with determination because we are in a period with little patience. The best that may be expected for this is an intelligent understanding and study of the fundamental principles of Constructive Programme and actual concrete work. Only then these Communist youth are likely to have found a pattern of constructive activity that made common sense to them."

Thus writes Shri Sanjiv Mohanram a co-operative worker in Bombay. The illustration given by him is of the nature of an experiment in non-violence, and can be undertaken by capable men possessing self-confidence and faith in the inherent capacity of perfect non-violence to meet every situation created by possible reactionaries. Ordinary workers will hardly have courage to try the method. But it is a process-worthy approach.

Wardha 14-11-49

K. C. MATHURWALA

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In Working and Plan

By Mahatma Gandhi

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Some Suggestions

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THE REALISTIC APPROACH

Now that border Vaidikshya Patel has been able to devote greater attention to the programme of economic recovery of the nation, there is a natural expectation that some concrete results will be achieved. The border has appealed to everybody to be realistic. Let us approach this problem in the same spirit and work towards the same end, namely, as suggested by the Border, maximum production and the raising of the standard of living of the masses. Let us analyse the factors that lead to this end.

The first and the foremost factor that seems to be indispensable for achieving this objective is to harness the creative energy of every individual in society. A few giants at work in the midst of a dormant mass of people can hardly play the trick. The analogy of the history of the Congress struggle for freedom will illustrate this point. The freedom's struggle could gather momentum and the energy of the whole nation could be released only when Congress, under the guidance of Gandhi, turned itself into a mass organisation rather than remain confined to a few intellectuals. This logic inevitably leads us to the programme of village industries and self-reliance.

But at this point two questions are raised:

(1) The nation followed Gandhi in the freedom-struggle. Will it follow his economic programme? (2) Are village industries capable of raising the standard of living?

If Gandhi's programme means the full participation of every individual member of society rather than the participation of a few big giants, it should be accepted as an automatic truth that the nation wants to say, is eager to follow his programme in the economic field. If the nation did not adopt Gandhi's economic programme in full up to now, it must be for some special reasons. For instance, because the time was not ripe for it. The demand of the age was political revolution. This demand has now changed. It is economic revolution now. There is a craving in the whole mass of the people for finding an outlet through which their creative energy could be released. If there is unrest and discontent, it is because such outlets are not available to the majority of the people. Hence, such formidable initial barriers have been set up in the way of small scale production and business that even those who were carrying on such enterprises have been thrown out of work. The Gandhian programme is mentioned on national and international platforms as the only one that can solve world problems. While such talk creates high hopes, there is no lead given to this programme in our country, with the resultant feeling of frustration in the people. Let us, therefore, re-examine Gandhi's economic programme broadly in the full participation of every individual member of society in the economic activity of the nation and plan our production drive accordingly.

consequent mis-employment of power is a serious shortcoming not probable in our country. The extended propaganda of the vested interests has directed our ears on an erroneous view of the great, or efficiency of large scale factories than that of village industries. If this position is accepted, the adoption of village industries will appear as ridiculous or as a sweet dream. But what is the reality? In matters of food in which there are a few simple processes to be carried out and where there are hardly any industries in the proper sense of the term involved, the standard of efficiency is the lowest when resources are taken to factories. In such cases food is spoiled rather than produced. Three illustrations will bear this out.

On the question of power-driven demonstrations, the bullock-driven coco-crusher, the Gur Mafat Division of the U. P. Government, in its memo dated 15th July, 1941, observed as follows:

The experiment that the introduction of the power-crusher would improve the percentage of oil extraction of palm is not based on facts. Improved type of bullock-driven coco mills extract 52 per cent, or 74 per cent, of the palm to give an output 50 per cent to 12 per cent absorbed by power-driven power crushers. Thus the percentage of extraction is rather 2 or 3 per cent higher in the case of the latter which makes for a difference in the output of oil to two pounds of palm as a result resulting to the mills.

Paddy husking provides another illustration. If consumption of unpolished rice is accepted as the basis, as it will have to be accepted both from the long-term nature as well as the short-term quantitative point of view, then rice factories stand at a disadvantage as compared with hand paddy chakras. The greater efficiency of rice factories lies in the process of polishing rice and not in that of paddy husking for preparing unpolished rice. In other words, rice mills are factories only at the expense of the maximum value of the rice produced.

Oil pressing is the third illustration. In the first place, oilmills have failed to supply pure and fresh oil to the consumer. Mill oils are adulterated, even with mineral oils, like 'white oil' and spindle oil. This is as good as giving a slow poison to the nation. Any educational measures of the Government have not been effective in preventing this. As the oil, extracted long before it can be put to use gets rancid, millowners have to recommission the consumption of refined oils. This constitutes an additional burden on consumers. Refined oils are costlier and less nutritive than ghee pressed oils. The oil-cake produced by the mill is not as good as cattle-feed as the ghee-pressed oil-cake. The myth of the superiority of the mill oil-cake over the ghee oil-cake is exploded by the fact that the Indian Oilseeds Committee of the Government of India, in the absence of any scientific data available on the subject, had to sanction a scheme costing over a lakh of rupees for finding out the comparative food values of

oil-cake from different sources. The mill oil-cake and the ghee-pressed oil-cake are both prepared by the mills, have equal value to the cattle-wealth particularly the dairy animals of the nation. And other oil are oil mills more efficient than ghee? While the ghee-pressed oil of pressing oil may be lesser in mills by about one anna per pound of oil than in bullock-driven ghees, the collection and distribution costs in the case of mills practically make up the difference. Thus from the consumer's point of view, no better source is rendered by the oil-mills. Nay, they cause an additional burden of transport on the railway system.

Thus from both points of view, the nation's readiness to follow Gandhiji's economic programme as well as of the standard of living, village industries offer a truly realistic solution to our economic problems. Planned economy implies the full and efficient employment of the working population of the nation. If this principle is applied to agriculture, there will be a minimum number of families required for cultivation on the basis of economic holdings and the balance will be thrown out of employment as superfluous population. Actual surveys carried out in this direction suggest that there is a large waste of man-power and that there is a tremendous superfluous population available in the villages waiting to be directed towards peaceful occupations. This is the basic problem of our economy. This is also the reason for our low production and the consequent low standard of living. The nation's economy cannot thrive down and the basic problem is solved. Is there any alternative to village industries for solving this problem? This is the reality of the situation from the point of view of the village people which forms the bulk of our population. If we want to be realistic and mean business, let us begin harnessing the energy of the superfluous population in the villages by developing village industries at least in respect of the primary necessities of life such as food and clothing.

(SHAMSHAD KHAN).

By S. C. Dasgupta

COW IN INDIA

Vol. I and II

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TWO ANNAS

QUESTION BOX

Questions by a Socialist Group

Q Do you think that the Government of India is likely to lead to Gandhian ideas even in the distant future?

A I am unable to look into distant future. I do not know what types of Government will come into existence from time to time.

Q How is your account for the collapse of the Gandhian ideas immediately after the achievement of Independence? Do you consider that the present Government of India and the Congress is or can be the instrument of Gandhian ideology in the national and inter-national field?

A Nothing has happened since the achievement of Independence which was not observable before—even as long ago as 1931-32. Those who were responsible for deserting the N C O and for carrying on the C D O movement in breach of Gandhian principles could not be expected to behave better than they do now. If in spite of this there is still something to recommend one of Gandhiji's ideas and ways of life, it is due to the fact that at the top of the Government there are some of the best and most sincere of India's sons.

I feel that partly the Government of India is honestly attempting to follow Gandhian ideology, partly it honestly feels that it cannot, that it should not under the circumstances before them. There can be a difference of opinion on the latter aspect. There is also a part where it seems to fail. But who will say that it cannot be the instrument of "Gandhian ideology"? It is wide and free enough to do that it will be supported by the people, it can.

Q The main problem the nation has to tackle today is that of the economic crisis. How should we tackle it? Do you think that the main reason of this crisis is the present economic set-up?

A Unless our character is richer, and God is installed in our hearts, from where He has been driven by the war and pseudo philosophy, there is no possibility of much improvement. Any outward change in the economic set-up, i.e. Socialist, Marxist, etc., will not help. The moral change is the essential one.

Q Would you still regard us as ideal a self-sufficient economic unit? Or you would like to

coordinate large scale activities and cottage industries in such a manner as to avoid overlap and overlapping? If you are agreeable to this, do you think that a plan of this kind would be suitable where a capitalist mode of production exists, as it does at present in our country?

A I believe in decentralisation and self-sufficiency in regard to the production and distribution of the necessities of life, e.g., food, wear, cloth, construction of houses, etc. The unit may be at times larger than a village and may extend to a circle of about five or ten major villages. Co-ordination is necessary in every case. But the approach must be on lines indicated in Shri J. C. Kumarappa's article *The Wrong Approach* (vide *Harjan*, 24/1/48).

"Capitalism" is a vague term. What is necessary is to fix the maximum limit of private property and income and to reduce the difference between the haves and the have-nots to a considerable degree.

Q What are your objections, if any, to nationalisation or to abolition of zamindari? Would you insist on compensation?

Would you object to general strike to force the hands of the Government to adopt a new economic policy? Would you consider it as against the limits of non-violence or anti-national?

A More words like "nationalisation", "abolition of zamindari", etc. do not excite me. There might be as much capitalism and socialism, besides tyranny of bureaucrats, or technocrats in "nationalisation" as in open capitalism. "Nationalisation" might just be highly centralized capitalism or State capitalism. Abolition of zamindari might be State zamindari. So I want to know how the proposed systems are desired to be worked, and what sort of human beings are going to work them, before I can say whether I should like them or no.

A strike whether general or particular can do no good in the present condition of India. It can only add to the misery of the people. It will not be non-violent. If there is dissension with the present personnel as party in power, the dissidents should try to capture power by the constitutional means of defeating the present Government in the legislature or by winning local elections.

Bombay, 22-12-48

R. G. KHANDWALLA

PLANNING FOR GANDHIAN REVOLUTION

As one believing in the strength of truth and non-violence in every sphere of human life, material and moral, I fall in the group of those who have accepted that village reconstruction has the first priority in planning for peace and prosperity.

The villages cannot, however, live alone. They must give and take to and from outside themselves and even from outside the country. The economic life of the towns of today, administrative or industrial, and the economic relations between countries are based on a system which requires a revolutionary change if the suffering millions living in the villages or outside were to have the four freedoms.

How to bring about this change and create conditions for every one to live and let live is the problem of the whole world. It is by no means a simple problem. The body and mind are the two parts of one whole. Food for the first is material and that for the second is spiritual. The world has often erred by not taking proper notice of the one or the other. The mind and the body are inter-dependent and it is the proper balance of factors governing the two that make the normal man. How and where shall we strike the balance? There are lessons in history. But man who is at once an animal and a god has not always taken the right lesson. Animal is his crude nature and God his culture. The animal in him thrives on the law of struggle for existence and survival of the fittest, while his Godlike mind seeks peace and solace in unity and brotherhood. Violence is the method of struggle for existence, while love is the fountain of the spirit of live and let live.

Is it possible in bringing the change in the present system of our social life without violence? I firmly believe that it will be possible. I have got living faith in the Gandhian revolution. But the masses of India have been so great that younger men with emotion find it difficult to keep patience. They are even ready to challenge violence with violence. But the age-long history of mankind teaches us that a Mahatma like only inspires a Scripted Love, a rocket bomb or atom bomb, an Atlantic Charter needs reinforcement by a Tripartite Agreement. Violence begets counter-violence and all suspicion and no peace.

The greatest danger threatening our country today is the risk of losing patience. Attainment of our national independence has been an unique triumph of non-violence but all this may be marred and the whole world may lose the light of conscience as they proceed now are not changed without delay.

The change required is a revolutionary one and it cannot come, much less come quick enough, without a revolution.

The question of how to plan and carry out this revolution comes next. In my mind, be he rich or poor, employer or employee, will have to accept the change of his system. But it will not mean the same thing to all according to the existing system by which society is guided today. It is but natural, therefore, that those who are relatively rich and enjoy superior positions now would fight shy to join this revolution. They might even oppose it. But the millions living in the villages have little to lose, but all hope to gain. If they could be made to know how they can resist the present method of exploitation and how they can get legitimate prices for their produce and wages of labour, and if they could be guided to improve their method of work and manner of living, they will march forward.

Village reconstruction, therefore, has the first priority in our revolutionary planning. This does not, however, mean that we should have no planning outside the village. There the plan should now be based on whatever goodwill and co-operation of the urban section of the people we can enlist. It is not a myth that every man has a heart. Among our rich men there have been pioneers in human qualities who led the way in which we have made so much progress today. Let us have faith and confidence in their head and heart and tell them clearly what our plan is with regard to industries which we shall so much need for turning out machinery to aid the village workers, developing and maintaining speedy communications, for giving electricity to every house and also what our plan is for internal and external trade.

Growth of economically strong villages and awakening of the human genius in those who are in possession of resources today will mean to mutual advantage and contribute to a system where every individual will be free to choose his profession and to work by himself or in co-operation with his fellow-men to earn a living according to his desire and find happiness and peace.

We must begin our revolutionary programme in the villages first and our industrial plans should be taken up steadily. Here we must caution ourselves and must not be led merely by those who cannot but think in terms of the West.

Village Reconstruction Plan

Object

1. To cultivate land fully and to produce food.
2. To produce as much of clothes and other necessities of life, in order of importance, as can be produced in the village (handicrafts being given for home, cottage and village industries).
3. To produce raw materials for industries according to facilities.
4. To improve health and physical culture, (1) sanitation, (2) housing, (3) communications.

10. To recruit young villagers

To provide employment and skill to young men and women from rural areas — through training camps.

11. To organize village committees to coordinate all the above village rehabilitation work.

Methods

The daily day labourer, in the village as this is a common class for the benefit of the underprivileged Harijans, should be educated and trained in various occupations, health, sanitation, and other things. The village committees should have a sense of responsibility and system of regular civilisation through education, sanitation, organisation and discipline.

Objectives

1. To provide employment to labourers.

2. To provide education to the rural population and rural labourers, through regular and special schools.

3. To bring the village labourer out of debt, — involving better cost and introducing grain for food increase and bringing every bit of land to use.

4. To set up an equitable price for produce and wage for labour — (fixed) and wages based on minimum standard of living and working hours.

5. Supplying labour — the labour with through organized labour corps.

6. Introducing better methods of work.

7. Setting up village governments. *Panchayat* to draw up plans and to carry them out in respect of the objectives mentioned above.

In a village where a suitable village may not be present in the state to guide the village one from outside may be invited.

8. Making the Executive of the State responsible for meeting the village governments and seeing that they fulfil their targets.

9. Organizing village police and defence against dacoits, etc.

Rehabilitation Groups

If such a plan were really to be given effect to the first essential need is for a group of trained men and women who would work not for personal prospects but for human liberation. These groups shall be raised as far as possible with men and women drawn from every village and shall work in such disciplined and efficient manner as could be compared with an up-to-date army. They shall be trained in methods of agriculture, crafts and industries, storage and preservation of food sanitation and public health, voluntary housebuilding, surveying, road-making, conservation of tanks and construction of wells, teachers' training drill and physical culture, popular art and music and public relations, etc. Men and women according to their apt-

abilities shall work in various different jobs. Patriotic men and women well versed in these various arts and sciences will have to volunteer to form and organize these groups. Experienced military officers who have renounced militarism may be invited to take part in this engagement. The object of these groups shall be to train men and women and organize vigilantes for the education of the village rehabilitation plans, until the villages themselves acquire the knowledge and habit of the improved methods of life and can also maintain their own organizations and institutions. All India Spinners Association, All India Village Industries Association, Telang Sangh, and all such social workers organizations shall also come together to work in this rehabilitation group.

Literature

There shall be need for a constant supply of popular literature for adults and children, with impressive sketches and pictures with a view to facilitate education of the villagers and bringing to their notice methods of improvement of agriculture, craft and industries, health and sanitation and manner of living. For this there should be harness of expert journalists and artists working with zeal and devotion. It will be the aim to enlist the services of the leading writers of the country who feel for the sufferings of the millions.

Finance

Although the plan is to work for the villages which have been driven to ruin and it must needs depend primarily on patriotic and voluntary services there shall still be required a good deal of finance to pay for the living costs of the Rehabilitation groups and their work. To meet this will be the first charge on the village revenues.

Relation with the Existing System of Administration

The village governments (*Panchayats*) and the Rehabilitation Groups will replace a great deal of the present necessary services. The State departments will maintain the minimum expert staff for co-ordination. The process no doubt will have to be a bit ruthless. But eventually this will not only reduce financial responsibilities of the State Government but also eliminate a great deal of red-tape and unnecessary administrative complications due to the present centralized system.

Colaba University

P. K. SARKAR

Senior Professor of Agriculture

Dr. S. C. Duggan

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HARIJAN

January 23

1950

OUR REPUBLIC

Before the first issue of *Harijan* is out, India will have projected herself to the world as the new political status of a Sovereign Democratic Republic casting off all symbols which had tied her helplessly to the United Kingdom for nearly two centuries. For practical purposes the event will not mark the acquisition of any fresh right which was not available to the Government of India since August 15, 1947, except in a formal manner. Also save in external forms and designations, there will be little change for the time being to distinguish the Indian Government as functioning today from that after January 26th. People will see the practical effects of the new Constitution only when fresh elections are held next year under adult franchise.

Nevertheless January 26th is undoubtedly ushering in a new era. It is a new experiment in India's life in an important respect. It is a novel experience for our Indians to imagine a State without a King. Historians may tell them that India did have republican States at one time in her history. People have not even teachers left of such a political existence. There are as yet no today in India billions of people who live in blessed ignorance of the status of and differences between the Governor-General, the Governors and their ministers. And there are millions too who, when people started to have their doubts are innocent enough to imagine it to be a testimony of their popularity. The reality is there are still not a few people to be found in the villages even near about district towns who are so simple as to believe that the Congress under Gandhi defeated the British and has installed Pandit Jawaharlal as the King of India. They therefore throng in their thousands whenever he appears in public and regard his departure as surprising. A very large number of others again have at least a very vague notion of the changes that have come.

It is in the name of and for the sake of these countless humble countrymen of ours that we, the educated better placed and organized classes shall be declaring India a Sovereign Republic and creating for her a democratic form of Government. Though the franchise will be universal those who will be able to make use of it will be a handful. Millions will be mere instruments for better or for worse in the hands of a few thousand. These millions today are rootless and their reason is dim. Even as when they see the rain falling from the slow motion in torrents as upon their crops they do not understand how it is made and poured from the clouds so too they do not know who sets the

good or bad orders and characters over them to make their lives happy or miserable. Their wants are few and simple, and when even these are unavailable their misery is complete. Yet in their anxiety they cause not any but their own pain. On the other hand when their basic needs are satisfied they forget all they have suffered and pay willing homage to their rulers.

It is these millions who will constitute the new Republic. It is these millions who have to be made happy first, even with no more than two square miles a day of simple food, coarse linen and small huts, and more soon can be as provided easily, it is these who have to be first given employment to enable them to earn these simple and few necessities of life.

Generations of these simple people have lived in India for centuries within the shadow of palatial buildings and have witnessed without anger or envy the plenty and the luxury of their occupants. If their simple wants have been met, they have not resented the power of their Kings and emperors with their gorgeous durbars and processions or their great palaces and business houses. These millions are the first charge on the conscience of India and the first responsibility of those who undertake to administer her affairs. It is over them that the President and his ministers and the Government of the States and their ministers have constituted themselves guardians. The safeguarding of the interests of these is the first responsibility of the various elected representatives and public servants. It is for these that all those who have known the blessings of knowledge, wealth, authority, strength or other attainments are expected to work. Each one of our able men—political, economic, social, religious, educational or other activity must be tested on the touchstone of its effect on the shape of tomorrow it will create, on those millions living in tiny villages and jungles of India. Whether we discuss linguistic or multi-linguistic states, Hindi or English or regional languages, industrialization or handicrafts, centralization or decentralization, control or devolution, education, Hindu Law or reformed Hindu Law, prohibition or drink, Hindu Mahatma or Jinnah, Government appointments or appointments let and test be what, if any, effect it will have on the life, comfort, growth and development of the dumb and un-civilized millions.

May our Republic be a blessing to the least one of mankind! May it be a message of cheer to all our countrymen and men a peaceful Peace and Goodwill among all the nations of the world.

Written 24-1-50

K. O. MATHURAPALA

By Mahadevi Govinda
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A HOSPITALITY'S INCIDENT

Shri J. C. Karmappa admits me as follows:

I have won your article 'Hospitality in the Matter of the 1st Incident'. It was good of you to have accepted our version of the story! For a reader who has not the background of what had happened it will not be so easy to understand. I am sorry, therefore, that some of the words I used did not find expression in the article. Neither Dr Ghosh nor I had any reason for being unreasonable, if there was any feeling at all it must have been a reflection of the cooperation provided throughout the meeting, for was there any likelihood of being invited to have our members are wrong as I pointed out when I was here.

What happened had been stated by Dr Ghosh in his letter of the 13th December, 1959. The West Bengal Government, pursuant to the 1957-58 act and with it the 1958-59 act, decided that the right of the Government was only if it had already done its duty in the production of grants by the students in various ways. If not the Government had no right to claim any part of the students' fee under such circumstances. Government with its feeling of the police, seems to have every part of the production, the Government would play the role of a referee. When a referee comes in like way the students have to go day after day to the school where the referee has been kept. Hence I said, "I can well understand the people doing away with their grain. When a high-caste person is a referee in their case, were paid work in a bank by the side." The Government does not appear to be having money to do so. We should never object to such a move. But the Government appears under the present circumstances as a person and a house who is well known already. If they had had the courage to do so, they would have been fully satisfied by students. People do not work as the Government should make money out of them. The other hand Government seems to be that the people may prosper.

In fairness to the readers of *Shree* and to myself I must say will publish this letter.

I cannot — will not — enter into public controversy with self-defence against my own brother, for whatever charge he may lay against me.

I hold no brief for Government. I do not stand up for any of Government policy and administration specially where it is against the interest of the poor. I do not see eye to eye with so many things which the Government has been doing, and in one way or another against them. I could not refer to the criticism against present social and Government help to students for I had in my hand at the time the correspondence between the West Bengal Government and Shri J. C. Karmappa and a press statement of that Government, which showed different approaches to the question. It required a more careful study of the whole problem and I had no means of doing so. Shri J. C. Karmappa and Dr Ghosh, who had evoked the Government statement, could have met the Government demand of their policy by a modest reply, but Shri Karmappa simply stated that his criticism did not refer to West Bengal but the All-India Government Plan, as he had no detailed information regarding West Bengal

and Dr Ghosh I unfortunately made no reply at all. Under the circumstances I had to keep clear of their subject altogether and concern only the remarks pertaining to sabotage. And, on that point, the above letter does not seem to call for any modification of my remarks.

Bombay, 15-1-60

S. O. KARMAPPALA

BACK TO ENGLISH?

From *Wardha* comes the report that the first batch of Commerce Graduates through Hindi has come out. Quite as significant to this comes the decision of the Government of Bombay to re-introduce English in standard seventh, two years after its abolition from that standard was agreed upon jointly by the Primary Secondary and Basic Boards of Education. Since nothing has happened during the period requiring a revision of that policy, this is definitely a retrograde step. It not only tends to shake the change of medium at the University stage, but also deals a severe blow to the teaching of staff (Government themselves having suggested a reduction in staff, partly in standard seventh), and tends to shift the emphasis again to English.

The reason put forth by our Government is that the life of English has been extended for 25 years by the Constituent Assembly. The reasoning is fallacious. For 13 1/2 years is not the minimum but maximum period for complete replacement of English and (2) the period was not expected to be extended in educational policies of provinces. On the contrary it was expected that the schools should make this period in preparing personnel knowing the regional languages and Hindi. The psychological effect of the extension will be very bad upon students as well as teachers. The emphasis shifts from staff to English once again dealing a severe blow to staff teaching. It has been pointed out repeatedly that the first seven years is a unit in itself which should not be deferred. It is true that naturally the teaching of English is opposed. But in the prevailing atmosphere, it will be comparatively taught. Moreover there will be administrative complications in Standard VIII where some have will have learnt some English already and not others.

It is understood that Government's revoking of their former decision has been brought about by the machinations of those vested interests who do not desire a change at the University stage because that would affect the retention of English at schools. Instead of using their influence with Government order to compel the University (which is a semi-official body) to change the medium they worked at the other end to reintroduce English on the plea that these students will suffer at the university where the medium is still unchanged (and which they do not desire to see changed either). It is true Government is warned of these vested interests that surround them who pretending all sympathy with change in the medium and swearing

VILLAGE INDUSTRIES v. FACTORIES*

Let me at the outset tell you that though I have learnt to ply the shawl's, I do not know the how and the why of it. There was no place in handicrafts in my education and be sure I have little aptitude for this work. I have been taught reading and writing and I carry on my work and render a little service only with that implement. So only experts will be able to tell you your technical matters. I can tell you something only about the philosophy of these industries—no weaving, no rearing, etc.

Man started manufacturing articles to meet his wants. First he made them by hand. Man is distinguished from other animals by the possession of hands. So, in days of old, hand was the only machine and tool combined in one. Then he invented later some tools to give help and strength to his hands. These tools helped him in perfecting the act of his hands and for that purpose they were necessary too. But later on, greed for money seized him and he installed factories to take place of hand-tools. The use of tools is to produce articles for wants that of factories to produce them for money. They were started not to produce for our needs, but for making money.

Nature has produced materials sufficient enough to meet man's needs. But factory-owners started exploring nature in unnatural ways. Thence they have created 'dirt' in place of 'wealth'. The duty of a doctor is to help the patient to regain his health and maintain it in a fit condition but when money becomes the motive for practicing medicine he is tempted to prolong his disease. The factory also does the same. Instead of meeting man's wants it misrepresents them. It regards the people as children. Just as children throw away old toys when they see new ones, so also the factory-owners tempt the people to throw old articles and get new ones. The result is that we make ourselves dependent upon the will of the factory-owners. We must therefore, get up our industries for factories. If we drive for more things than needed, we become slaves of the factory. There is no happiness in slavery. Our troubles increase in the same proportion as our wants. We must, therefore, produce to meet our necessities, and behind production there must be discipline and controlled representation.

We must try to know the world around us. The villagers of old knew their world well. But we do not know our own world and more is it like blind men. The factories prevent us from knowing our world. We produce wheat in our fields and calculate its cost on the basis of expenses incurred in producing the quantity grown but we cannot get that price in the market. The price of wheat depends upon the price of wheat produced in far-off countries of the

world and, therefore, farmers, producers of wheat, produce wheat in accordance with the market. We produce things which are wanted and much is required but in reality no money, no other necessities, foodstuffs and the necessary tools, Australia, and America produce wheat, we are not able to get it. Consequently we export our produce and we must accept the price. The more we produce, the more we lose. The world is going upon trade. If we do not open our world we shall continue to lead a life of slavery.

In older days people lived in villages. They growed what they needed but when they want to make them their activities are not limited. They would starve. Why? Because money becomes an altar? Because the machines have been introduced. Goods are manufactured in cities and sent to villages. Villages, therefore, have been drained away from money and cities, which have become rich by exploiting villages. This exploitation goes on in different ways. Children have to be sent to the city for their education, and along with their education is the village goes to the city as the village school. This is not all. The young children go to the city back as labor-slaves. What a prospect for the youth—the hope of the village—drained off! The city deprives him even of his money. Because there wealth as well as intelligence, money, the village is exploited. Even those who would be prefer life in the peaceful surroundings of the village, have had to cross rivers and seas to sell their power and their capital, to work in the city markets. Their capital, strength, ability and art, all desert the village. Therefore, laborers also moved cities to work in factories in the hope of earning money, and because, parts of the machines which they learned to. Through money, they imagine that they are running the mills, but poor people! they do not know that it is mills that really run them!

If you work with your tools you are the lord of your tools. But in factories you have to work as the machine bids you—that is the machine lords it over you. An artist does a unique expression to his art of his works with his instruments. He pours out his soul in his work. He gets the pleasure of working out his conception. But in a factory a worker produces according to the design given to him in a ready-manufactured manner. He only sees designs being turned over in the process of their manufacture. Since he cannot see his hands in his work, how can he develop himself? A factory worker does not manufacture any goods himself. He simply produces parts—that too in a peculiar way. These parts are given a concrete shape in various parts of the machine at various places. The worker sees only a part of the thing being produced before his eyes. He does not know the what purpose that part is being manufactured. The process of manufacturing is divided and takes place simultaneously at various parts of the factory and only when all these parts are

* Presidential address at the Thirteenth Symposium at Serampore, Shantiniketan, on 18-12-36.

assembled together. *Why?* The workers know what thing has been exactly produced. By working in this factory, namely, the poor workers know the position of an organism.

With the growth of cities and factories our Government has also shifted to the city. The village paradiases of older days have ceased to exist. These village paradiases could not practice much tyranny on the people, because they were very near them. The modern urban governments are more tyrannical than the worst of them. But modern tyranny is not visible, because it is practiced from a distance. In the village life was open. It was possible to find out promptly who was at fault and where the fault lay. But today? Recently the price of sugar has gone up and stocks have disappeared from shops. Do you know how this has happened? At least, I do not. When I see do not know it fully, how can a poor villager know it? We get a clue on the fact, but we do not know who gives the clue. We receive hints by headlines on our heads, but we do not know where they come from. People are suffering for want of foodgrains, cloth and sugar, but no one knows how scarcity of these commodities has occurred. That is why Raps used to say that we would have freedom only when we started the capital from Delhi and installed in the seven hills of villages. Only when that happens will we be able to see life in the people and establish *panchajanya* raj as before. We would know then why sugar was controlled and why prices went up and whether it was due to the lockabrosis of the leaders in Delhi or on account of the dishonesty of merchants. At present, leave alone the ordinary people, even educated people do not know these things. The retailer blames the wholesaler, the wholesaler blames the factory-owner, and the factory-owner points to the sugar-cane-grower—here everyone throws the blame on another. We are at war with and is tracing the real culprit. We are unable to know our world today. So many huge schemes are launched that one does not know what has happened and what shape our life will take. If the world we had to deal with was rather small, we would be able to understand it. If the price of our increased even by one pice in the village, we could persuade the dealers or boycott them and thus control the price. In the present situation, whom should we blame among the leaders in Delhi and whom can we boycott?

Our economic plight appears serious like a heavy earthquake or a huge flood. God alone can save us from it. All our activities have become so complicated that we do not understand anything. We lay milk in the chest, but we do not realize that it is blood and not milk. The cows are halibled, the calves are also starved or killed at times, and all the milk is drawn from the cows for being consumed in the cities. But

we do not realise this because we do not see them with our own eyes. It reminds me of an anecdote about three monks. He once arrived at a village in the course of his wanderings. A landlord invited him for meals, and made good arrangements for his food. But the sooner Narak sat down for meals and ate the food than he got up again. The landlord was perplexed and was anxious to know what was wrong with the food. Narak asked him to crush the food and see what was wrong. When the landlord took it in his hand and crushed it, blood came out of it. Narak showed him the blood and said "Then it is full of blood. How can I eat it?" Man becomes what he eats.

Our body is a temple. We must keep it always clean. We must have control over our economy wants. Our necessities should not be produced in a way, which would mean exploitation of the villages. That is the reason why Raps was opposed to the production of anything which would enslave the villages. Political power also should not be such as would result in the exploitation of man, whether it is bureaucracy or democracy.

J. D. KHANDWALA

(Translated from the Marathi by December 1929)

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TWO ANNAS

"GREATER LOVE HATH NO MAN THAN THIS"

(By James Innes)

Two thousand years ago the Prince of Peace stood for the sake of his fellow men on earth by mounting the Cross with words of forgiveness and love for his persecutors. And though man felt ashamed and humiliated he did not mind his wags.

The primitive man hunted for food, in the middle ages he killed for glory. The experiment of our age stalked the globe with a technique of slaughter and enslavement in the wake of greed and exploitation. The earth was rent with warring and wailing and grinding of teeth. Humanity lay prostrate under the agony of unbearable outrage.

In the midst of all this dark and conflict came, once more, a War Man from the East. Like the Good Shepherd he shouldered the dying sheep, the crushed victims of hatred, rolling out away from home, and whispered to me and his tribe "With words nothing and his going, he says to them: "Come ye that grope and are heavily laden. I bring to you good tidings — the Gospel of Resurrection."

And he shepherded his flock and transferred unto them in their afflictions with tenderness and affection. He taught the women to turn. He taught little mothers to stand upright and resist social arrogance and snarl, marching with babes in their arms and coaxing grapes. He set strong overbearing foreigners and pleaded his people's cause, disarming them with his courtesy and his integrity. He took their sympathy with his gentle sufferings and earned a great renown.

And behold, he returns homeward to his own people and concludes with them, once more a new Covenant. "It has been said by those of old: 'Ye resist not evil, or 'resist evil with evil.' But I say unto you, resist evil without you, with the whole might of your soul, resist it with Non-violence, resist it with Truth, resist it without make. Resist ye and do penance for your sins, collective as well as individual. Refuse all violence, unshrink all hatred, shed all fear and urge yourselves into direct weapons of resistance. You are the salt of the earth. Ye are to establish once more, by

insisting to it as and with your lives, in this holy land of synthesis, the supremacy of word over matter, of God over man, as service over self-interest. And ye are to carry the Gospel of the non-violent resistance to the furthest ends of the earth. In this solemn task, he who shall lose his life shall find it, and he who shall seek to save his life shall lose it."

And his words came true again.

"Despise no man, but love as his name goodness. Harbour no ill-will against him, only resist the evil that has seized him. Resist and suffer cheerfully with no thought of returning evil for evil. Shun all fear. Be brave and wield the weapon of Truth and Non-violence, which is Love abounding. They are lost the converse and reverse of the same coin. To me there is no God other than this. It is my sole weapon and my strength. And know ye, that it is not the weapon of the weak. It is for the bravest. Love ye, therefore, to world if against all your sin. It shall sustain you against the mightiest. For it is rooted on the soil of Love that truth and that which is God."

And behold! Great multitudes followed him.

And he covered the entire land with his journey, plying his wheel, and with his thread linked men with men — whole masses of them.

The rulers came upon their fields and spinners from their looms. Rulers left their seats, widowed their countries. Rich men, surrounded with large possessions, came too, in search of wisdom, and he lightened their burdens. Women came resurrected and awakened to the true dignity of their state. The aristocrats came with their limbs weakened and their souls crushed under the weight of age-long inequities. And he ministered unto them with all the power of his soul and made them whole. He made them God's chosen. Came also the publicans, the hated ones—servants of Government—who served the alien rulers and worked against their own country for a morsel of pottage. And he called upon them to repent and turned many into humble servants of the dumb millions. Lepers came and he built them shelters and

himself washed their wounds. Came also the pharisees, the learned ones, scribes and peace-keepers. And he suffered them all and treated them with unflinching patience and tenderness.

They came from distant lands and from across the seven seas. They came from all parts of the earth. And he taught them all and made them good men and women. Even his son of his great predecessors, —The Guru (Oshon)—he would make the sparrow learn down the hawk, but with a different weapon. With patient labours of a lifetime extending over half a century and spread over the entire land, he worked on his people to forge his weapon and to temper it.

Out of doom he made precious metal, out of earth-made he made material to challenge and defy the might of an insistent empire, to whose people he bore the greatest wrongs, and yet whose and he ordained, even as Krishna had ordained the end of the arrogant Jedisee. He called upon the foreigner to quit the land which he had lied with and in which he had worked much integrity.

And behold! For the first time in human history the world witnessed an open struggle of a whole nation locked for three decades in a non-violent combat with the alien rulers so that her chains should break. A Saga of peaceful persistence challenging the might of established authority, armed to the teeth, by refusing to submit to its unjust laws, resting upon themselves unjust sufferings and living under conditions of anguish all the provisions into them and their little while, of millions throughout the length and breadth of the country defying salt laws in the face of lashes tear-gas, horse-hoofs, women refusing to part with their beads of oak till their loins shallege, men tying their own hands with iron wires to prevent slacking of their grip on naked salt, of gallant men who would be counted as among the very peak of any army, offering to be beaten or pounded to death, by official aggression, without so much as raising their eyelids in protest, of starvings, arrests, tributes of their own people — objects of world abhorrence, leaders of men and of an age, who would adorn the halls of any international assembly — accepting cheerfully to surrender long moderate years of their great lives to be wasted in cold, dark, solitary dungeons on a par with felons, of Nation's beads pouring forth the agony of an age before sitting magnificence in crowded court-rooms, of apostles who walked the land bare-foot, broadcasting The New Gospel, carrying neither purse nor shoes nor yet slaves, pleading guilty against their accusers and urging the courts to reflect on their monstrous perdition, of wandering monks offering to starve themselves to death in protest against outraged womanhood through long agonizing fasts without a trace of ill-will towards the guilty, of frail

little men, strong by lay down their lives denying themselves in their prices with all food and water till death should deliver them, and in the darknesses covering their captives to administer without blame some suitable poison when their sufferings annoyed them, of sweet gardens privately mourning the gallows men being court-martialed for bad deeds, of village peasants narrowly facing military reprisals, with no better armour than plywood planks hung in front of their chests, of whole masses of unarmed, undisciplined men and women flinging themselves in blind abandon against bayonets, bullets, guns and bombs.

Righteousness the world ever waited in oblivion. Unleash was in motion. Naked Passions transpiring in the garb of aggravated annoyance stalked the land. It misgird virtue with impurity. Truth was lynched. The stars in high heavens wept over the misdeeds and the violence of man.

And against it all, in his indignation, the Father of the Nation lay stretched and twisted on his Bed of Fire for the tenth time, challenging his accusers from behind the prison. And his protest rang through the world penetrating the Iron Curtain. His Great Disciple, who was to him more than his own son, and 'with whom my Father is well pleased', lay in a handful of ashes at the prison corner. And the gentle Mother of the Nation was to meet her millions no more. Outside the prison-raped Revolution. The Empire shook, and his mighty accusers vanished. They fell flat. Their chagrin knew no bounds.

And behold! The Titan collapsed under the weight of his own iniquities.

And he quitted, but not without upholding the derisionist who dismounted for swelling his own Mother's garments. Freedom came, but her face was ghastly. Brother fell at the throat of brother, and women wept. Millions were uprooted and flung on the roadside. Men lost all their sense and shame and they burned and killed and perpetrated unconscionable abominations. Cities swelled with dying men and weeping women. They cursed and called aloud for retribution.

Overwhelmed and humiliated, the unquelled Father, bent under the indignities of age, runs away alone to their secret, even like the hen covering her brood under her wings against death. He takes his shade among the sorrowing. He faces the Fairy Ordal again and again and works miracles. He repeats to them his loving message: "Not through hatred and ill-will ye shall seek to avenge yourselves. 'Vengeance is mine' says the Lord. Grieve not, forgive your hurt, work and strive for goodwill and unity. For know ye who are afflicted, that Love exalteth, Love alone triumphs."

And he gathered them around him evening after evening as was his wont, and prayed with

them for the purification of their hearts, beseeching them and admonishing them and instructing them with his words of wisdom and cheer. They gathered in the ancient city under whose precincts mighty empires lay in dust and in whose neighbourhood his Great Predecessor taught Eternal Wisdom to Man from His chariot on the battlefield.

But as that the Scriptures may be fulfilled, and that the world's Martyrdom may attain its perfection behold! these scenes on the stage, once more, the infamous Ashwatthama, the perverse Aswath of Agni, the vile Brahmin, slain with the eternal wound on his mangled head and condemned to everlasting life of a roving ghost,—the embodiment of the accumulated evil of his race. His cruel unrepentant and unabsorbing eyes even with a paste within for his unholo design, and accomplish his foul deed of calculated cold murder before the eyes of a staggered multitude to the everlasting shame and infamy of his nation.

To Thee, Father of our Nation! we pay our grateful reverent homage. We salute Thee. We rejoice in the midst of our tears and our shame. We rejoice rather than sorrow and are grateful that the merciful Providence spared Thee to us to accomplish our deliverance however shameful and appearing the aftermath. We glory in Thy having walked on earth. For Thou hast given to mankind new values and corrected distance from a recalcitrant world by challenge, lay it once again to measure its own stature against thee. Thou art linked in the line of Thy recurring Predecessors—the Great Seers of mankind. Thou didst come to fulfil the Scriptures and to fulfil the pledge made in the Song Celestial.

"For the protection of the Good, for the destruction of the Wicked, and for the firm establishment of righteousness on Earth, I am born again and again."

Even as through ages past Thou lived and labored again and again. All Thy life didst Thou wear Thy Crown of Thorns and didst bear Thy Cross. And lay life's final sacrifice in surrendering it as a ransom for our own sins and shortcomings. Greater love indeed, hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for posterity among his fellowmen.

We salute Thee, Father of our Nation! None that hath received Thy Light shall walk in darkness.

By Mahatma Gandhi

SELECTED LETTERS—1

Chosen and Translated by V. C. Datta

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MAHATMA GANDHI NATIONAL MEMORIAL FUND

Though a brief statement of accounts of the fund is published as important duties every month, it will be appropriate to give a brief resume thereof on the occasion of Gandhi's second anniversary. The following are the totals of income and expenditure till the end of December 1938.

Income	
Collections	Rs 10,47,46,803- 8-10
Interest received	Rs. 12,77,282 11- 1
Total	Rs 18,29,64,285-14-11
Expenditure	
Total expenditure incurred for collections	Rs 8,10,684-13-10
Grants to institutions etc.	Rs 6,51,169-12- 5
Balance in the hands of provinces on account of expenses	Rs. 1,28,148- 8- 7
Total	Rs. 16,89,991- 2-11
Balance	Rs 18,42,74,284-32- 0

Under the terms of the Trust Deed of the Fund, 75 per cent of the collections of each province, will be spent in the province itself. The remaining 25 per cent will be carried to the Centre. Contributions made to the Fund by principal Insurance Companies and Banks of the country will also go to the Centre. The trustees have been also authorised to allot to the Centre more than 25 per cent of the collections made in the principal cities of India.

India has been divided into 25 units for the purpose of administration of the fund. The Board of Trustees has decided at its meeting last month to appoint an organizer with an advisory body for each province (unit). As this is likely to take time, during the interval, a sum of Rs. five lakhs has been placed at the disposal of the President of the Fund for making grants to deserving constructive institutions. In addition to this the Trustees have sanctioned and paid to 13 different institutions grants to the extent of Rs. 5,00,000-12-8.

The work of the Gandhi Museum is also making good progress. It has been decided to build the principal Museum at Raygata, Delhi.

The Provincial Committees have not yet been able to clear their accounts. Receipt books, coupons, vouchers and the final accounts have not yet been returned from villages, taluhas and districts to their provincial office. This lethargy is responsible both for insufficient response to the appeal for funds as also for the delay in clearing the Trust.

All persons and institutions in possession of accounts, vouchers, receipt books, coupons etc., will do well to forward them immediately to their provincial office and thus help to facilitate

growth and healthy administration. Provincial assemblies can be made and work started in provinces only after provincial accounts are properly made and cleared up.

New Delhi, 13-1-52 LAKSHMI PURUSHOTAM
Secretary
Mahatma Gandhi National Memorial Fund

HARIJAN

January 28

1952

ANOTHER YEAR'S GONE BY

One more year is gone by. A thousand more go and yet he will live.

In the mirror of his life the nations see themselves. In his simplicity they find themselves rich. In his faith they find strength and power, rest and happiness in his philosophy. In the symmetry of his thought and conduct his sufferings and successes they see themselves clearly.

He speaks in the spiritual parlour of mankind and awakens the basic virtues. He plucks the thorn of conflict from the heart of this nation. He recalls the words his fingers nobly touching the strings of the common people. He shines in the dark like a lamp.

Thus in few other nations we have been blessed in Gandhiji the Father of the Nation. But it is a blessing that is coupled with a unique task that we erect a memorial to his life by recording each his life a memorial unto him, preserving conflict between conservatism and conservatism between religion and religion, that we become a civilisatory nation pledged not to pause but to succeed in bringing the peoples of the world into a common rhythm of mutual kinship.

A kinder act a noble thought, a kind sacrifice, a freer use of tolerant imagination, a brother touch of the hand, a cheerful act of the word, something from each every day, will kindle the light in ourselves and prepare this nation to march forth on the Great Intermarriage.

This is the call of the National Anniversary, whether through the land this confirmation of faith and resolve that introspection and justification of the spirit.

N. K. VISWANATHAN
Kannurathi, Travancore.

REFUGE IN TRUTH

We take refuge in Thee,
Who is almighty in Truth,
Who was in and will remain for ever True
Who generates Truth
Who is the Truth of all relative truths
Indeed, Who is Truth incarnate.

(Whisperer, 10-3-52)

HIS ANSWERS

It is one of the interesting letters by Gandhi to C. P. Joshi was furnished to me by a common friend. I am obliged to him against Harlow, who is in charge of the Joshi's records, for permitting me to publish it. In Answer I do not know why the year has been marked 20/1 in the letter. There is a note that Bhai Kaba Khabdar said that Gandhi to determine whether it should be 1950 or 1951.

—K. G. W.

Calcutta,
28th January 52/1

My Dear Charlie

I look at the problem as an Indian and a Hindu. You as an Englishman and Christian. You look at it with the eye of an observer, I as an affected and affected party. You can be patient I cannot. Or you as a disinterested reformer can afford to be impatient whereas I as a worker must be patient. If I would get rid of the sin I may take grief of the Englishman's sin to Induswara. But as a Hindu I must not talk about the sin of Hindus against the untouchables. I have to deal with Hindu Dross. I must act and have ever acted. You act you do not work when you feel rest. Not knowing General, you do not know how furiously the question is raised in Calcutta. Do you know that I have purposely adopted a swish style? There is today at 4 o'clock a period family again. You are doing an injustice to me in even allowing yourself to think that for a single moment I may be unconcerned the question is any other. But I could not ever address or write in English then. Most of those who form my audience are not hostile to the swish. I had the least difficulty about carrying the proposition about these in the Congress.

Moreover I cannot talk about things I do not know. The Varanashree question in Bengal I know only superficially. It is perhaps not one of untouchability but of the remainder and not the work. I am dealing with the 'sin' itself. I am warning the superstition of Hindus that Hindu consider it a sin to touch a portion of the human being because they are born in a relative environment. I am warned as a Hindu is showing that it is not a sin and that it is a sin to consider that touch a sin. It is a lower matter than that of untouchable independence. But I can tackle it better if I take the policy on the way. It is not impossible that India may free herself from British dominion before India has become free of the curse of untouchability. Freedom from British domination is one of the necessities of India and the absence of it is making the war to all progress. Do you know that policy those who are opposing me in Calcutta are actually supporting the Government and the latter are playing them against me?

I began to think about you and the question at 2 a.m. Not being able to sleep I began to write and you at 4 a.m. I have not written all I want to say on the question. This is no apology. I have not been able to clear the point for

you as it is close to me. What you have written in your letter about students is right. You are thinking as an Englishman. I must not keep one thing from you. The *Chopra* is endeavoring to weaken my position by saying that I have been influenced by you in that matter meaning thereby that I am not sincere as a Hindu but as one having been spoiled by being under your influence. This is all rot. I know. I began this in S. A. before I ever heard of you and was conscious of the sin of unreachability before I came under other Christian influences in S. A. The truth came to me when I was not a child. I used to knock at my dear mother for making me believe if we brothers touched one another it was in 1897 that I was prepared in Durham to take Mrs. Gandhi away from the house because she would not treat on a footing of equality Lawrence who she knew belonged to the church class and whom I had wanted to stay with me. It has been a part of my life to serve the unreachables because I have felt that I cannot remain a Hindu if it was true that unreachability was a part of Hinduism.

I have only told you half the truth. I feel as heavily about the Rajput as I do about the unreachables. Wherever I am in Calcutta the thought of the gods being sacrificed haunts me and makes me uneasy. I asked Raviul not to settle in Calcutta on that account. The people can voice his concern. He has no petition. He can even run against Harekrishna but the poor dumb gods? I sometimes write in agony when I think of it. But I do not speak or write about it. All the time I am qualifying myself for the service of those fellow creatures of mine who are disadvantaged in the name of my Faith. I may not finish the work in this incarnation. I shall be born again to finish that work or someone who has received my power will finish it. The point is the Hindu was so different from the modern way. It is the way of ignorance. I do believe that the Christian way is not different from the Hindu. I am not yet satisfied that I have told you all that is just now going to my pencil. But I dare say I have said sufficient for you to understand. Only please do not take this letter to be a complaint if it is not to be taken as an apology. Your reply to Sir William Vincent is perfect.

I know you will let Dr. Chavara know of his wishes in what is wanted for Sanjakasthan to come out boldly for non-co-operation in the religious sense. My fear is that Gandhi has not yet realized the absolute truth and the necessity of it.

I am likely to leave here on the fourth instant (Monday) on my way to Delhi. I am in Dehra on the 15th. I am sending a personal letter to Corbett. With deep love

THE PASSING OF GANDHI

All are at the Prayer Meeting. All is over in a trice. All are stricken with the bullets. The black eyes fill with darkness. The yellow lamp in the evening sky is suddenly put out. In each heart is a deep sigh.

He lies wrapped in repose. A rare silence overtakes the world. An invisible spirit hovers over the spot.

The procession moves across the eye of sunlight. Delhi is today the City of the Triangle of grief to come to its pilgrimage from every part of the earth. The sad strains rattle and roll. The sun looks with a sad glance and goes down slowly. The flame gathers the pyre burns.

It is the middle of the night. The darkness guard hanging in mist. The still sky bends low. The tilted river gets both a tremor. Now and then a wisp of smoke hovers.

Without a stir or sign there is a cortege rolling out of the river's bed. It is the procession of centuries from the dreaming past. The great lantern in the company flares by the wayside where now the flames begin to be down, while the main body marches. A sheet of mist streaked with dew shuts out the soldiers from the episode.

Then the first glimmerings of daybreak appear at the meeting of the sacred rivers in which Gautama had bathed and Krishna sworn and played. Then in the returning light of the day there stands forth the certainty that the voice that had been stifled will speak again. The light that had been cut out will evermore shine.

M. K. VEDAKATHEVARAN

Kenneths Theodore

WHAT DID GANDHI LEAVE TO INDIA? *

I think the heading is a misnomer. For what Mahatma Gandhi has left behind is for the whole world and not for India alone. He lived and died for peace and goodwill upon earth and he was convinced that it could never be achieved unless and until there was a living acceptance of the principles of truth and non-violence by mankind.

The doctrine of non-violence is as old as the hills. It has been preached and practiced by the sages from time immemorial in every country and every religion. But it was accepted only as the ideal for the individual, the man of God who had renounced the world. Mahatma Gandhi, with his clear and precise thinking, came to the conclusion that what was good and practical for one man must be so for the masses of mankind too. Gradually he realized that life was one continuous whole. It could not be divided into separate compartments. It is now desirable for us to be truthful and non-violent in our personal life. It must be so in the social, economic and political spheres too.

We derived inspiration from the Bhagavad Gita, the Gospels on the Mount, the writings of

* Address delivered at the Festival of International Solidarity in Year II B. A.

Tolstoy, Ruskin and Thoreau, but it was left to him to put their theories into practice and demonstrate to the world that non-violence could be used to rectify every wrong, and that it could be practised on a mass scale as an effective substitute for war or violent revolution. He started preaching non-violent resistance or "Satyagraha" (meaning resistance or truth) by fighting the injustice of colour prejudice in South Africa. He had gone there to make his fortune as a barrister, but the injustice inflicted upon the Indians convinced him to oppose them and he took up the fight for redressing their wrongs. The non-violent resistance movement organised by him kept him in that country for twenty years and after the successful culmination of that struggle he returned to India. There he used the same weapon to attain the freedom of India. You all are familiar with that struggle and its successful conclusion. No country in the world has had a bloodless revolution of that type.

Mahatma Gandhi objected to the term Passive Resistance for his movement, for he believed that non-violence is the most dynamic force on earth. The weapon is inflexible but one who wields it would it must accept the complete qualification to do so. The principle is to non-violent the opponent to our own way of thinking by making him see his mistake. It is done through non-co-operation with the wrong-doer and through active civil resistance of what appears to us to be wrong and cheerfully suffering the consequences thereof. The last weapon in the armoury of a satyagrahi, or civil resister, is self-suffering through fasting which serves the triple purpose of self-discipline, involving the help of God, and affecting the opponent's heart through self-suffering. But the self-suffering, in order to be effective, must be pure. The objective must be above selfish ends and aimed at the good of both sides. The satyagrahi must be full of love for the opponent and never harbour the least ill-will or desire for revenge or retaliation. Non-violence must never be used as a cloak for cowardice.

It requires a courage of a far superior type to do without killing than to die in the process of killing. And the utmost that one can do is to make one's life for the defence of what one believes to be right.

A question might be asked if it is possible to make the sacrifices that are required in the practice of non-violent resistance. The answer is that the sacrifices involved in violent warfare are far greater in the long run and the results far poorer. Only the introduction of war and violence makes it seem to make them at the time.

Another question often asked is whether it was the effectiveness of the non-violent struggle in India and the consequent change of heart that led to the British withdrawal or whether it was the world situation that forced them to quit.

Gandhi's reply to that question was that he did not believe that it was the world situation which forced them to quit, but even if it were granted for the sake of argument, it detracted nothing from the efficacy of non-violence for in human affairs there is always an unknown factor beyond human calculations. A living faith in God is absolutely necessary for one who will practise non-violence and Mahatma Gandhi. For, there will be moments when there will be utter darkness and a blind wall in front. Nothing but a living faith will sustain a satyagrahi at such times. But if our perceptions, the way will open, and the unknown will produce situations which no one could have dreamt of.

Another argument often put forth is that non-violence recorded against the British, as they are a civilized people. It would be never worked against Hitler or Stalin. Gandhi's reply was that non-violence never fails. The harder the heart that has to be melted, the greater must be the suffering and sacrifice of the non-violent resister, coupled with love and goodwill towards the oppressor. In other words one must make a distinction between the sin and sinner, and while we must dislike and resist wrong, we may love nothing but goodwill and compassion towards the wrong-doer. More over a non-violent resister must have his own hands clean. A small thief cannot hope to persuade a bigger thief to give up thieving through non-violence and self-suffering.

Constructive Programme

While Gandhi presented the technique of Satyagraha or non-violent resistance as a potent means of securing justice in the domestic, social, national and international fields, he knew full well and emphasized the importance of constructive work as the basis of a non-violent social order. For that he insisted upon decentralized economy. Centralization places a power in the hands of a few whether they run, be the capitalists or the State itself and therefore reduces the freedom of the individual. He believed in the principle "to all according to their need, and from all according to their capacity" but it was to be accepted voluntarily. Moral suasion might have to be used to convert those who possessed far more than they needed to become trustees of their wealth, but he did not believe in withholding them. For violence never really solves any problem though it might appear to do so at the moment. In his opinion the failure of the French and the Russian revolutions to achieve their high objectives was due to the fact that they used violence and even smothered its victims to achieve them.

Gandhi's voluntary sharing there was emphasis on voluntary reduction of material wants as opposed to the drive to possess more and more. He presented the ideology of simple living and high thinking. He emphasized the importance of physical labour as a means of self-expression and creative joy and asked the people to use

find the most wonderful machine given to them by God — their own two hands. When they had exhausted the possibilities therein, they could use other means to supplement it so that the machine released the servant of man and did not become his master, reducing him to a mere peg in the mechanical gear. Therefore, he emphasised the need for handicrafts, and a system of education which trains the children's hands through developing the skill of their hands. This system of education, called 'Basic Education' is based on the same idea as progressive education in this country. Only it is more comprehensive and links up non-violence with education so as to turn the aggression of the child into creative channels from an early age.

He fought for the removal of untouchability and insisted upon the eradication of all distinctions based on caste, colour and creed. There was to be equal respect and regard for all religions, since all religions presented the same truth and there were good and bad men among the followers of all faiths. It was the practice of the spirit of religion that mattered, and not the beliefs. The practice of non-violence and truth in thought, word and deed, and exercise of self-control with regard to all so-called basic drives of man were the essential disciplines which gave one the strength to work out a non-violent pattern of life based on the constructive programme.

Is It Practical?

A question might be asked whether it is ever possible for all men to practise these high principles. Gandhi's reply was that not all mankind consists of armed forces. Those who enlist in the army have to receive training in arms. Similarly the soldiers of non-violence must undergo training in non-violence. And just as not every soldier knows all the ins and outs of war politics, similarly in non-violence the general has to be familiar with the intricacies of the application of non-violence to various situations and formulate policies. The soldiers must obey, but they must have faith in the weapons that they are using, and must understand to follow the disciplines necessary for the practice of non-violence. War and violence have been glorified through the ages. If even a fraction of that effort were spent on making peace attractive, or if even a fraction of the effort spent on training armed forces were spent on providing training in non-violence, there is no limit to the possibilities of non-violence. India's non-violent struggle was conducted by masses who were utterly untrained, and the General, Mahatma Gandhi, also received training in the process of our struggle. Our non-violence was very imperfect, no doubt, but if that could achieve what it has done, how much more could real non-violence of the brave do? That is the lesson that Mahatma Gandhi has left to India and the world.

The essence of it all is that one can never achieve the right end by using the wrong means. As opposed to the doctrine, 'the end justifies the means', Mahatma Gandhi held, 'Means are more important than the end. If you take care of the means, the end will take care of itself.' His experience proved that freedom can be won through non-violence. It remains for all free nations of the world, including India, to demonstrate that freedom can be maintained through non-violence. In fact, that is the only way of securing real freedom for the masses, of achieving true democracy. Half-hearted democracy of the present day cannot stand against the tide of Communism. The democracy preached by Mahatma Gandhi can and will, if we have the courage to follow his teachings.

MINIHA NAYAR

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF BAPU*

There must be few in this world who could equal the amount of work which Bapu did. But every hearer of Bapu's words and every Bapu could have a healthy laugh. On leaving the sound of his laughter from a neighbouring room, I used to get astonished and my colour for him grew. Once I asked him how he could laugh so in the midst of seriousness. His reply was that had he not had that capacity, he would have gone mad a long while ago.

Another remarkable habit of Bapu consisted in personally taking part in such small routine of the Ashram as cutting vegetables and serving food. I would often ask myself if President Roosevelt or Mr. Winston Churchill could ever be expected to do that.

Another characteristic of him which struck me deeply was his insistence on going round the Ashram at least once in a day, and see the inmates, especially the sick ones. It impressed me very much.

Once I visited the Ashram in the company of my wife. During our stay Bapu took personal interest in our comforts and especially of my wife. He would not like to remember her better during, bathing or retiring.

I remember an incident which impressed me much at the time. Bapu had just recovered from serious illness. Shri Anubhai Sarabhai and his wife Shri Sarabhai of Ahmedabad were anxious that Bapu should get perfect rest and doubted if he could do so at the Ashram. They invited him to their bungalow. Bapu thanked them in sweet and kind words, but did not agree to leave the Ashram.

(From Gujarati)

EDWARD B. CRISP

*From notes of a speech delivered by Edward B. Crisp at Kanyakumari, Madras (Baroda).

A SEVERE CONDEMNATION

The judgment of Sir M. S. Patil, Judge of the Special Tribunal in the case known as Sahasrao Poono Furing is a severe condemnation of the Prison and Police officers involved in the incident. It will be remembered that on the night of the 12th August 1948, there was some trouble in the Sahasrao Central Prison. It was met by the authorities by lathi-charges and firing, leading to the death of two detenus Jayantil Parekh and Jannaldas Modi and severe or minor injuries to 17 others.

There was a general feeling among the public that the action of the authorities was high-handed and unjustifiable, and there was a demand for public inquiry. This was answered by the Bombay Government instituting a criminal case against the detenus themselves on a charge of forming an unlawful assembly, rioting and accidental offences. A Special Tribunal presided over by Sir M. S. Patil was appointed for the purpose. The judge has now delivered his judgment (16th January 1950). He has almost wholly disbelieved the evidence of the prosecution witnesses, including that of responsible officers like the Superintendent of Prison, Senior Jailer, Deputy Superintendent of Police, and the first investigating magistrate. He has doubted even the truthfulness of the records made by them. He has held that there was no participation even for a lathi-charge, much less for shooting. This means that the death of two young men and infliction of grave injuries on 17 other persons was brought about by acts of wanton irresponsibility on the part of officers who were thoroughly incompetent and morally unfit to hold positions of trust. The judge has further held that the force used by the prisoners themselves to resist the police attack was in self-defence, and he has justified all the 17 surviving detenus for whatever injuries they might have caused to the Prison and Police authorities during the scuffle. The only officers for which the detenus have been found guilty is of forming an unlawful assembly with the common intention of violating the order of transfer of some of their comrades.

This case must not be taken as an isolated incident. Unless the judgment itself is of the record, it shows that the morale of the Police and Prison Department is very low and a disgrace to the popular Government. I hope the Government will take severe action against the offending officers and also impress upon the departments better and higher standards of duty.

Bombay, 14-1-50 K. G. MANSURWALA

By S. C. Deshpande

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OFFERING OF TARN-HAARS

Sri Yasho has explained the idea underlying the offering of tarn-haars in his note *Some Suggestions for Navaratri Mela (Maroon 8-1-50)*. For the information of readers further instructions are given below.

(1) Temples have been made to know how the yarn received by way of offering will be utilized. In this connection, the Tarns have thought of its meeting on 14-1-50 under the following resolution:

"It is necessary to have information to the public about the details of the programme of the Navaratri observance (1949-50) in 12th February. As a part of the programme, village committees, are working in cities, propaganda of Navaratri (1949 and 1950) and offering of tarn-haars should be emphasized. The Tarns have thought will consider the yarn so collected, and in no way to try as possible to make for building Navaratri Mela to be held on the 12th February every year.

The Secretary of the Tarns have thought will make arrangements for reaching the yarn to social trust.

It has been decided that yarn need not be sent to the Tarns Bero Bhang Office but should be locally collected around according to caste, region and a detailed statement only of the total yarn should be forwarded to the Tarns Bero Bhang Office. The use to which it is to be put, will be decided later on.

(2) Each place should be marked with the full name and address of the sponsor. Officers of Navaratri Mela should visit their names and addresses in their regions. This will facilitate making contact with donors.

(3) A report of the Navaratri-observance and Tarns should be made to the subgroups.

(From Ahlat)

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ECONOMY IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

There is a field of Government expenditure which is hidden from public eyes. It is expenditure charged under the head, 'Travelling Allowances'.

There are no readily available statistics to show the correct annual figures of this expenditure of all Departments in each province, but I can safely put it down without any fear of contradiction to a modest figure of about two crores for the State of Bombay. The Finance Department would do well to publish correct information about it. The expenditure under this item can be easily cut down by 50 per cent if the few suggestions made in this article are accepted.

During recent years this expenditure is steadily mounting up enormously. This is mainly due to constant transfers of Government servants, both high and low. They have become a regular phenomenon these days. The District heads of Departments are transferred from one end of the province to the other within very short intervals. To cite the instance of my own district, the office of the Collector has changed hands four times during the last two years, of the Deputy Collectors an equal number of times, if not more, and of the Magistrates and Head Karkuns over half a dozen times. The changes in the personnel of the subordinate service are more frequent than the changes of the seasons in the year. The example of my district will hold good for other districts also. These rapid changes of officers are not only an unnecessary waste of public money but are also responsible for a good deal of administrative incoherence, delay and inefficiency. I concede that the partition of the country and the transfer of power from British to Indian hands made several transfers unavoidable in the initial stages. There may be also reasons, personal or administrative, for some early transfers, but when they are made merely to suit the personal whims of the authority. This is an abuse of power. The stupendous cost to Government owing to constant shuffling of officers and subordinates should be always before the mind of the authority ordering such transfers. He fails in the proper discharge of his duties if he simply signs transfer orders placed before him by his deputies and assistants without proper scrutiny. There should be a good reason for every transfer.

The Political and Services Department of Bombay issued a circular some time ago directing that transfers of public servants should be done as seldom as possible and at least not earlier than three years in every case. But I wonder whether the officers of Government remember even the existence of this order. It would be a sound rule to lay down that where a transfer is made in less than three years, the sanctioning authority should ascertain and record the reasons for departing from the ordinary rule. It will be very useful if the Finance Department calls for periodical returns of transfers

made by each Department and where it comes to light that the transfers are too frequent, the persons responsible for them are called upon to explain.

Travelling allowances as now given to Government servants and non-officials, like members of R. D. Boards, Legislatures, and other special committees are only wasteful expenditures. Tours of Ministers all over the province have become almost seasonal. It may be necessary for them to tour round the Province in order to know things first-hand and study matters in consultation with the local persons directly, but with all deference to the Honourable Ministers, I feel that they are rather too frequent and do not make an adequate return for the heavy bill of their T. A. It is high time to stop all superfluous visits. Besides expense, constant visits of Ministers cause a serious interruption of work in the offices of the various Departments. District officers and other local officers are required unnecessarily to spend a couple of days for paying respects to the Honourable Ministers which means again expenditure by State by way of travelling allowances of these officers. It is desirable that people also become more business-like and stop inviting persons in authority for all sorts of public functions and even if invited the men in authority should refuse to accept them. This suggestion, if accepted, will reduce a considerable waste of Government expenditure.

Similarly, the cost incurred in payment of bills on account of T. A. to R. D. Board members, members of the Legislature and other Advisory Committees. The latter have given up like memberships in recent years. It is sufficient if R. D. Board meetings are held only twice a year. So also the members of our Legislative Assembly and Council. As regards the Advisory Committees constituted in every district as members of Panch, the less said the better. They are at present constituted redundant bodies and can easily be done away with as economy measures. Most of the members of these bodies are men who simply assemble at regular intervals to give assent to what the officials prepare and put before them and return home enjoying trips to District and Provincial headquarters at State expense.

It is clearly laid down in the Bombay Civil Service Rules that Travelling Allowance paid to Government servants should not be a source of profit, but only a means of recouping the expenditure incurred by them for Government. In spite of this very clear provision in the Rules, in several Departments the Controlling authorities allow the Government servants to draw mileage allowances in addition to daily allowances. It is reasonable if they set paid actual expenses of the journey and admissible daily allowances. When public conveyances are available in these days in all parts of the country, there is no justification whatever for allowing Government servants two costs when they travel.

amongst members. The result is, much to go down, is being managed by simply challenging them as less better administrators. When a breaking point is reached, there is a feeling of compassion which leads people to destroy the previous order, even if no better order is visible.

The right way is to restore the confidence of the people by telling them how their ancestors are in their interest and the best that could be adopted, is a manner which people tend to be correct. As matters stand the officer appear scandalously bad.

Bombay, 12-1-50

R. C. NARAYANWALA

HARIJAN

February 5

1950

THE TWO HEADS

President Rajendra-prasad

The choice of Dr Rajendra-prasad as the first President of our Republic is not a matter of surprise. The term "Rajendra-prad" is not new to him. We have been accustomed to see him as the head of national conferences and gatherings. He has been President of the Congress so often. He was the President of the Constitutional Assembly. In fact whenever the nation sought a person whose name could be acceptable to all, the choice has almost always fallen upon him. It shows the amount of trust which every one has in him. I need not embarrass him or burden the reader by praising his high qualities. It is a good omen to the Republic to begin with Shri Rajendra-prasad as the first President.

Shri C. Rajeswaraiah

With the end of the office of the Governor-General Shri Rajeswaraiah leaves that office. That does not of course mean the loss of his services to the nation. Someone suggested that after having held high office of the Governor-General, it would not be proper for him to serve the country in a junior capacity. I do not know why. Besides till now he was a representative of King George VI. He was, so to say, in the British territory. He now returns to India, his own country. He should be considered free to serve the country in any capacity whatever. Of course he will continue to render his services, but I believe no convention should create a difficulty in the way.

May both bow long to serve the people
Bombay 22-1-50 R. C. NARAYANWALA

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THE BAIT OF THE EARTH

In all modern backward or advanced, most people are endowed with an average measure of health, intelligence and affection. Ill-health, deformity or poverty is exceptional and rare as genius, luck or the sixth finger. Kropotkin in the early nineties challenged the much-boasted Darwinian theory of natural selection and maintained that the so-called Law of the 'survival of the fittest' was a delusion, being only partially true. Life was not only of human species but of animals, birds and even insects endured and continued because the instinct urge for health, of aid and help being in other words of love and affection, was more powerful as beings and triumphed over that of self-preservation. If this current of love was not equally natural and predominant as was about most of the species would soon be extinct.

The root cause of so much human misery in the civilized world of our times has to be traced not to any lack of nature's endowment in health or virtue to average individual, but to lack of opportunities which is denied to vast majority of human beings under the social structures obtaining all over the world.

All economic, social and political upheavals and distortions of the present age could be traced to the mal-adjustment in human relationship as a result of which a microscopic minority ruled with extraordinary strength or talent holds sway over a whole community or society. It so builds up and evolves the social structure as to subject its normal average member to every curtailment of personal freedom and to compel him or her without escape to function as its bond-slave. In the name of State, law, order, commonwealth and other plausible slogans the individual is denied opportunity and freedom for self-development and self-expression in every sphere. Man's greed for power and self generally lies at the back of these opiate slogans and is really responsible for most of the mal-adjustments from which the human family has suffered throughout the ages and is still suffering.

These reflections are prompted on the passing away of an esteemed lady friend who, though in no way a genius or a gifted individual, was still a normal person of average intelligence and abilities. Her younger brothers who were perhaps of the same average intellect and calibre and who shared the same economic stress under the parental roof rule and attained distinction because of the opportunities for self-development and self-expression they could secure, while the same were denied to the sister under the prevailing social conditions. This man-made disability crippled and started her as it does her sex everywhere.

She was one of the harmonious sensitive victims of social mal-adjustment who conscientiously in her private life fulfilled with physical ailments in later years, she died a premature death at 42,

a widow. She spent every ounce of her energy in her efforts to rear her children and well-please her grown-up sons who had failed to avail themselves of opportunities for higher education.

Intensely affectionate within the family circle, she was devoted to it all her life. She dared to cross the seas and staved in far off lands for years, nursing prisoners and physical ailments with a fortitude which, though not uncommon, is the virtue only of the brave.

She had a keen practical sense and chalked emotional, sentimental or purely idealistic attitude. Obviously she had little interest in public affairs, social or political. Her interests generally did not go beyond the family circle, yet she could rise to the occasion without effort. She was frankly sceptical about the social and other public activities of "educated" ladies. There in her eyes were hardly more than mere pastimes. Yet she readily appreciated the sacrifices of women who participated in the Struggle of 1942 and admired just. She advised and even helped them and herself took hard roads.

Orthodox in religious and moral outlook, she considered people of all beliefs and professions with unfailing courtesy and fair tolerance. She expressed friends and strangers alike with her values on many subjects of social and common interest. Though almost unlettered, she commanded a vocabulary of words and idioms which amazed men of letters. She was keenly observant and full of wholesome wit and humor. Anecdotal situations she could depict all gloom with her eloquent smiles till every anxious face brightened up and the hall rang with hearty laughter.

As I said at the start the vast bulk in every society is composed of normal individuals of average virtue and capacity. Its misdeeds and delinquency as well as its highly gifted members both combined are only a handful. And how tragic it is that the energy, talent and resourcefulness of 50 per cent of the population of the nation should be locked up and chained for life, and rot, waste or wither away, having no opportunity to contribute its share to the commonwealth. The enormity of this aspect (shall we say average?) though patent, does not stagger as deeply because of its being too familiar, having almost become part of our daily life and experience. And yet what a difference it would make if we had the courage to remedy it even to an extent? It would bring the millennium almost to the doorstep.

The twentieth-century conception of raising standards to the unknown soldier is democratic and appropriate. It indicates the inevitable recognition and homage which posterity shall offer to its average unknown, along with its departed great. For it is the former who form, and shall always form, the great bulwark. And if the soldier who killed and bled is worthy of our gratitude and devotion how much more valued are those who made a noble offering of their lives

so that the bulwark may be upheld and remain impregnable? It is not a question merely of personal equation. For while the soldier bled and got himself killed in the supposed interest of his country or religion, these social martyrs burned their candle at both ends in rearing and serving their loved ones to the last grain of their energy in order to sustain the social structure.

Nominally surviving on the vast total of the devoted labours and sacrifices made in love and faith by its unknown patriots, whatever the sphere. They are the salt of the earth. And it is the recognition and evaluation of these that shall in the final analysis constitute the pedestal to measure its stature.

SWAMI ANAND

MORE ABOUT WORLD PEACEPINT MEETING

I have already given a brief account of the World Peacepint Meeting at Santoshnagar and Serapong. The following will be welcome as supplementary notes.—K. D. R.]

In between Santoshnagar and Serapong occupies the delegates travelled in different parts of India and Pakistan and saw something of the country and specially of the constructive work going on in some of the provinces.

At Santoshnagar preliminary discussions were held to clear the ground and to look at the problem of World Peace from every angle of view. This was not easy. Every one had some special analysis and some special remedy. But there was discipline and keen understanding all round. Therefore there was no waste of time or of words. There was nowhere to be seen any exhibition propensities or prejudices, obstructing clear thinking and proper expression. Nor was there anything superficial or pose about the discussion. That justice and peace could not co-exist in the World was the position accepted as fundamental. Political economic social and racial parties alone could make the foundation for real peace. Therefore peace-making was largely peace-making.

Then came the question if justice could be established without that brought in the study of the meaning and technique of Satyagraha. The Conference then fearlessly went deeper and deeper into the causes of wars and conflicts and in expanding remedies. That peace-making inevitably meant a revolutionary re-creating of social values and patterns became clear. Before the Santoshnagar session ended all discussions became canalized under three major headings. These were, (1) what were the immediate tasks for peace-makers to prevent another World War (2) what was the Constructive Programme for the building up of a new Social Order which will be one of justice and peace at the same time and (3) what were the fundamental values and basic principles upon which a World Peace Movement can be built up? At Santoshnagar itself the Conference broke up into three Committees A, B and C under the chairmanship of Shri D. K. Karshakumar, Mr. Wilfred Welton and Mr. Richard Gregg respectively. All the

three fifteen-minute slots in about three places before the five-minute session ended. The result is the Commission presented of careful and extensive discussions without any reservations in the mind of any one. No time was wasted and no one indulged in long speeches. What took place in the Commission was simply hard thinking.

At Sonagram the three Commissions held prolonged sittings and even broke up into sub-commissions. Commission A broke up into as many as 8 sub-commissions. The sub-commissions reported to the Commission and the Commission reported to the Conference. It was laborious work. I have never before sat in a Conference which spent the time so economically and covered the ground so fully.

The Pacificist Conference finally considered the various reports of the three Commissions. The Conference decided merely to "receive" some reports while it agreed to "adopt" others. When the Conference simply received a report it meant that the Conference considered it good enough to be circulated to peace workers throughout the world for their study and elucidation. When it adopted a report it meant that the Conference approved it and recommended it to peace workers for adoption by them as giving the right lead in the matter dealt with in the report.

Commission A presented 12 reports on the following subjects: (1) Pacific political prisoners, (2) War prisoners, (3) World Citizenship (4) A World Federal State, (5) Peace Armies, (6) South Africa remains and Colonialism, (7) American-Russian Relations, (8) India-Pakistan Relations (9) Arab-Jew Relations (10) Pacifica and Communista, (11) Refugees and displaced persons and (12) Disarmament. The Commission adopted four of these reports and received the rest.

The report of the Commission B was in two parts. The first dealt with the broad principles for a Constructive Programme for World Peace and dealt specially with the need for decentralisation and self-sufficiency consistent with World Unity. The second part gave the outline programme of such constructive work. By a solid majority the Conference agreed to adopt both the parts of the report of Commission B.

The report of Commission C was a very careful document enunciating the fundamental values and basic principles for a World Peace Movement and one prominent Indian delegate said to me: "Gandhiji would have been very pleased with it." The Conference decided to receive it. Doing as it did with abstract and first principles the Conference thought it should be circulated in all countries for further elucidation and understanding.

Thus the Conference had produced a wealth of material in clear and precise language for the consideration of or adoption by peace workers throughout the world. It is excellent material,

revolutionary in character, and constitutes a moral challenge to those who wish to take up peace work in the world.

Is that all? What is to follow? It was agreed that there should be no attempt to build up any centralized or hard and tight organizational continuation work. Every one was to take back the inspiration derived from the Conference and to try to work out the lines which the conference developed. Even so two steps have been taken which cast a great responsibility on concerned groups. One is in relation to the building up in different countries of small Peace Armies, which the conference decided to call "Satya graha Units." While these Units would naturally come out of the local background in each country, a small international group has agreed to keep in close touch with each other and to evolve common plans for training and for work. The other is in relation to the training of Peace Workers in general emphasizing international outlook and co-operation and the mobilization of youth for such training and day to day work for Peace.

Let me now give my own clear impressions of the Conference. The European and American delegates had a sense of discipline and restraint and even tolerance which would serve as a model to us. They also did very hard team work. There were three or four people in the Conference who came from outside India, whose clear thinking about non-violence was surprising and much kinder than some of the best thinkers in India. Many of the visitors had greater faith in prayer than many an Indian delegate. Their attitude to prayer was one of unashamed acceptance of its value in solving every problem of life. They were profoundly religious and yet quite rational. I found that no more than one occasion the lack of unity and even understanding among the Indian delegates puzzled the visitors. The visitors had more mental and physical stamina to pursue a problem to the very bottom while many of the Indian delegates were fatigued earlier and could not keep up the pace.

I have a clear feeling that, as more than once before in history, Westerners might take up more earnestly the message of a Prophet from Asia than the Easterners. Ultimately truth will belong to those who are most active and have the vigour to be more persistent. While we in India are hesitating to be vulnerable owing to the risk of being considered queer or strange, the Westerners might pluck the message of Gandhi and make it their own even at the risk of being considered insane, and then perhaps after half a century or so Gandhi will come back to India enriched by all the experience poured into his message in that process of cross fertilization. The West may thus some day present Gandhi to India in a more effective way than we are able to present him to the West today.

PEACE ON EARTH BY VEGETARIANISM AND FREE ECONOMY

1

Life is a totality. To live as vegetarians can be the expression of a definite outlook on life. There are laws of nature, of eternal wisdom. To recognize and to follow them means health, success, happiness, peace. This is true for individuals, for nations, for mankind.

Often we find that vegetarians try to better conditions of this world in every field. Most of the great spiritual leaders and lawmakers of all times have been vegetarians. This is quite natural. If you have found truth in one part of your design and if you live up to it, it will grow and by and by conquer all your feelings, thinking and acting.

I met a vegetarian family for the first time when I was about twenty-two years old. As a young school teacher I was interested only in my boys and girls, in education, psychology, music, sport, nature, art. I did not know that diet could be an interesting and important problem. Therefore, this vegetarian family was a great revelation to me. In fact, I first got interested in the youngest daughter, Taina, a most healthy, natural girl of about eighteen. But soon many new problems took hold of me. I started books and became a vegetarian at once thirty-four years ago. Since then my life has not stopped changing, for to live means to grow, to expand towards the light.

The father of the family referred to was Selma Grell, a German economist living in Switzerland. Through him and his books I began to recognize my social responsibility as a human being. We have to think of our brother too, of all the men, women and children of all nations and races, of animals of plants, of nature, of our earth. We have to create a better social order of wisdom, of justice, of peace not only for ourselves or small groups but for all. The Kingdom come.

Some of you may ask, what has the vegetarian life and the growth of our movement to do with economics, with the social order? A great deal. To grow healthy vegetables of high quality we need land. To buy and sell them we need money. Land and money are fundamentals of every economic life. If they are not in order, we can never build up health for all, peace on earth.

You may not be aware how difficult it is merely to tell the truth concerning healthy living against the mighty financial concerns of meat, drugs, tobacco and liquor. If we want to bring health to others, we have to be realistic and to see the facts. I will tell you of one drastic example of dependence of vegetarians on our monetary order, as rather dramatic.

Two weeks ago (August 1935) I visited the Doukhobors in British Columbia (Western Canada) as I did in 1929. They are a religious group of Russians living as vegetarians and

war-resisters. And several hundred years. The Czar tried to force them into military service but they refused. Many were killed or sent to Siberia and about 1,800 others came to Canada in 1899 by the help of Tolstoy and the Quakers. There they have made gardens and orchards out of uncolonized land and built their simple villages along the Kootenay and Columbia Rivers and elsewhere.

In order to buy the land the Doukhobors community had taken a loan of about 12 lakh dollars. During the first ten years they paid back 1.4 lakh principal and 1.4 lakh interest, i. e. 50,000 dollars more than they had received. During the depression the community tried to find protection under the Farmer's Protection Act, as every farmer could, but the court ruled against them. In 1929 the mortgage company confiscated all the property valued over 60 lakh dollars in spite of the fact that the balance due amounted to only 48 lakhs. The Doukhobors had lost what they had built up by peaceful work during approximately thirty years. Then the Government of Canada took over the land and houses of the Doukhobors and tried to induce them to buy their property once more, as private persons. They refused. Still today, ten years later, the Government holds the land. The Doukhobors are merely tenants. Here and there they break away and try to acquire private property individually.

Felix in Switzerland says, "Money is ruling the world." Is this true? If so, it would be a pity for us men. We have created money as a tool to serve to help us in the division of labour. If this tool has become a master, a tyrant over us, we have done a bad job. We shall have to do better as soon as possible.

What is wrong with our money? We have to study this question and to answer it without prejudice, fear or hate, in a truly scientific way. Healthy money needs two qualities—i. stable value and a steady meter. I shall try to explain what I mean. A yard is a unit to measure length. The test has to be stable. Think of a yardstick made of elastic to be stretched and to shrink at will. It would be of no use. Ten yards—nobody would know what length this would be. The dollar, the pound, the franc, are units of money. Every price, all wages, all savings, all liabilities are expressed in these units. If these units were elastic, there would be no real foundation to economic life.

The dollar and every monetary unit on earth is elastic. During the war, prices in the U. S. A. went up. During the last few months they have tried to go down again. The higher the prices the smaller the dollar, the lower the prices, the bigger the dollar in its purchasing power, in its value. This means a unit, a yardstick of elastic. But the dollar is much more important than the yard. If once we realize that our money is elastic then we shall not be amazed any more that our economic life is not sound. Rather we shall be amazed that mankind

or still alive. It is a sad, sordid and a stand a lot of suffering and suffering and still survive.

Money power stimulates business but deprives wages and savings of their purchasing power, which results in injustice, strikes and social unrest. Failing power struggles business and production and cause unemployment, as during this year in the rich U. S. Only speculation and interest in fluctuations of the price level, the purchasing power of money. Speculation always gains in booms and in depression, labour always loses. What is the cause of these ups and downs? What is the remedy? Let us think on a drastic and tragic example, Germany.

In 1933 the Reichsbank with the stamping of money printed bills day and night made every German a millionaire, robbed all the savings of old people and destroyed economic life to its foundations. Between 1929 and 1933 the same Reichsbank diminished the amount of loaned money from 1.5 to 3.5 billion (Milliard) marks, refused credit, raised prices down more and more strangled business and production. You may remember the consequences—seven millions of unemployed in droghs, helplessness of the democratic government in Weimar, Hitler, World War II, and what has followed. Do you see the start? Murder with money.

In the U. S., Murder with the dollar, in England murder with the pound, in Russia, Murder with the ruble, in Germany, Murder with the new German mark. And bankers and loaned grow. Where a democracy is not able to create a stable, honest money, the Russian and Canadian get the harvest. They never could get hold in a land with sound money, with full production and consumption, with real freedom.

The solution: Improvement of the monetary constitution. The office issuing money has to keep the amount of money in constant balance with production and market. It has to watch the index of average price level. Will prices rise? Take money out of circulation. Will prices fall? Put more money into circulation. It is like steering a boat, the deviations are constantly observed and equalised. It could easily be done if there is the knowledge and the honest will. This would keep the value of the monetary unit stable.

However to run steadily, both boat and money need a reliable motor. What could be this motor in money? In the Middle Ages in Germany, in the 12th and 13th centuries, when they were building all their wonderful Gothic cathedrals, they had a working money with water. The coins were of very bad material, just thin pieces of cheap metal. One could break them. They had the same fluctuation. Several times a year the value varied then new, and every time he kept one fourth or one fifth back as tax. This was the only tax.

The effect. An amazing upsurge of business and production, credit without interest, very high wages, short working hours, long vacations. By this the hoarding of money meant a loss. Every one tried to get rid of his money as quickly as possible.

- 1 To buy what he wanted
- 2 To pay his debts
- 3 To save by spending credit

The creditor did not get any interest. He was glad to get back the full amount of money in one or ten years or when he needed it. If he had kept his savings in cash, within a few years they would have disappeared.

The working money of Gothic Germany created a social order of unselfish production, highest depression and exploitation and made possible and furthered a wonderful development of spiritual and cultural life. Inspiring cathedrals with lofty spires were reaching up towards the skies, towards heaven.

WILHELM DIETRICH

Post Card-Milk at Wardha Station

Arrangement has been made by the Goanra Sangh, Wardha, with the station contractor at Wardha for sale of pure cow-milk as also its use as tea, coffee etc. from 25-1-1933. Hot milk sweetened with sugar will be sold at six annas per pound. Complaints, if any, may be made to the Goanra Sangh, Gopri—Wardha.

It is hoped that the passengers passing through the Wardha station will take advantage of the arrangement.

R. B.

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SATYU'S LETTERS TO MIRA

[1924-25]

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TWO ANNAS

GANDHI AND MARX

I

It has been often said that Gandhiji was a Communist versus violence. Indeed, it is possible to quote Gandhiji himself in support of this proposition. Gandhiji was not in the habit of repeating descriptions of him or his principles, if they were meant as compliments and if they helped his cause. But in a careful examination of principles such descriptions should not be regarded as very accurate and must not be used as handy definitions. The error of such descriptions lies in its capacity to conceal the full implications of the differential factor. When it is said that Gandhism is Communism versus violence, the impression created is that the 'versus violence' factor is some small discrepancy in communism which if removed will make Communism the same as Gandhism. As a matter of fact, even if it were possible to so equate Gandhism in terms of Communism, the 'versus violence' factor is a major factor of considerable value. The implications of "versus violence" are so great as to make the equator as illusory as to say that red is green versus yellow and blue, or a worm is a snake versus poison.

The temptation to offer such easy explanations arises from a vague awareness that Marxism or Socialism has caught the imagination of the people, and that ultimately it really is the right solution for the ills of the world, and therefore, Gandhism must be interpreted in terms of Marxism; also from a keen desire that the retrogression of Socialism must not take place at a rapid pace. It is felt that Gandhiji's method somehow provides easy stages for the introduction of Socialism, which is accepted by such people as the final goal.

But I feel that this is an incorrect position to adopt. It avoids facing fundamental issues and fails to call the attention of the people to the need of a fundamental revolution in their approach to moral, spiritual and religious dogmas and reveals from which ultimately all changes in the political, social and economic structure of human society emanate. Thus considered, Gandhism and Marxism are as distinct from each other as green from red, though we know that to the colour-blind, even green and red might appear alike.

If, indeed, the difference between Marxism and Gandhism consisted only in the latter's upon non violence in the latter and that if the ultimate goal of the Congress or Gandhism, were the establishment of a socialist order then the present is the most opportune time for doing so without violence. For, the Government machinery throughout India today is in the hands of those who proclaim Gandhiji as "the Father of the Nation", and invoke his name and refer to his ideas and principles every day in their public utterances. It is in their power to anticipate the Communists and take all the wind out of their sails by carrying out changes which Communists would make if in power. The question of a violent revolution can arise only if the State machinery were not in the hands of the believers in Communist doctrine and if Communist designs of obtaining power by constitutional means. If the Government itself is pledged to the establishment of Communism, which according to the explanations offered is indistinguishable from Gandhism, then Government and Communists should be working hand in hand, or if it were a question merely of personal group politics the people should be able to tell the Communists, "We do not need you and your methods, because we have already established what you advocate."

But this does not happen, and the reason is that the difference between Gandhiji and Marx is deeper than can be expressed by a simple equation with plus and minus signs.

It is necessary to explain this in some detail, and I propose to do so hereafter.

Bombay, 21-2-1939

K. C. MANSURWALLA

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FOOD CONTROL

I

The following note is based on my experience as a (retired) Revenue Officer

Defects

The Press and Platform have both wrangled over the question whether control is justified. While protagonists of its continuance have been setting forward promising shortage of food in the country as their argument, ardent-ists contend that the so-called shortage is only illusory and not real and further argue that the control far from eliminating black-marketing has brought in its train both black-marketing and blackmarketing.

It is not the aim of this note to enter into the controversy as far as it relates to past action but there cannot — might not — be two opinions on the proposition that controls are an artificial system, which must and sooner rather than later and that the normal sources of supply and normal channels of distribution should be restored. So many instances have sprung up from this system

First, Government being impersonal, the controls have to operate entirely through paid staff all of whom, in our present conditions, cannot be expected to work with the requisite amount of integrity as well as training and co-operation in the art of trade

Secondly, sufficient thought is not devoted to the movement of grains from district to district and the cost of transport is unnecessarily swollen. Districts in which ample quantities of grain of superior quality are grown cater out to their own consumers inferior qualities, often deteriorated in transit or by long and improper storage while their own grains of superior quality migrate to other areas

Thirdly, the present system does not admit of taking stock of the real position of food-supply in the country as a whole and an estimate of the real shortages cannot be drawn up

Fourthly each province has its own policy of procurement and distribution. There is lack of full co-operation between the provinces in rendering mutual aid. Some areas which were the best granaries have passed into Pakistan and the dislocated conditions in Burma have also affected our food position, it was all the more essential for our provinces to work wholeheartedly in the pooling of resources to feed the population of the country and to eliminate the shortages to be imported from foreign countries at prohibitive cost. But the contrary has been our experience. Surplus provinces could certainly have contributed more grains than they have done, considering the difficulties of the country as a whole

It is essential to remove the provincial bias because they operate very heavily on the deficit provinces to the advantage of the surplus provinces. In normal times and during the normal

course of trade, grains from surplus provinces found their way into the deficit provinces with the constant automatic adjustment of the markets. As the result of the bias the deficit provinces have been deprived even of that privilege

Fifthly, procurement of food grains (made in the Bombay Province) under "levy system" represents not the whole of the cultivator's surplus but only a fraction of it with the result that the remainder left with him meets not only his domestic requirements but also allows a wide margin for sale. Although he is prohibited to sell his grains to any one except the Government, still it is an open secret that grains from villages surreptitiously enters black markets in the town

Sixthly, black markets are the result of defects in the rationing system. The rationes allowed while being deficient in quantity are often poor in quality. The grains are even deliberately mixed with sand, earth and gravel. Deterioration results also from bad storage. For all these causes, grains available in black markets are generally superior in quality than those issued from the ration shops

Black-marketing and profiteering having come in the train of the present system of controls mainly because of the defects in the system, it would be better to replace the present system by an entirely different one, viz., of employing the agency of licensed merchants in the procurement, stocking and distribution of food grains and to concentrate control over the stocks in their charge

The Government attempted two years back failed because it was hedged in by various limitations and the bill remedy only worsened the disease. Interprovincial and interdistrict bills were left untouched with the result that normal sources of supply of the different markets were not thrown open. Six districts of Gujarat were cordoned off from the operation of provincial Control and rationing in the four important cities of the Province were allowed to continue. The worst results followed from allowing residents of the four cities to import under permits food grains from nonfood areas in quantities equivalent to one year's requirements. Huge quantities of permits were destined off from non-food areas in a very short time and the result was that while the importers got an opportunity to sell them in the black market the nonfood areas were depleted of their stocks with the resultant enormous rise in prices in both the areas

The above episode establishes two principles viz (1) that it is highly dangerous to remove control only from some areas while it is allowed to continue in others and (2) that de-control would not be successful unless the normal course of trade is put on its way to recovery

What is, then, the remedy? I shall make detailed suggestions in my next article.

E. T. KONDICHTA

VILLAGE ECONOMY

Sati Jhaveribhai Patel writes

"Under the present economic system based on capitalism, producers of raw materials and basic needs get minimum remuneration while immediate buyers of finished goods and luxury articles get higher prices. This is due to the former being produced in villages and the latter in towns. The result is that both wealth and malnutrition flow from villages to towns. The remedy is to make villages immediate buyers of finished goods in addition to the production of raw materials and to fix just prices for village produce such as kachigraha, glass, milk etc. The principle of giving a living wage and standard of life has been accepted in the case of organised industrial labour. It is not fair that peasants and village labourers though unorganised should be cheerfully accepted of getting living wages and proper standard of life.

"What is the one hand expectation of a just economy under New India, which on the other hand holds the inequitable features of the current economic order,—namely unequal division of the production of raw materials and manufactures as well as their selling prices—has not only made us so vulnerable against but even plans are about to start and there is already a cry raised that prices of food grains and other agricultural products should be lowered.

"What is the duty of the Government in this behalf? Should it wait until popular opinion on this question crystallises? Or should it proceed to change the present economy to the interest of the masses on the strength of its own knowledge of the public welfare?"

Undoubtedly the duty of the Government is to plan village life on the principle of self-sufficiency, to the greatest extent as possible. Thus to being delayed. Perhaps there are reasons for it some of which may be valid. I do not propose to enter into a detailed discussion of these just now.

But one of the reasons is that our leaders are not clear in their minds on this subject. They are often heard to say that the question of equitable distribution is irrelevant in our country for the present, for, in the face of unproductive production, what is there to distribute? This is an instance of the misapplication of the principle "First things first". It is argued that the "first thing" necessary being food production, the problem of distribution may well wait for the present. But this is a mechanical way of reasoning. Mechanical methods might be good as processes of production, but their application in logic leads to fallacious thinking. If there were no production at all, there would be no problem of distribution. But since there does exist some production, the question of proper distribution automatically arises along with it. If, again, distribution could be postponed until full production was reached, perhaps it would be possible to put off its consideration to a later stage. But we do consume day after day whatever is produced. And while some secure for more than what is just, others don't get enough. And it is the producers who stand adversely off here. If unequal distribution adversely affected non-producers only there could be perhaps some justification for it. Even if it had been the case that though non-producers got a larger share, producers were able to get sufficient

enough, the consideration of equitable distribution could be deferred. But the present condition does not admit of patient waiting.

Under these circumstances the issue whether production or distribution should be regarded as more important is irrelevant and one cannot be postponed to another without harm.

Another error involved in such compartmental consideration about the problems of production and distribution is that it might lead to the adoption of such methods of production as to make equitable distribution impossible later on. Our methods of production must be such as to solve the problem of equitable distribution simultaneously with the increased production. This means intensifying production through lack of village industries. But these are rejected because they seem to work so slow, and we are in a hurry. And our very hurry is impeding our pace.

We are led into a similar error by the press, whether defence or production should be given priority? And some urge that it should be the former. For instance, the Prime Minister of Pakistan is reported to have declared, "We cannot neglect the question of Defence, even if we had to starve." But this readiness to starve is only a sophisticated way of saying, "let the poor starve if Defence needs it", the truth being that whatever be the expense of Defence, the rich are not going to starve. This logic makes militarisation the first charge on the State and brings in its train industrial and other mechanisation on a huge scale. The result is that the appeal of village industries is diminished.

My plea for a simultaneous tackling of production and distribution may easily evoke the support of economists but they become cold as soon as I plead for village industries. So I have to plough a lonely furrow and I am conscious of it. I do not wish to waste my time in criticising the Government. I would rather have workers engage themselves in work straightaway. If the present is not kind to us, the future will surely be with us if we only work directly among the masses and persevere wholeheartedly in our programme.

Now let me deal with a few points raised in the above letter. The manufactured necessities of village life, raw materials whereof are also available locally should be produced in the village itself. Really a peasant must not be a mere agriculturist, but an agrimechanist. He is agricultural even handicraftsmen. He is not fully employed unless he makes the latter. But the motive for this village-industrialism must not be trade and commerce.

Undoubtedly, the villager must get the right price for his milk, glass etc. But the villager must first consume his own milk, glass etc., and should sell only the surplus. Not until he consumes his own produce, will he be able to get adequate price for the balance. So also with fruits and vegetables. If the growers

follow the leading Mahatma Gandhiji who said "Let the farmer own the land", they will be able to overcome the problem. But this can happen only when the Government produce the main ingredients of their life. The work of development is to be done in villages and making villages self-dependent through village industries is a programme which if accomplished even on a miniature scale, will serve as a pointer to the Government in solving our economic ills. I wish our allied institutions put off their activities here for a while and busy themselves with solving the problem of production and distribution in their own local areas in accordance with the principles of *Swadeshi* and *Gramin*. Thereby, I believe they will be able to justify their all-India character more quickly than ever.

It is not just that the peasant should get the right price for their produce, but since land is man's basic need, the right price must not mean devaluation but enrichment. This is possible only if part of wage of agricultural labour and the collection of land revenue is made in kind. This will also make the fixing of controls easy in the great relief of the peasant.

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VIJAYRAO

(From the Harijans, January 1960)

HARIJAN

February 12

1960

"YOU HAVE LET DOWN GANDHI"

THIS is a charge which every one seems to be laying upon very one who comes-a-days. Since this has become a widespread feeling, it is an unnecessary any longer to investigate the matter further. It might be more profitable to make a search for those who have "upheld Gandhiji". Surely there must be some who even in the midst of all 'let-downs' are sincerely and hardily following Gandhiji with complete faith and without waiting to enquire whether they stand alone or are in good company. And let him who finds any such noble soul, forget a thousand tales, followers and reports in that good one and pay him his great tribute. And may he, when he begins his search that way, be may have some surprise. He might even be more than one such person, also instinctively that method of enquiry might bring about a radical change in the contemporary himself. Instead of an attitude of condemning every one for his failure in being or acting upto Gandhiji's principles, he might say "Well this man though not cent per cent a true follower of Gandhiji, is 80 per cent, 60 per cent, 50 per cent", and so on, and refuse to pass him and then begin to feel satisfied with almost every week—but sincere struggler and instead of hating him for his shortcomings, sympathise with him for the weakness of his faith.

Historically the two very contradictory as well as the two very endearing attitudes are both wrong. But the latter is better than the former being a matter of most instead of just in the surroundings. I person who examines a heap of rubbish for finding things of value that it might contain gets better returns than one who simply looks at it to see what a heavy waste will have to be turned up or thrown into the sea.

As far as I am concerned I plead guilty to the charge of having seen and then done something which might be looked upon as having 'let Gandhiji down'. I had not had the privilege of being a good follower of Gandhiji even when he was alive. There were things, in which I quickly responded favourably to his ideas, and even contributed my mite to their development. In some others, I hesitated or even opposed for a time and took my own time to feel even used of the correctness of his ideas. There were also subjects, in which I remained unconvinced or unsatisfied till the end. Gandhiji himself understood my attitude perfectly well and took me as I was. This was the reason for my saying when assuming responsibility for Harijan in the effect that much as I have learned from Gandhiji, I have imitated also from others and there is something which perhaps has arisen from my own nature. It is all mixed up in me. So I cannot say that I shall be able to express views for which authority could always be found from Gandhiji's writings. The test to be applied should not be Gandhiji's utterances, but that of Truth and Non-violence.

Gandhiji's was a life which evolved during a period of nearly half a century of public service. In specific details his views often underwent changes as it must be the case with all those who never cease to grow. It is therefore wrong always to seek or quote his authority on particular details. It is the fundamental bases which are important and they are truth, non-violence, self-control in every sphere, and in the event of a conflict between moral good and material good, preference for the former.

The charge of having let down Gandhiji has become a fashionable utterance because so many of us have cultivated the opposite habit of making Gandhiji and Swadeshi and Truth-and-non-violence hackneyed phrases. Every leader and every thinker seems to regard himself as an immense ground unless he says, "This is what the Father at the Marce taught us" or, "whenever the good of the world consists in taking to Gandhiji's way of life".

It will be far better if, instead of instantly referring to the Father of the Nation, we humbly rely upon the spirit of Truth and Love within us. For whatever Gandhiji said or did came to him from his quest of Truth and spring from his Non-violence. And though the Mahatma is no longer with us, the light which guided him is always there to guide us, if we have the will to accept it.

Bombay, 11-1-60

R. S. MANDREKALA

KASTURBA FUND APPEAL

The general public are well aware that, on the one hand of Mahatma Gandhi is the Agitation Palace on February 20, 1948 during imprisonment with Mahatma Gandhi, an appeal for a memorial fund was issued by leading men and women in the public life of India on March 4, 1944. Fortunately Mahatma Gandhi was not free even after and it was decided to protect the amount of the memorial fund in a bank to till the funds being applied in such manner as he might direct.

The total of the fund came to about Rs. 1,20 lakhs and under the direction of Mahatma Gandhi it had been decided to apply the funds for the benefit of women and children in the rural areas. It has also been the policy of the memorial fund to extend the work to women workers and the work is being carried on in the whole country in different provinces, through women's groups in the provinces.

The work of the Trust is twofold:

(a) The training of personnel in basic and probate workers, industrial workers, children, village craft work, etc., professional etc. and

(b) training courses of professions in villages through the trained personnel.

The Trust is the only national organization in the country which works among rural womenfolk and children. It looks the danger and publicity of urban work and therefore many aspects to be ignored as to what work is being carried on under the Trust.

The Trust trained all primary level 150 basic workers, 50 industrial and health workers, 50 industrial workers and 20 other types of workers by the end of 1948 and about 200 women workers were under training at the end of 1949. The Trust aims to give every a training course under children's training centres, 44 medical centres in training a Native Hospital and about 200 projects in health and other centers. This work is spread throughout the whole of India. This figure will give a rough idea of the volume and nature of the work that is being done.

The Trust has also under construction a scheme for establishing Kasturba Gramins which will be a general training institute for all types of workers. It is estimated that the scheme is likely to cost about Rs. 12 lakhs and according to an initial expenditure of about Rs. 10 lakhs covering.

The budget for 1950 makes it about Rs. 10 lakhs with a view to keep the institutional work going on from year to year or also to meet independent losses to the work. The Trust is following a policy of acquiring a certain percentage of contribution from every locality in which the Trust carries on its work. It is expected that out of the total budget of Rs. 10 lakhs about Rs. 4,20,000 will be from institutional funds.

Under the 20 training centres for professional and subsidiary training the Trust proposes to run 20 medical centres and 20 professional centres in 1950. Besides the work above the Trust is also giving grants-in-aid to a number of deserving other institutions working in villages.

The Trust is envisaged by the memorial committee for the collection from the donations to the Trust. It is therefore, hoped that charitable minded people will take advantage of the opportunity and contribute liberally to the fund.

The total amount of funds collected may appear to be large but it is probably a drop in the ocean considering the possibilities of expansion of the work and the needs of the country. Mahatma was Chairman of the Trust from May 1944 to the time of his last illness and thereafter I am the Chairman. Shri Thakurji is the Secretary while Shri Gandhi Prasad is the Deputy Secretary, who is in charge of the day to day work.

The practical aspects as well as the fund workers and workers will be collecting funds from January to onwards so as to be able to declare the final amount of

collection in a short time. It is hoped that the Government of Madras through the Public Works Department and the State Bank of India.

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GANDHI—THE LAST PHASE

I

In March of 1948 Gandhiji was staying in Uru-Kanchan, an idyllic little village near Poona, to escape in his pet hobby of nature work, which in the evening of his life had become a passion with him. In the last week of that month he received a pressing personal message from the British Cabinet Delegation to meet them at Delhi. The special messenger bringing the message was miraculously saved only by the late arrival of his chauffeur, so that he missed the R.A.F. plane by which his seat was booked, and which half an hour later was reported to have crashed, all the occupants being instantly killed.

It was the hour of India's destiny, how alert was a mortal in his work town. Gandhiji had been carefully observing the signs of the times. The speech of Mr. Attlee in the House of Commons debate on the 15th of March, 1948, had for the first time removed as far as declaration of British policy was concerned, the main barrier that had all along stood in the way of Indian independence. "There is little doubt," he stated in the weekly columns of *Morgue* "that India is about to reach her promised goal of entering into independence. Let the entrance be propitious." And in his characteristic way setting the action to the word, he decided that thereafter during his visits to Bombay and Delhi he would put up, not in the palatial residences of the rich but in Shergon quarters. "Indian slavery under the British rule is hardly two centuries old," he exclaimed "yet we are impatient to see it ended here and now. How dare we now that India is on the threshold of the Promised Land ask Shergon to submit on the promise of a distant Utopia." The emancipation of the Shergons cannot wait. It must be now or never."

For months before he had been preparing for the event. What, moreover he said was "how the millions would react to the first shock of freedom." As he watched the delirious enthusiasm and devotion of the crowds that greeted him wherever he went, he asked himself the question, "Does it spell violence or non-violence?" Unless the people are properly trained and organized in non-violent behaviour," he declared, "they will not be able to make much of freedom, and it might even prove to be a gaseous bubble." And so he turned his extensive tours in South India and Bengal in the winter of 1944 into tours of inspection and study of crowd behaviour. He instructed the practices

of delivering, at least for the time being, of the day to the setting of prayer, and at times singing of hymns to the accompaniment of rhythmic beating of time with the hands as a means of incanting non-violent mass discipline. It was a revolutionary impetus in the technique of non-violence. It remained an untested weapon to the end. He had not the time to develop it, but from the experience that he had of it, he was convinced that it had boundless application in organizing non-violent mass action.

Truth Which Is God

The Cabinet Delegation continued their labours through the months of April, May, and June and then on the 10th of June left Delhi to return home and report. After their departure Lord Wavell continued the effort which they had initiated.

To Gandhi the handling of the British Cabinet Mission became another experiment in his unbroken quest for truth. To man is given control over his actions only. If his actions are an unadulterated expression of truth that is within him, then all will be well. And so he understood all the more his ceaseless endeavour at introspection and self-purification which had always been an essential part of his life and which made his daily life an unbroken spell of worship at the shrine of Truth, which is God. Truth to him meant not merely verbal truth, but complete accord between one's principles and practice, between one's thought, word and deed.

Daily he held a silent court within himself and called himself to account for the fitness of his little acts. Nothing was too small to escape his scrutiny. For instance, it had been an old practice of his to call by name after the evening public prayer services presented to him for Harjans. He had discontinued the practice to some time, but it made him feel unhappy to think that he was saving his time at the cost of Harjans—his spiritual wards—and so he resumed it. There on a rainy Saturday evening prayer was held under a dripping shawlana and the service was centred as the crowd was much smaller than usual. But afterwards he found fight with himself for it. Did it not betoken lack of faith to fear that the service would be low because the crowd was small? The South African friend Downes, scheduled to speak from a church pulpit at 7 p.m. on Thursday had begun to address at the stroke of seven with an audience of only one. That was both.

New Delhi, 29-1-36

PIYARAJ.

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PEACE ON EARTH BY VEGETARIANISM AND FREE ECONOMY

II

Could such an economic, social and cultural uplift become possible again in our time? Certainly. This has been proved by a very successful experiment.

In 1932, in Austria, the economic depression was very bad. Production came nearly to a standstill, unemployment grew worse every day. The small town of Wörgl in the Tyrol suffered a great deal. But the mayor was a smart man with bright brain and full of energy, Michael Unterguggenberger. He knew Silvio Gesell and Free Economy. So he started to help his town. He introduced an emergency money. I had the privilege to be of some help in introducing the public by lectures. What did this money look like? In Austria they have Schilling and Groshen or you have dollars and cents. The dollar bill of Wörgl had on one side twelve small compartments, one for every month of the year. At the end of every month a tax stamp of one cent had to be placed in each compartment, otherwise the bill lost its value. At the end of the year every bill had to be exchanged for a new bill.

The effect was exactly as it had been in the Gothic Middle Ages. People hurried to buy goods to pay debts to grant credit without interest in order to avoid the tax. Such is human nature. We have to introduce reforms which work with every kind of people, with the average man and even with the criminal, not only with a few idealists.

Wörgl could give work and income to its citizens. It became an island of work and peace within an ocean of depression and despair. Experts in Europe, even in America, wrote about "The Wonder of Wörgl". Professor Irving Fisher of Yale University, a well-known economist (he the way a vegetarian too) sent a man to Wörgl to study it. When he received the report he wrote in a paper, "If we in America apply this kind of money, we shall be out of depression within three weeks".

Winston Churchill of France personally travelled to Wörgl and published an enthusiastic report. Such a rebellion and self-reliance the financial powers could not tolerate. It could clear heads and waken up nations to go the practical way to overcome the whole system of constant exploitation. Therefore, the National Bank in Vienna having the monopoly of issuing money for Austria, tried to forbid the working and halting money of Wörgl and after a struggle of many months the small mayor Unterguggenberger had to give way. The State was stronger than the man with his common sense. And again the waves of depression covered Wörgl too. This island of work and the hopes of millions sank down.

Any progressive government with clear knowledge and honest will could introduce such

a working money of stable value and with notes for steady circulation. Let us put it in a simplified way. The U. S. issues new dollar bills every year. In exchanging the old bills for the new ones a tax of 4 per cent is taken; this is 4 per cent for every month. The amount of money in circulation is regulated in order to keep the prices of the price level stable. If necessary, checks can be taxed too. The rate of exchange with other currencies is free. This is, very much simplified, the scheme. We haven't time for minor details here. They can all be found in the literature of Free Economy.

The second problem is to be solved in the land question. Briefly, Free Economy proposes a reform of landed property somewhat along the line of Henry George and single tax (that means the ground rent goes to the community at large) but improved and in connection with the monetary reform. Single tax on land only, without changing the monetary system, cannot reach its goal of full social liberation, and through this, peace. Single tax on land combined with single tax on money will create the foundation of the new social order of freedom and plenty, of peace on earth.

We vegetarians want peace even with the animals. We are for ahimsa, for kindness and love, for non-violence, for freedom. This has to be valid for human beings as much as even more so for animals. "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you."

An economic order corresponding with the vegetarian philosophy can only be based on freedom. However, we are against the liberty of capitalism which allows the rich to exploit the poor under which interest and speculation can take the means of the essential every work. There is no freedom. We are also against violence and bureaucracy of the State as far as they can be avoided. The stronger the State and its machinery the more man, the individual, is enslaved. The more insignificant the State the better, the more self-responsible is man, every individual.

Single tax on money and land will give freedom to man without exploitation, will more and more reduce the State to a willing servant of humanity. This will be the solution for all the world, as liberty needed.

Humanity is divided into East and West and the tension is dangerously growing. The East (Hindus) wants socialism, communism, and this should mean brotherhood. But there is no socialism without the full freedom of man. Hahnemann rather has terrorism. The West (Americans) wants the freedom of man. But there is no freedom of man without social responsibility, no freedom as long as we have not overcome all the deficiencies, the injustice, the exploitation of the capitalist system.

Brotherhood and freedom. Social justice combined with free enterprise; This is the synthesis of the best that East and West can

offer. This is the solution for peace. Only Free Economy can bring it, the Free Economy of Silvio Gesell, the vegetarian with the bright eyes and the kind heart.

You may ask, "Is there any hope that Free Economy will come?" There is hope. At first it was very difficult to get men to listen to this important truth. Gesell published his first book in 1881. About 1900 he published a monthly magazine for two years and sent it free to all leaders, parliamentarians, politicians of influence. Only three persons out of thousands have paid him a contribution. I myself have worked for this cause for more than thirty years. Two of my friends are in the Congress of Switzerland. Our proposals are gaining influence even upon the Government and National Bank.

Since 1935 I have spent most of my time working in Germany. The National Socialists had destroyed my books and put my friend and publisher Rudolf Baumann into concentration camps for sixty-four months, over five years. Hitler had forbidden the strong movement for Free Economy. Since the war we have been building it up again amidst racing, hunger, fear, despair and the fierce resistance of those old political parties, which failed to solve the economic problems before 1933 and thus opened the road to Hitler. We are gaining ground slowly but steadily. It is the hope for Germany and Europe.

The earth is the home of man. It would like to become a paradise for us, instead, we have made a hell out of it. This is our work. We have been thinking and acting against the laws of eternal wisdom. Now we have the result. It is as we deserve it. The tree has brought its fruits.

Man is co-creator. We can make the world better. The change has to begin inside of every one of us. If we recognize ourselves as the children of the Father in Heaven, as the Bible expresses this truth, as sparks of eternal light, we shall become aware of our mighty creative forces and make intelligent use of them. This means to us a life as vegetarians. We prefer kindness to violence also towards the animal brother, towards nature.

However, to create peace on earth a good deal more is required. We have both heart and head. We have to see all the causes of war, of human and social misery and despair. The Light has to penetrate all darkness in a realistic and practical way, in freedom and in the social order too. Otherwise we shall remain mere dreamers who will never create or deserve the Kingdom of Heaven, Peace on Earth.

Friends, a last word. Many of you would like to see quicker results from your efforts. Is this wise? The grain wants to rest in the silent ground of Mother Earth before it sprouts up into the light. Our words and deeds are seeds for the future. They will sprout and grow in

haze. We receive and enjoy many fruits our forefathers planted. Why should we not do the same?—How good must good thoughts and deeds that our children, that future generations can harvest! Good things are not in a hurry.

The most important aspect of right living we will have at once. He who finds a truth and lives up to it with all his heart, by all his means, in that every moment becomes transformed. He finds the inner peace, he becomes One with the Father. This is the greatest. Death can bring unto us it means health and happiness in mind, soul and body.

Once you have experienced this you lose every hate and fear. You live and you work for truth because it is the highest happiness possible. You never think what can I get? You only think what can I give. For everything we give out of a pure heart will be returned to us manifold.

Let all of us become more and more such Brothers and Sisters in the Light!

Harpurberg (Gore),

Switzerland

WILHELM TIMMERMAN

NOTES

'31 and not '32

I referred to the ambiguity about the year at the letter of Gandhi to Dr. Bhabha and Andrews published in *Martian* of the 29th January. Shri Mahadeva Trikamji assures me that the year must be 1931 and not '32, because (1) the letter is written from Calcutta, where Gandhi had gone to attend a meeting of the Congress Working Committee towards the end of January, 1931 (2) during the same period of 1932 he was in the Punjab in the course of the enquiry regarding Martial Law outrages and (3) the problem at Haripur, to which his letter refers, was first taken up at the Congress level at the Nagpur Congress of 1930. He suggests that an examination of the original letter might show that the date between '30 and '32 might really be not a hyphen but the continuation of the first word of '32 written first inadvertently. It is kind of Shri Mahadeva Trikamji to have taken so much trouble from his labours.

Norway, 1-3-36

"Man a Meal" Programme

Popular enthusiasm for meeting the food scarcity is commendable. It had led to several campaigns, such as 'Man a Meal a Week', 'Clear More', 'Stop Feasting', 'Waste Less' and so on. They are good as far as they go, and addressed to well fed people. But the enthusiasm has been even over abundant in some quarters. The instance Shree Gadh Behari Lal, a naturopath of Lucknow, in a bulletin to all voters for campaigns of 'Man a Meal a Week' argues as follows:

"I in course of time in India have only held a day in a week, and one (not two or even 4 days) there there will be a saving of Rs. 4 crores per week."

It will be seen that the saving is a vast amount—more—than—fourteen—times—surplus of food."

How rarely does simple arithmetic solve our problems! The good naturopath forgets that crores of people in India must almost all need every day, and several even more than that. They do not know what it is to have a full meal from year's end to year's end!

It may be all well for well-fed people to fast occasionally, but it is no remedy for meeting the scarcity. People need more food than they get even just to keep going and more food is necessary if we wish to maintain them in a fit condition. It is also needed for our cattle.

Let us not be side-tracked by over-ingenious side remedies from the fundamental necessity of actually producing more food.

Norway, 20-1-36

Flour of Lager in Cold Countries

There is a superstition that even if Lager might not be quite necessary in a warm country like ours it being with most is an unworkable necessity in cold countries. This superstition leads even westerners Indians to take in most and Lager when they go to Europe. But Norway is even colder than the northern-most point of Great Britain. Oslo, the capital of Norway, is in a more northern latitude than Leningrad, the cold capital of Russia. Norway suffered heavy destruction in the last war. The destruction in Denmark which is its northern-west province and separates it from Russia "was so complete that almost every house here has had to be rebuilt." But the scarcity has become a boon in Denmark. A writer in the *Swedish Evening Post* (U.S.A.) December 3, 1935 says:

"The war proved to be a great regulator through Denmark. The warlords and the poor class had everything and better life in shelter place houses. The social centre of life was in the first class, where western and westerners met, the same kind of all going when Denmark is so unimportant, I observed that this life pattern was almost gone again. The first class had Lager but these modern houses, modern and beautiful (order is very rare)—this shows of this great rule. The consumption of Lager has fallen off drastically in post-war Denmark and there is almost no more."

Norway, 20-1-36

R. D. M.

CAMPAIGN		PRICE
DIANO AND MARR—1	R. D. MARRUVALA	40
FOOD CONTROL—1	R. V. BUDHAPATI	40
VILLAGE ECONOMY	WARRA	40
YOU HAVE LET DOWN		
GANDHI	R. D. MARRUVALA	40
KASTURBA FORTS APPEAL	V. K. KASTURBA PATEL	40
GANDHI—THE LAST PHASE—1	PRINCEAL	40
PEACE ON EARTH BY		
VEGETARIANISM AND		
PEACE ECONOMY	W. W. WILHELM TIMMERMAN	40
MOORE		
IT AND NOT 30	R. D. M.	40
MAN A MEAL PROGRAMME	R. D. M.	40
PLACE OF LAGER IN COLD COUNTRIES	R. D. M.	40

HARIJAN

EDITED BY MAMTA GANDHI
 CARE: A. C. BANERJEE



VOL. XIII No. 61 AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1939

TWO ANNAS

GANDHI AND MARX

II

The fundamental difference between Gandhiji and Marx lies in their different appetites towards life and the universe. All other differences whether of ends and means or of ideas about political, social, economic, or religious order arise from this basic difference. And in this Gandhiji's approach differs not only from that of Marx but also from the protagonists of capitalism and industrialism. For, whatever other differences and conflicts there may be between Marxism and Capitalism, both attach great importance to centralized control over capital and land and large-scale industries and agriculture. The quarrel between them consists in each wanting to establish its own control over these and for getting the largest share in the profits.

When a road branches itself into two, even if the angle between the two branches is less than five degrees at the base, after some miles, their ends will be very far from each other by several miles. If the branching takes place, say, at Kanya Kumari (Cape Comorin), one road might lead you to Peshawar and the other to Nepal. Similarly the difference between the way of looking at life and universe of Gandhiji and that of Marx and several others appears up to a certain stage to be so much alike for practical purposes as to make one feel that the difference is as between half a dozen and six. This is the reason for apparent agreement in the objectives of Gandhiji and Marx, and for slogans, such as, "Gandhism is Communism minus Violence." But this agreement is only superficial.

The common point between Gandhiji and Marx is their extreme concern for the oppressed and oppressed, powerless and ignorant, dumb and starving section of humanity. They form the major part of the family. And their condition is wretched in a world which is abundantly in plenty and capable of providing a large degree of happiness to each and every one. Further, it is wretched in the midst of civilisations, which have again and again developed literature, science, art, industries, orderly governments, majestic institutions, states and kingdoms, derived into the mysteries of nature to an amazing degree and created comforts and luxuries such as were once regarded as available

only in fairy lands. Both Gandhiji and Marx want to establish an order, which would make these masses co-sharers in the gifts of nature and fruits of human genius. But while Gandhiji insists upon ahimsa to truth and non-violence for achieving this object, Marx, for instance, is, as some say, Marx must be distinguished from Marxism, as Gandhiji from Gandhism does not care about the quality of the means, if they appear efficient enough for achieving the end as quickly as possible.

The question naturally arises why two highly intelligent and highly cultured men inspired by a common high object should differ on a matter of vital importance to the human family taken as a whole. Whether or no one is able to trace the right cause for the difference of opinion, the fact itself must be taken as indication of the existence of a very serious flaw either in the logic or in the truth of the premises assumed by the one or the other, or even both.

For centuries philosophers and scientists have sought to get to the primary root of the universe. Apparently it is a mixture or combination of measurelessly eternal and inconstant bodies. How many of these bodies or their minutely distinguishable components are primordial or their ultimate analysis? Are they several? or only two (space and matter)? or, not even two, but only one? If one, which is it—space or matter? And even if space is accepted as the primordial substance, whether there are several independent and eternal individuals, or whether all life is One?

It is difficult to say whether philosophers and scientists will ever come to a final and unanimous conclusion on these points. And it would not matter in the least if there were as many theories about them as the number of thinkers provided they remained confined to academia or subjects for intellectual treatise with no bearing on problems of life. But it is not so. Each theory is sought to be applied to the designs and instructions of man in everyday life. The acceptance of one theory points to the ordering of society and the place of the individual as it is one manner, of another theory in quite a different manner, and so on with every separate theory.

Progress in science may bring about a revolution in such theories. But, as yet, science

too, as, after a certain limit, entirely consciousness of hypotheses and probability conjectures. The exact link between life and matter is still beyond human perception even with the aid of scientific apparatus. But the stubbornness in man is not satisfied with merely accepting one's own theory as cost per cost truth for oneself, but insists him to bring about changes in the world in accordance with the considerations arising from that theory. And in doing so, he does not hesitate to use, if needed, every type of foul means.

Of these philosophies, there are two which regard life and universe to be manifestations of only one fundamental principle. Both Gandhi and Marx might be regarded as monists. But according to Gandhiji, the basic principle is Spirit and not Matter. Even what we regard as inanimate matter has its being in and by the Spirit. It has no existence independent of it, or any rate, in the absence of Spirit, none can testify to its existence. The universe rises, exists and disappears in the Spirit, which alone is ever-existent and imperishable. Therefore Spirit alone is Satya—Truth—ever-existing principle. All other forms and forms are, so to say, rept or emanations from it, every one of them is subject to continuous change and total conversion or transmutation from one form into one or more others. And the mystery of the Spirit is that though every sentient being is always associated with it and is never away from it, it is missed by most beings for the whole of their lives. And that is so much so that its very existence is doubted by many, and even most of those who accept it do so in faith. And just as a drop of water is as completely water itself as an ocean, so the Spirit is as much completely existent in a small bacterium as in the mighty lion, the huge elephant or the greatest peacock. In spite of infinite variation and degrees in the manifestation of its powers, the ultimate there is one and even in all. Even as one may not perceive the strength of a sleeping lion though it is there in abundance, so too the Spirit is wholly and fully present in every atom, whether its powers are manifest or hidden. And its wonder is that though every individual being feels itself to be a separate, self-contained and independent ego, it is not heavy, for a few, but only one omniscient Atma—Soul—in all. The tiniest cell is not a different spirit from the biggest monster, nor the greatest dumber different from the greatest Mahatma, prophet or seer. Even as coal and diamond, though so very mutually different in colour, lustre, hardness and various other qualities are but different manifestations of the same element called carbon, so too the different sentient beings are one universal Spirit. We may not be able to delve into the mystery of their differences, not even into the mystery of the workings of one's own mind and personality. But for Gandhiji there was no room for doubt that ultimately it is all one Life, and it alone works everywhere. The universe composed of infinite sentient and insentient

bodies, visible and invisible energies, good and wicked, moral and spiritual qualities, and macrocosmic and microcosmic objects is one and only one and even abiding Spirit—Also called Satya (Truth), Atma (Soul), Paramatma (God). The different forms are only apparent and superficial coverings. They emanate from its capacity to manifest itself in infinite ways. Looked at from that side, there is no scope for dividing existence into I, you and the rest.

This was, as I understood it, Gandhiji's attitude towards Life and the universe. I shall further refer to this as my own.

Dombory, 4-3-58 K. C. HARRISMAN

SELECTED LETTERS

Second Series*

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I

Brutalism is a mental state. It is undoubtedly helped by circumstances in all respects. But diet plays the least part in giving rise to the necessary mental state. Not that wrong diet will not hinder progress. What I want to say is that right diet when in moderation is not the only thing in the absence of brutalism though it is undoubtedly one of the necessary things. Indulgence of the palate will be the worst sign of a weak mental state which is equivalent to brutalism. The advantage remedy for the absence of brutalism is moderation that the soul is a part of the Divine and that the Divine resides within us. A heart grasp of this fact infuses mental purity and strength. You should therefore read such books as would enable you to grasp the central fact, cultivate such companionship as would constantly make you think of the Divine presence and follow all the directions given about truth, non-violence, etc. in my book called *Self-restraint or Self-Indulgence?* And when you are doing all these things regularly and industriously, do not brood over all that happens, but have confidence that success is bound to crown your effort.

II

(It is a notice of others who asked how we can achieve faith in God.)

Saying that God is to be found within, no respect to physical sciences can give one a living faith in the Divine. Some have undoubtedly been helped even by physical sciences, but these are to be counted on one's fingertips. My suggestion therefore to you is not to argue about the existence of Divinity, just as you do not argue about your existence, but simply assume like Euclid's axiom that God is, if only because innumerable teachers have left their evidence, and what is more, their lives are unimpeachable evidence. And then as evidence of your own faith, repeat Ramayana every morning and every evening at least for a quarter of an hour each time, and associate yourself with Ramayan reading.

*This first series has been published in book-form by the Haridwar Publishing House, P.O. 7, main post-office, 10000.

1. Also published by Haridwar, P.O. No. 8, post-office, 10000.

FOOD CONTROL**B****Remedies**

The remedies, which I suggest, provide two alternatives:

A

- (i) complete decontrol
- (ii) drawing open of second sources of supply
- (iii) providing means of transport for rail, road and air
- (iv) maintenance of fair-price shops till the markets will revert to the normal state
- (v) maintenance of an emergency store by the Central Government for being drawn on whenever and wherever shortage may be felt (supply from transport and free trade. This store may be made up partly of local purchases and partly of imports from outside)
- (vi) control and tax on exports to place outside the country

The most suspicious time for introducing decontrol is the time when new crops are about to appear on the market. Decontrol would have to be introduced simultaneously throughout the country

or**C**

If it is considered expedient to reach the above stage of complete decontrol gradually, the existing system of control could only be slackened for the intervening period but all provisions would have to follow a uniform policy. The slackening may be made on the following lines:

- (i) Issues entered wholesale merchants or as acceptance of them as purchase from suppliers who shall be prohibited to sell their stocks in persons other than licensed merchants.
- (ii) The selling price (not for the purchase and sale of grain, wheat and rice) shall be selling to them separately for each District.
- (iii) All other merchants in store and deal in grain or their own account subject to the selling price and subject to such regulations as may be prescribed in the District. The following may be the conditions.
- (a) Wholesale merchants shall sell only to licensed retail dealers under permits to be issued by the District to be deposited for the purpose in quantities mentioned in the permits.
- (b) Extension of weekly or fortnightly returns or purchases, sales and stocks in balance by the wholesale merchants in the District may also allow. These returns shall be deposited in District storage.
- (c) Stock registers and accounts of sales and purchases shall be liable to be examined and verified by verified by officers to be appointed for the purpose.
- (d) Sales to merchants in other Districts shall be made only on the authority of permits to be issued by the District or Supply Officers of the importing Districts in quantities not exceeding quantities mentioned in the retail permits. The permits shall be made only under permits to be issued by the Supply Officer of the exporting District.
- (e) Extension of A. R. O. shops into fair-price shops which will be on a par with licensed retail shops. It should be open to consumers to purchase their requirements either from licensed retail shops or from fair-price shops irrespective of the 'license' status of the consumer.
- (f) An emergency store may be kept on Government account in each District. The store may

be made up of (i) purchases of all lot of imports from outside, or (ii) emergency supplies.

It might be argued that by taking merchants into the system, the very object of the control would be frustrated and the whole thing may go wrong. No such apprehension need however be felt inasmuch as an effective check could be exercised over the licensed merchants and dealers by restricting their number to the absolute requirements. Moreover under the present diffusive control, the control under the proposed system would be of a restricted and compact nature. All this could be done with a much smaller establishment than at present. This shall have the advantage of providing a midway arrangement between the present state of absolute control and the state of unfettered normal course of trade which is after all the ultimate desideratum. It shall also bring the much needed relief to the Public Rationer which is the greater desideratum. Consumers will get grains of normal qualities as in the normal times at controlled rates. Also, the shortage of the country will have been reduced to the minimum with the resultant savings in the sterling and dollar balances for being utilized in the import of capital goods required for the betterment of the economic condition of the country. In short, quite the normal state of things will probably set in without hardship to the public and with the minimum of expense to Government.

K. V. K. K. K.

I regret I had to abridge the writer's very fully prepared note. I have not quoted any material point. The alternative system of licensed merchants as distributors does not appeal to me despite of the various checks suggested by him for the simple reason that it would be exposed to corrupting influences and to manoeuvrings of all sorts in the same way as hitherto. The first suggestion is a rational and wholesome method.

—K. G. K.]

NOTICE**Cane-growers' Satyagraha**

Readers will be pleased to learn that on 28th January the dispute between cane-growers, the sugar factory at Hilsar and the Madras Government has been satisfactorily settled as follows:

1. The cane-growers should voluntarily give upholding of their case to the factory.
2. They should bring their cane to the nearest road and from the factory water would transport the cane to the factory.

On the 18th cane-growers commenced their agitating picketing operations in an atmosphere of rejoicing and the factory also has begun to work.

Bombay, 7-2-52

R. G. K.

Parade of "Khaddar"

The condition necessitating pre-payment of charges attached to the Half Parade Rate for hand-woven cloth including 'Khaddar' which is both hand-spun and hand-woven has been withdrawn in Local and Through Booking on the Railway with effect from December 27 1949.

[G. I. P. News Letter, January 1952]

HARIJAN

February 12

1950

HINDU CODE BILL

I have been repeatedly asked to express my views on the Hindu Code Bill now pending before the Parliament. I could not do it, as it is only now that I have been able to read the Bill as introduced by the Select Committee, along with various remarks of the members of that Committee.

So far as main principles are concerned, I do not see anything in it which shocks me. Neither as matters of marriage, divorce, inheritance, testamentary rights and adoption, I have been long of opinion that there should be a uniform law for all Indians irrespective of their religion. There is no reason also for declaring that conversion to another religion should automatically disqualify one to inherit. Whether it should by itself confer upon the converted partner the right to claim divorce is a question on which my mind is open. The proselytising activity would lose both its attraction and sting if it involved no change in social relations and brought no economic advantages or disadvantages, but remained, as it should, a pure matter of personal choice of the form of worship and pursuit of truth. A son or a brother does not cease to be so nor is rewarded disqualified for having turned a Shudra from Yashwantrao or a Jain from Ganeshji. Similarly too, must be the status of other groups like Jains, Christians, Zoroastrians, Sikhs, etc.

The abandonment of the idea of undivided joint-family property resulting in the abolition of the right of survivorship is one of the grounds on which the bill is being strongly opposed. I am in favour of the reform. If it is necessary to regard it as a reform at all. Bengal has not followed the Mitakshara Law for some centuries. The family ties are not less affectionate and warm there for reason of it than in other parts of India. Under the operation of the Income-tax Act in other parts of India also people have been maintaining their heads of account so as to make themselves appear as divided. The joint family law with presumption of law in its favour and the right of survivorship have been two of the great causes of heavy taxation among Hindus in India. Widows and daughters have been unable to be dispossessed, adoptees questioned shares claimed in virtually self-acquired property by distant pretending consanguines and large estates have been made ultimately to be divided away in court claims and lawyers' fees. There is less litigation of the type of administration suits among communities not subject to the Mitakshara Law.

On the question of adoption, I do not see why there should be a taboo against the adop-

tion of a girl. Pearl Buck, the famous American writer, is a mother of five adopted girls and I know Hindus who being childless have brought up daughters of near relatives or orphaned girls as their own. It is of course open to them to make under the Bill a testamentary disposition to the ward's favour. But it often happens that adopters die without being able to make a will, and the position of such girls suddenly becomes pitiable. An adoption ceremony, if allowed, would make the position straight. It would be, after all, only an enabling provision, which is not likely to be very widely availed of. Even adoptions of sons are not too frequent and, I believe, are on the decline.

Much has also been said against the permission accorded to husbands and wives to seek divorce under certain conditions. It is said that this is against the fundamental conception of the Hindu idea of marriage being a sacrament. With all deference to Sharda events and religious beliefs let me point out that the notion of Hindus marry when widow remarriage and divorce are traditionally prohibited is a very small one. A majority of Hindus have always allowed both. Some of the States have already passed laws or have before them bills on this subject. Simply because law enables parties to dissolve their marriage, it does not follow that husband and wife, who love each other or can even with occasional wranglings, pull us or be persuaded to pull us together, or feel that marriage is a sacramental tie which must not be cut under need must to the Matrimonial Court. People belonging to castes which do not allow divorce and widow-remarriage are not better known for their fidelity towards their partners or maintaining more peaceful and affectionate homes than those among whom these are allowed. In actual practice the male permits himself to be even licentious. It is only the female against whom the taboo operates.

Lastly, about rights of inheritance granted to female relatives. It is not just that Hindu Law should be liberalised in this respect. The law of succession among no other people, whether in India or abroad, is so parsimonious towards women as the Hindu Law. The law which the present Bill seeks to lay down is even more liberal than that recognised by the laws applicable to other Indian communities. This may be rather too great a step for male Hindu relatives to accept generously and for some time may have unhappy reactions. The life health and upbringing of Hindu women may be endangered. I believe that an attempt should be made to lay down a uniform law for all communities, and Hindu women may be requested to be content at that for the present is their own interest.

So, I welcome the bill on the whole. This of course does not mean that some sections cannot be improved both in language and detail. Thus, I trust more capable draftsmen and lawyers than I will look to

Also, of course, legislators will be able to go only to the extent public opinion is prepared. **Dombay, 7-2-56** **S. S. MANDREKALA**

WEAVING WITHIN FIVE WEEKS

Spencers and khadi-workers will know the difficulty of getting handspun yarn woven. Khadi whether for sale or for self-sufficiency, has not progressed satisfactorily owing to the difficulties of weaving. In the speed of hand-spinning, it is not the charkha which presents much difficulty in making an appeal, but the operation of weaving presents a formidable problem. Despite many sincere efforts, only a few centres have been able to make satisfactory progress in weaving. After the world war the problem has become even more intricate. At one time there is yarn but no weaver, at another time there is a weaver but no yarn, and there are also times when both yarn and weaver are available, but there are no sales and the stores are too full of khadi. This state of affairs is not confined to khadi only. It is equally true of mill-yarn weaving also. These available conditions have seriously hampered the cause of khadi, both for commercial and self-sufficiency purposes, and for some time past the problem of khadi-makers has engaged our serious attention. Really, our attention ought to have been drawn to it at a very early stage, because weaving is as much at the root of khadi as spinning.

After careful research in the matter, the All-India Spencer's Association has come to the conclusion that one of the solutions lies in devising simple methods of home-weaving and has been able to find practical ways of doing so. For this it has decided to start weaving classes to teach weaving and impart elementary knowledge of its tools and necessary processes. It will take five weeks to complete the course. In the beginning two ranges will be started under the auspices of A.I.S.A. from 26th April to 26th May 1956 at Mal (Dist. Chanda, Madhya Pradesh) and Barhali (Dist. Surat, Gujarat) respectively.

It is expected that each learner will be able to weave three pieces of cloth, each of 10 yards' length and 21 inches' width in five weeks working for seven hours per day. There will be no tuition fee, but the learner will have to meet his expenses for boarding etc. which are expected to be about Rs. 30 for the term of five weeks. Further details will be published in the supplement to the *Sandesh* for February 1956 or can be had (in Hindi) from the office of the All-India Spencer's Association, Savitribai, Wardha (C.P.) by sending postal stamps of 2 annas.

Applications for admission should be sent to the same address on or before 31st March 1956. Applications by members of Spinning Clubs will be given preference. The spinning clubs are requested to send at least one or two candidates on their behalf so as to make themselves self-dependent in the matter of khadi.

KIRISHANAN CHANDRI
Secretary.

Savitribai All-India Spencer's Association
(Translated and abridged from *Hindi*)

HANDSHIP—THE LAST PHASE

II

Seventy-eighth Birthday

On the occasion of his 78th birthday according to the Indian calendar on 22nd September a contralto had thoughtlessly arranged to get Dr Rajendrakumar the then Food Minister, to do tribute poems to Harijan children. To Handship that named a contralto made of food when the poor were starved with famine. His indignation flared up and he let himself go. That day he made a deathly operation—for the hopes of his co-worker and for his own loss of equanimity. He was in the habit of giving minute instructions for each meal, the meals being strictly regulated according to his physical condition, conditions of rest and work in prospect, mental stress and such other factors. That evening he scribbled out instructions that the juice of four lemons instead of the usual orange juice was to be served with his milk. What right had he to use oranges when he could possibly do with our lemons and pappery? His diary for that day contained the following entry: "I was angry. I have to consider what my duty under the circumstances is. It seems to be so very hard to maintain detachment of mind in the midst of this raging fire. My heart-melting continues." To a close friend he remarked, "I am filled with agitation. Why could not I suffer this inner anguish with untroubled calmness of spirit?" I am afraid I have not the detachment required for living up to 120 years. Success is impossible without infinite patience. A burning passion coupled with uttermost detachment is the key to all success."

On still another occasion in the course of his delicate mission, he found himself nodding. The nod consisted in being overhasty in reading a document hurriedly put into his hands by the Navabkhab of Bhopal, though there was no occasion for hurry. He feared it was all right when it was not. Luckily the mistake was detected at once and no harm came out of it. But it shook him to his depths. He resigned himself before the tribunal of his conscience and accused himself of gross negligence. "which is criminal in a public man." Not satisfied with it, he made a confession of his error before the evening prayer gathering. "Friends might say that it was no sin but a mere oversight—a trivial mistake. I drew no distinction between error and sin. To confess an error or sin as soon as it is discovered is to purge it out. If a man commits a bonafide mistake and condones it with a contrite heart before his Maker, the Merciful Maker forgives it of all harm."

And as an aid to introspection, he took to indefinite silence for normal purposes to be broken only to address the evening prayer gatherings or when it might be necessary for his mission to Delhi.

Applying the same test of truth to the Cabinet Minister's 16th of May announcement he

posed the question: "Did it or did it not mean what it said?" He likened it to a promissory note whose worth depends entirely on its genuineness. There were obvious contradictions in it, but if the assurances conveyed to the ear were not intended to be broken to the heart, he argued, it must be capable of an interpretation that would remove all contradictions and inconsistencies. And giving full credit to the Colonial Mission for their benevolence, he proceeded to interpret the 15th of May announcement accordingly, thus securing the situation from a stalemate for the time being.

And so on the 34th of August, 1946, the Interim Government at the Centre was formed, with Pandit Nehru as Vice-President, and on the 3rd of September the Congress ministers took office after receiving Gandhiji's blessing at an impressive little ceremony at Bhauri Niwas.

On the Threshold

For Gandhiji it was a day of deep heart-worship. In the early hours of the morning, while most slept, he woke up and wrote out a short message addressed to Pandit Nehru instructing the members of the new Government in their duties. He reminded them that they stood in the hour of brilliant reform: the pledges which they had made when the Congress was in the wilderness. These related to Hindu communal unity, prohibition, removal of the Salt Tax, and total abstinence of untouchability. Employing the substance of his remarks at the morning prayer gathering, he bade the supplicants witness for which India had long waited as a red-letter day in Indian history. He exhorted the people to abstain from jubilation, rejoicing, and other exuberant manifestations. The proper way of observing solemn occasions as enjoined by Hindutva, Islam, and Christianity alike, was by fasting rather than feasting. They should, therefore, utilize the occasion to turn the searchlight inward and have nothing but the friendliest feeling towards all, even those who might be opposed to them. "All those who are born in this country and claim her as the Motherland are brothers. Our mortal mother, who gives us birth, is entitled to our reverence and worship. Such worship purifies the soul. How much more worthy of our allegiance and reverence must our Mother be then—the Imperishable Mother on whose breast we are born and will die."

After that he was anxious to return to his retreat at Sevagram but was persuaded upon by the members of the new Government to prolong his stay at Delhi and give them the benefit of his sage advice and guidance at the threshold of the new era. And so, through the month of September, in the grilling heat and choking dust of the Imperial city. The 75th birthday fell on the second of October according to the English calendar. It brought a shower of greetings from all over the world. One of the most touching, perhaps, was from Lord Patrick-Lawrence, "Gandhiji," he wrote, "the month of October

brings the anniversary of your birth into this world of conflict—conflict between powers of good and evil.

"Your life and being have enriched the human race and will always remain as part of the Light which shines in the darkness. May all faith and joy be yours at the time of the celebration of your birthday!"

New Delhi, 11-8-50

PERMAL

LEPROUS COLONIES

Missionaries, who have been the pioneers in this field, deserve the credit for the immense and continuous service which they have rendered in almost all countries in the world. One of the wages derived by them for combating this disease has been the foundation of special colonies of patients of leprosy.

But unfortunately segregation has created serious social and economic problems. They call for serious as well as immediate deliberation, decision and action.

I had an occasion to study these problems for more than 10 years and I may sum up their nature as follows:

1. The patients in almost all colonies become dissatisfied and very often change colonies. For this they resort to various tricks including bribery.
2. They are not bound to follow rules and are prone to wage all manner of lawless activities. They even have internal parties with vicious motives and resort to organized resistance rising and insurrection to overthrow the management.
3. Law problems are always a headache to the management and are one of the causes of party brawls.
4. Economy in some cases is heartlessly displayed. They have prisoners. Naturally a desire to be free from all discipline leads them to leave colonies and take to looting. The disease is the capital on which they trade and the more pliable the spiritual condition, the better are the earnings. These prisoners are then distributed to give any treatment, begging is looked upon as a right and lack of proper response by the charitable public develops and social and at times criminal tendencies.

Cause

These problems should by no means be regarded as peculiar to colonies of leprosy patients only. They are common to all institutions where people have to live in segregation and in any but normal ways of life. The reason seems to be that evolution of human qualities results from a life of responsibility whether personal, family, social or other, and from the love and regard with which society treats the individual. Despite danger and consequent inherent attitude and treatment forced out makes them leave their homes and society. They are practically shut out from any occupation. This naturally leaves no scope for developing the sense of responsibility which leads to the evolution of human qualities.

Remedies

Efforts are now made to provide the occupation of colonies with some occupation. It is known as Occupational Therapy. The progress of this effort is comparatively better in mission or private colonies than in Government colonies.

Progress depends upon faith and human handling, which again depends upon the man in charge. He must not only be a labourer for love and faith and will but also should have freedom enough to use his discretion to meet different situations created by different requirements of the patients. This freedom is difficult in Government colonies with their hide-bound rules and regulations. Moreover, expenditure of Government colonies is comparatively very heavy. Governments also are now planning to combine occupations in their colonies. This may again add to the heavy cost of maintenance.

The above circumstances call for joint deliberation. The Managers of several colonies, private and Government, should exchange notes with one another. Some measures which can lead the patients to realise personal and other responsibilities must be thought out. Facilities to discharge such responsibilities should be provided.

I make the following suggestions:

- 1 Patients should be classified according to their physical condition,
- 2 Their mental inclinations and aptitudes should be considered,
- 3 Occupations for various aptitudes should be decided upon,
- 4 Preference should be given to occupations necessary for the daily requirements of the colony itself,
- 5 Some method of giving remuneration either in kind or cash should be devised,
- 6 Patients should be inspired and trained that they must realise themselves as their own earnings, except for such prohibitions as may have to be made on the ground of physical incapacity.

These suggestions are illustrative and not exhaustive. It will require experience as well as resourcefulness to implement all the laws that may be chalked out. But the problem has assumed a seriousness which does not brook delay.

Editorial

T. T. DATTA

SATYAGRAHA UNITS

Just before the close of the World Pacific Meeting at Sevagram, in December, 1948, the following statement on Satyagraha Units or "The Peace Army" was "received" by the Meeting, and concerned individuals heartily encouraged to constitute themselves an International Liaison Committee as provided in the closing paragraph of the statement:

"It is obvious that Pacifism cannot be a hopeless venture in Military action; we are able to show an effective alternative to armed defence. The Atomic Age is proving the futility of military protection. It is therefore necessary to organize the Peace based on co-operation of all Nations which admits of no doubt.

"We propose that definite and sustained attempts should be made to establish Satyagraha units in all diverse countries. These units will be composed of those individuals who have full faith in the superiority of non-violence and intend these new violent methods and who are prepared to discipline their own lives for becoming true satyagrahis (Satyagraha literally means to restrain and control as Truth or soul-force). A satyagrahi is a person who prepares

himself for Satyagraha. These two words have been chosen because they were coined and made current by Mahatma Gandhi, and there seems to be no other words which could adequately take their place."

A true satyagrahi has to be trained in the observance of certain virtues of his which would prepare him for supreme sacrifice if necessary. These virtues are indicated for Satyagrahi in the seven laws of Gandhiji's Ashram.

"In spite of Mahatma Gandhi, the difference between war and Satyagraha remains in this: while the former aims at victory, the latter aims at co-existence. In war one inflicts punishment upon the adversary in Satyagraha one does the maximum suffering on oneself without a trace of bitterness against the opponent or a human being.

"Unlike the military forces the Satyagraha units will be fully active during peace time by leading the mass of violence in social economic, educational and administrative spheres. Non-violent defence has to lay great emphasis on preventive action, as illustrated in Mahatma Gandhi's Constructive Programmes. The Satyagrahi units will also lay to meet with situations in victory in their respective localities or regions. They will not quietly wait for a confrontation to break out, but will, from day to day, lay their utmost to create conditions which would nip conflict in the bud. This could be made more effective if they are able to maintain intimate personal contacts with people inhabiting those areas. In opposing non-violent defence we will have to stress quality rather than quantity and, rather than lay stress, the leaders will be required to be in the front rather than in the rear. There can also be no policy of secrecy to make an organisation become invulnerable and hence not adequately related.

"The technique of Satyagraha differs with its mode of violent resistance to the broader concepts of non-violence with the forces of "cooperation" or aggression, but an attitude of human understanding towards the fighting soldier, as a human being and taught in a military manner. The Satyagrahi units may, when necessary arise, take the 'offensive' in the form of 'Peace or Gandhi's Non-Violence to create misunderstanding and roots of war before it is too late.

"This is the broad outline of the scheme of Non-Violent Defence. More its organisation and technique are fundamentally different from that of the military, essential research will have to be conducted in different directions and under different conditions in a spirit of faith and devotion.

"We suggest that a preliminary International Liaison Committee be established to coordinate the work of recruiting and training satyagrahis on the basis of the scheme indicated above. We readily admit that the non-violent defence is full of human difficulties. But on the success of such a plan of Satyagraha rests the ultimate hope of mankind for world peace and brotherhood."

The following persons volunteered for service on the provisional International Liaison Committee, and most of them had a meeting at Sevagram, site of the Ashram in which Gandhi lived toward the end of his life on December 31, 1948:

Australia, John Falding, France, Henri Koser, Germany, Hans Kraschinsky, India, S. N. Agarwal, G. Ramachandran, Donald Green, Ralph Kautsky, Japan, Ken Nakayama, New Zealand, A. C. Barrington, Norway, Dagfrid Lund, Switzerland, Rose Savard, South Africa (for the present, England), Michael Scott, Sweden, Sven Erik Mylberg, United States, Richard Gregg, A. J. Muste.

It is hoped that at an early date correspondents may be named or may volunteer from other countries and those who have suggestions to make on that matter are urged to correspond either with the committee members nearest their own country or with S. M. Agarwal, Chhatrapati College, Warangal, C P, India.

A. J. MOORE

DUTY TO FEEL ANGRY

[The *Washington Post* publishes today, 13th February, being the 50th anniversary of Shri Gopal Krishna Gokhale a collection of Gokhale's writings on his great political work, in English. The following forms part of the Foreword to the collection.]

I did not have any opportunity of coming into personal contact with Shri Gokhale. I remember to have heard him only twice, first in 1903 at the Indian National Congress, Bombay, and secondly, in 1908 or '09 at a students' meeting at Wilson College, Bombay. The only impression left on the mind is that he had a very sweet voice, which it was usual to liken to a silver bell. Some days previous to this, one of our professors had casually told us that Gokhale was the only Indian he had ever heard who spoke faultless English both grammatically and phonetically. It is possible, therefore, that when he spoke, I paid more attention to the sound than to the meaning of his language.

But there is an incident attached to this meeting, which deserves to be narrated. The meeting had been arranged on behalf of the "Students' Union", which was a new body then. It brought together for the first time all college students of Bombay on a common platform. Shri Manu Sahasrabudhe was to read a paper on the Uplift of the Suppressed Classes, and Shri G. K. Gokhale had been requested to preside. As the meeting was expected to be thickly attended, permission had been obtained from Principal Macdonald to hold it in the Wilson College Hall. I had no office in the managing committee of the Union, but voluntarily helped the Secretaries, one of whom was my class-fellow and a dear class.

Unexpectedly a last minute hitch was created by the Principal. He sent for my friend and told him that Mr. Gokhale was a politician and ought discuss political subjects at the meeting. This he was not prepared to tolerate. So my friend should get an undertaking from Shri Gokhale that he would eschew all politics in his speech. My friend protested saying that the subject being one relating to social reform, there would be no occasion for politics to be brought in. But the Principal said that politicians could not be trusted to keep to particular subjects. They were capable of talking any subject they wished to any other whatever. So, under my friend should bring him the undertaking or else he would cancel the permission to use the Hall.

This was a serious dilemma. My friend could see that this was a deliberate attempt to

hush our leader. How could he put in such a suggestion as that before Shri Gokhale? But what else was to be done? There was no time to arrange the meeting at some other place. Moreover, to do so would have meant that the Students' Union did want politics to be discussed in its meetings and as the authorities of most of the colleges were hostile to this Union, the incident would provide an excuse for banning it.

My friend felt perplexed. Ultimately with a trembling hand he scribbled a note to Shri Gokhale. Naturally Gokhale took it all and wrote back to say that in view of the unreasonable demand, he declined to preside. My friend's perplexity increased. I shall describe the rest in his own words.

I had not the courage to tell Dr. Macdonald that his suggestion was unreasonable. I went to see that Gokhale. I was very nervous, but told him everything. At first he became very angry. He said: 'This is Gokhale's work, I cannot preside on this condition.' I felt him crying. I told him that the audience would think that I had falsely accused Shri Gokhale's name to get a large hall cleaner and then chosen him. Shri Gokhale became calmer. He asked me not to misunderstand him, what he said that all people had no sense of moral indignation. It was one's duty to feel angry on such occasions. He told me how our people professed without even a pang great indignation, fanaticism and discrimination were various products from these nations they considered their superiority. They had lost the capacity of feeling righteous indignation. Then, he said, 'I'll come, but on one condition. Make me a promise that you will tell Dr. Macdonald that he had no right to tell me what I should say or not say at the meeting. I give him the promise. I did convey to Dr. Macdonald that Gokhale's reply, though with extreme seriousness, Dr. Macdonald also thought it wise to leave the matter at that. In Shri Gokhale came and gave his thought-provoking address.

I remember also that that great Marathi worker, Shri Vithal Ramji Shinde, was also present at the meeting and Shri Gokhale had introduced him to the students.

These were the only two occasions when I saw and heard that great man face to face.

R. G. MANDREWALA

(Paraphrased from Gujarati)

By Mahatma Gandhi FOR FACTFEST

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HARIJAN

FOUNDED BY BHAKTINATH GANDHI
Editor: A. C. RAMANUJAM



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TWO ANNAS

GANDHI AND HARK

III

Before proceeding to the Marxist doctrine about life and the Universe, it is pertinent to mention that Gandhiji is not the only one which accepts the doctrine of "God alone is." There are other ones also which do it, and on the authority of those very scriptures (Upanishads etc.), which Gandhiji accepted as authentic. But contrary though it may seem, the errors which they draw from that philosophy are the opposite of those which Gandhiji did. This leads them to reasoning and acts similar to principles and methods of the communists in their (1948).

Gandhiji draws the following lesson from his faith that the whole Universe—cosmos as well as important—is a manifestation of One Life (The reader will please bear in mind that I do not quote Gandhiji. The language is mine).

"When all life is one, and the whole universe including myself is a manifestation of God, whom may I regard to be my enemy, a wicked being, one whom I am free to hate? Whom may I fear or imagine fear to? Whom may I regard as closer to me than others? Whom may I regard as trivial enough to be sacrificed by me for an end?"

"Although in truth my being is His, a mysterious law of His binds me with my body with such attachment that I cannot absolutely give up a desire to keep it fit and alive. I do not commit suicide or regard it as proper in spite of evil in myself. How then may I regard another as deserving to be killed, because of evil in him?"

True, it is by Faith that I hold that the Universe is a manifestation of God, and that apart from Him I am nothing. But I have not actually stated that stage. I am yet not free from passions (prejudice, violence, discriminatory attachments, etc.). Consequently or unconsciously, my acts reveal my real condition. But if Truth is as I believe, my momentary effort must be to reach a condition consistent with my Faith. This is possible only if I accept non-violence as the supreme dharma (law) of my life and regulate all my thoughts, words and actions in accordance with that law. All such pledges, rules of conduct and duties, as would kill the law of non-violence, must be sought out and diligently followed. If I allow myself freedom to kill or punish others for their wickedness, or for ob-

straining to, some violence and efforts, the statement that all life is one remains a futile ideological dissertation on my part."

As stated above there are others also who regard the universe as the manifestation of One Life or Atma. But they do not deduce the same lessons from the doctrine, they allow themselves the right to destroy, punish or otherwise forcibly restrain all those 'evildoers' who go by the 'wrong path', harass the 'righteous', spread 'false doctrines' etc., and regard that for proper reasons the duty to inflict violence is as imperative as the duty to love. Such proper reasons might arise from differences of stages of evolution, number of individuals involved, their caste, creed, country, race, wealth and other differential factors. Hence, too the difference between Gandhiji and other acceptors of the doctrine of 'God alone is'.

I shall now consider the Marxist doctrine in my next.

BOMBAY 3-2-48

E. C. RAMANUJAM

CONDITIONS FOR DECONTROL.

I take the Prime Minister's recent utterance about controls as laying down the conditions for lifting them. He has frankly said that the Government cannot take the risk either of the people of any area being the red or of cash rise in price as to make the wage and salary bill over-charged with heavy financial responsibilities. If the Government could be well assured that some of these embarrassments would arise, it could be persuaded to lift the controls.

Such assurances can be given by village panchayats, panchayat sabhas, gram sabhas, wholesale and retail dealers, agriculturists' associations, businessmen who possess means of getting loans, purchasing and hoarding large stocks and paying black-market prices, by pledging for a period of one year at least as follows:

- (1) not to take the political line in connection with the Government, under any circumstances whatsoever;
- (2) to undertake that none will starve within their area for want of food;
- (3) not to purchase at a time and in a period of less than 30 days more food-stuff than that is allowed;
- (4) to religiously refrain from giving funds to subversion of Government rule;
- (5) not to induce or aid when the dealer has stock in his possession, and not to convert the stock for the purpose of creating better conditions and obtaining black-market prices;

(a) not to carry on any export or import trade in contravention of Government policy and to refrain from smuggling.

If Congress Committees and similar non-official associations apply themselves to the above task by approaching appropriate associations as well as individuals and organising public meetings of people to get these pledges, it is not impossible to create conditions which will enable the Government to lift or slacken the controls. If controls are relaxed on account of their morally deleterious consequences, and if there is a wide spread demand for their abolition, it is essential that people should create an atmosphere which would make a reasonable prospect that there would be return to honesty and unalloyed conduct if they are lifted.

The Government and their officers as well as favoured public bodies have also a duty by the people in this respect. They cannot there unless give scope in contravention of general restrictions and ask only the people to refrain from them. Rather, under certain conditions they might permit the people a latitude, which they may not give to themselves. The Government of India and the Government of Madras in this respect by its instructions for the celebrations of the Republic Day. Government must realise that people have become sharply critical of their conduct, and that reality they must not overlook.

Bombay, 24-2-35

K. G. HARRISWALA

THE ADVERTISEMENT EVIL

A correspondent writes :

I recently reported you in full attention of the managers of the newspapers and other publishers and of subscribers to stop the evil of shameful advertisements. Some newspapers especially of Bombay, Madras, Aden, etc., very rarely devote people by their false advertisements. They advertise for instance that they make a gift of gold watches gold rings etc. to the purchasers of their hair oil. The uneducated village who has been long wearing a watch or a ring but cannot afford to buy one, involuntarily falls in the snare and places an order for a watch or ring etc. which by itself he does not at all want. A parcel with an enticing notice arrives by T. T. C. and is honoured with enthusiasm. But imagine his disappointment and grief when upon opening it he finds that the watch/ring is a toy, and the golden ring is a worthless picture of the watch/ring, and the oil inside is the smell for the price paid. This is sheer cheating but how can he afford to take legal action against that dishonest dealer?

Is it right for the Press to accept such advertisement? They claim to serve the people and for that purpose demand wide freedom. But, have they served the people by becoming agents of such false advertisements? Please request the owners of the papers not to make money the principal object of their profession, and request the Government to take action against false and fraudulent advertisements."

The letter does not need any comment, except that the correspondent and people of his type should bear in mind that if they are both simple and greedy at once, they will always be victims of cheats. The dealer is often reliable

articles for almost nothing throws them into the waste of rotting paper. Nevertheless, that is a matter worthy of consideration by the two Newspapers' Conferences of India. They should voluntarily make rules in these matters, and make Government control unnecessary.

As I write this, my attention has been drawn by a friend to an article in the October 28 issue of *Collier's* (U.S.A.). This is what it says of the *Christian Science Monitor*, "a daily published in Boston and read in 120 countries besides the United States," and having a circulation of about 100,000. Regarding its policy about advertisements, the writer says

The *Monitor* refuses to carry advertising that is untrue. No other publication in the world is so strict as this about what it permits to appear. Hence, an advertisement in the *Monitor* is of a value greater than in any other medium.

And the *Christian Science Monitor* does not refuse the following: but it refuses where figure-mockery, display of ingenuity, ostentatious, and pretensions are in other words, what they are advertised as a human body, hand, count or even appearing anything a health appeal, which means words, figures or financial institution calculated less than two years before complete preparation than the medical qualities. Such things, like in fact, however, conditions, illustrations of conditions, photographs, studies, scientific specimens or apparatus, having little scientific or literary interest, purely profit, scientific, industrial agencies all in which propositions, political etc., subjects of real life, which is rapidly illustrated or not representing life or health as dependent upon medical conditions, the scientific or promotional character of of some appeal in the business of where figure or health picture, with pertaining to particularly an investment of capital raised, illustrations showing use of various or figure, and illustrations of the word *Christian* in 'Science' is not permitted.

Bombay, 25-2-35

K. G. HARRISWALA

Indian Review

I am hardly able to take notice of books, periodicals etc. in the columns of the *Harijan* papers. The pressure on space and my limited energies do not enable me to do so. But I think, I must take a short note of the *Sourvenir* issue of the *Indian Review* which celebrated its Golden Jubilee on the first day of this year. For nearly fifty years of the current century, *Natanson's* was almost the only well-known house of publication, which produced inspiring literature for young men with patriotic and religious fervour, and through its magazine and books gave them useful knowledge about the country, her spiritual and political leaders and the Indian national movement. G. Natanson's books were favourite with nationally minded college students for obtaining statistical and other useful information. The *Sourvenir* raises memories of those days and reminds one of the several important figures of that period through photographs and written records about them.

Bombay, 25-2-35

K. G. H.

TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCE

Elsewhere the reader will find an article by Principal S. N. Agarwal under the caption "What is really wrong with India?" He draws attention to the political danger underlying import of foreign capital and expertise into India. Lamenting wide politics I endorse his statement on pure economic and moral considerations.

Economically, I believe, there is not much scope in India for profitable employment of modern technological science. The problem of India, hard to a large extent, also of constraint to our east, is far different from that of Europe and, still more so, of U.S.A. As the Prime Minister said the other day, our immediate problem (and I would add one which would engage our attention for a sufficiently long time) is how we can quickly find means to feed, clothe and find shelter for our millions. The problem of raising their standard of life important as it is falls into the background in the face of present hunger, malnutrition and homelessness. How shall we best and speedily employ them and make them produce things which they themselves can consume, or possess means to purchase them? We have first to put to work our live engines. The problem of the European countries is to find means for maintaining a good standard of life—the question of actual hunger having been already solved by many.

In this modern industrialisation will not help us much because (i) it cannot employ too many, rather (ii) it would disemploy more than it can find employment for, if it produces goods which would displace indigenous made goods. (iii) its very efficiency lies in dispensing with the human labourer to the greatest extent possible. (iv) whatever it produces can be profitable only if it can find a foreign market, this is difficult and will get increasingly more difficult at a quick pace because with all our efforts, our methods cannot be as efficient as those of the masters at whose feet we shall acquire them, and other countries also will industrialise themselves in the same way as we do, and (v) our material resources, great as they are, are after all not so great as those of several other less populated countries. Our large exportable surplus is our people rather than our produce of the fields and mines. For centuries our country has tried to export its human wealth to other countries, and the present situation is that hardly any country wants it. And they will want our material exports still less. Our planning for industrialisation must, therefore, be not with an eye to increasing our export trade, which is not going to stay with us long, but to production of goods, which our people can themselves consume and would always want to consume. Since they cannot and ought not to be made available to the people gratis, the only other way which will enable them to consume them is employment of all human energy in occupations which will give them sufficient returns.

A re-orientation of these problems should I think, necessitate that our technological advances may be in the direction of finding means of saving labour of the labourer and not of saving the number of labourers. Incidentally, the saving of labour will add to the speed of the worker and so increase the amount of production also. This is quite welcome. But the primary aim must not be to reduce the number of workers, except in limited fields. Certainly not in the production of articles which are needed by very large numbers. Thus a machine which by pulling a two-anna piece in its slot will give out a cup of milk without any human being appearing on the scene has no place in India except as a curiosity show. But a device which would enable him to carry his pail of milk with less fatigue than by simply carrying it in his hand would be perfectly welcome.

If we import technicians of this kind or if our students will study this side of technology in foreign countries they might be able to render some help to our country. But several students who have gone abroad tell us that what they learn there is so far above our needs that they cannot usefully employ these technicians here. India is not a country in which talented young men can find full scope for employing their knowledge. Their talents are not fully appreciated and richly paid; the comforts and luxuries—available even in cities like New Delhi and Bombay—are nothing compared to those of a small town in U.S.A., and there are many who dream, if possible, to leave India for good and settle down somewhere in Europe or America. Feeling that they want to take as many opportunities of visiting these places as possible, and aware to get a job in the Prime Minister's Foreign Department. Instead of "Sweet Home", they begin to hanker for a place in Washington or London. What can be a greater loss to a country than that its youth should want to run away from their own country and people?

This disappropiation of import of foreign experts and sending our youth to foreign countries for study must not be confounded with the fish-view complex which wants to confine itself to its own small pond and refuses to move or look into anything outside the range of a small angle. It is not to make India a self-contained self-sufficient isolated island that this foreign contact is disapproved. Nor is it that a sense of unity for India's high and supreme culture and perfection in the past and from the pride of having produced in the present a Mahatma, who has been acknowledged on all hands, as the great teacher of the modern world, so that we have nothing to learn from any other country of the world. The progress which the Western countries have made in Technology is undisputed in the world, and to the extent our country needs it, it must be learnt from them with the spirit of a disciple. But we must be clear about what we seek and why we seek it.

Bombay 18-2-66

H. O. MISHRAWALA

HARIJAN

February 28

1950

INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

The continuously deteriorating relations between Bharat and Pakistan must be a matter of grave concern to every lover of humanity. One of the centries, namely, the Kashmir issue, held by Pakistan to be the key of all the problems between them, has been engaging serious attention of the world's greatest political organisation the UNO. But one cannot notice without a sense of disappointment and regret that it has not been able to make much progress in finding a solution for it. This is in spite of the fact that there is no sparing of effort, time, expense and intensive study on the part of the members of that august body as also on the part of the representatives of the two States. Though one would not be surprised for inhuman success it would not be right to blame the UNO for it. Those who are assembled there cannot be said to be wanting in goodwill or in the will to prevent a war. Indeed because of their sincerity in this respect, they have succeeded at least in bringing about cessation of actual fighting. This by itself is welcome and creditable to them.

But further progress has stopped and the feeling of hostility between the two governments and a state of cold or unrelaxed war prevails and gathers momentum day after day. Every day we read reports of new disturbances, disputes, charges and counter-charges, hostile measures and counter-measures, threats and counter-threats on both sides. Escalation of communal venom by communal leaders is also going on to a great degree. Whatever domestic satisfaction and inspiration this situation might be providing to the communalists and whatever material advantage might be accruing to a few unscrupulous men of either side to the hundreds and thousands of poor and innocent members of both the communities of both the countries, it spurs houselessness, hunger, fight, terror and bitter rage. And to the people of the two States unthinkably high military expenditure.

The Kashmir issue, though put forth as the crucial one, is as a matter of fact, a symptom and not the root of the evil. Unless the root evil is attacked and removed, the Kashmir issue cannot be solved, and even if made to appear as solved will not bring about establishment of peace and goodwill between the two States.

With very great respect for the dignified tone and the able and learned representations of the various Nations represented in it, I have a feeling that there is something lacking in its composition, which disqualifies it from satisfactorily handling disputes like those between Bharat and Pakistan, or the Arabs and the Jews, or

the White and Coloured inhabitants of South Africa. No doubt the disputes burst forth in some specific concrete form when they take a tangible shape. But they are not materialistic at the base, but spiritual, moral, or financial—the fancies being variously held close to the heart. It is these basic causes which must be tackled if the disputes are to be solved for good.

Statesmen and concerned with all their deep learning and experience of handling political and economic matters, profound knowledge of historical forces, strategic realities, and sound of world movements, are, somehow, not trained or fitted for questioning, examining and deeply teaching the spiritual, moral and conceptual bases of disputing parties. They take these bases as not to be touched. They demand, for instance, ask the disputing parties, why should Hindus not accept or give up this and the Muslims that conception as the Arabs this one and the Jews the other one and so on, why should America etc., insist on this institution and the U.S.S.R., on that? They consider themselves as incompetent to go to the depth of a problem, and yet feel bound to find solutions without allowing the bases. Of course, not being bound for it is in right of them not to make such a claim. But at the same time, the utility of the UNO becomes thereby necessarily limited. In its limited sphere it can render useful service but when a stage is reached, when no solution is possible without dealing with the root factors, further progress cannot take place.

The India-Pakistan problem is an instance of the kind. Gradually always leaning upon the fundamental unity of the two communities and the geographical indivisibility of the country as helped by them, and sought solutions of apparently grave conflicts by treating the root evil. He never accepted the definite position that the apparently contradictory demands in their crude and social institutions were irreconcilable for all time to come. There was a time once, when there used to be bloody feud between Aryas and non-Aryas, Brahmanas and Kshatriyas, Shuras and Vrishnivas, Vedas, and Janas, Yajnas and Bhaddhas, Samantas and Samantas, and various other sects. The struggle for the time being between them, ruthlessly suppressed and oppressed the weaker one. But pious men came forth who established unity between the warring sections as much as that there is very little trace left of the old hostilities. So too there have always been some enlightened souls who have made several constructive efforts to bring together Hindus and Muslims and with good success. Gandhiji became the greatest champion of the cause and had found from the Muslims also some true servants of God who believed with him and helped him.

More politicians, economists and constitutionalists, I am afraid, will be able to bring about peace and goodwill between Bharat and Pakistan. The case is one for servants of God.

and not statesmen and communal leaders. Politicians cannot apply their mind rightly on account of their own materialistic and limited outlook, and communalists because of their mutual ill will and hatred.

Nature did not create India as a geographical region, which could be partitioned between two communities in an exclusive manner. India did have in the past more than one sovereign State but never was exclusively inhabited by a particular sect or community. The two communities, though they do not altogether live a life of thorough mixture, do not yet live altogether isolated lives. In several spheres they are interdependent and mutually complementary. One has contained several social institutions and customs of the other, and the other has adapted the dress, defence, etiquette and administrative systems of the other. It was a marriage to divide Punjab and Bengal, the rivers and plains of both of them, dairy etc., it was and is a marriage to bring about a movement of populations: it was a marriage to make the "hondas" practically a wandering and homeless people. No man of God could have thought of these partitions and migrations unthinkingly or felt reconciled to them. But statesmen, under pressure of communal forces and Machiavellian strategies, accepted a solution which was no solution at all, rather, which became the producer of a thousand and one problems and unprecedented hardships.

It will not be by political statecraftship and economic plans that this problem will be solved. The UNO solution (whatever it is), even if implemented as unavoidable, will not console the hearts of the two communities, which is the real necessity. It is spiritual statecraftship that is needed to solve the problem. The Hindus sacrificed on the altar of communalism the great spiritual statesmen, whom a kind Providence had blessed them with, and who could have brought about a reconciliation. Pakistan is not doing better with her own great Khadija Khidmatgar. He is rotting in some solitary cell of her jails. She thinks that her troubles would be lessened if that man of God is out of her way. But she forgets that it is a soul-force, which she is neglecting in her own hands. A day might come when she will rue her loss in the same way as Garibaldi's death is rued now by all. Let me fervently hope that she will be awakened before it is too late.

No doubt that arbitration or mediation of common friends is the proper way for solving such disputes. Imperfect men that we are, we shall always have quarrels arising among us. But if they are to be solved amicably they should be referred not to more wise diplomats, but to wise men of God.

Pakistan must change her ways and her gear, if she will be happy. Constantly proud Hindus must also do likewise. The problems of Bharat and Pakistan are our problems and it is

we who must solve them—not solve them not by methods of hot or cold war, but by means, which bespeak truthful reasoning, love, peace and non-violence. If we hold that throughout the length and breadth of India and Pakistan we cannot find a man in whose integrity, honesty and impartiality both cannot place implicit confidence, then we must feel that we unhelpfully condemn the culture, which both boast of, as not worth a straw.

Monday, 14-2-1950

K. C. HARILAN

Resort to Firing

The constant resort to firing by the police against mobs and prisoners is a barrier for peace consideration. There might be noisy and riotous mobs and prisoners and, in the absence of the evolution of a non-violent technique, it may not be possible to prevent the State from using force to suppress them. But surely, the force to be used must be the minimum necessary. Can shooting be considered as employment of minimum force, when the worst weapons which the nations are reported to have used are brick-bats and stones? Particularly in jails where the prisoners are confined in a yard or two, how many brick-bats and stones would after all be available to them? Even when shooting becomes absolutely unavoidable, should it be "to kill"? Can there be no bullets and guns which may only scare away or slightly wound, but never kill? Should not a jet of water through a hose pipe and similar mild weapons be employed, before opening fire? It should be remembered that with all their legal wit and brawn of the police, the prisoners and the mobs are human beings and citizens of India, and they have must not be sacrificed lightly. Hangar for life must be instituted in the Magistrates and the police, and as between the life of the people and the prestige and authority of the officers, popular manners must be more jealous of the life of the people than of the authority of the department, and must not take upon themselves the burden of murdering them. Even the fact that the policemen have sustained injuries should not by itself be sufficient reason for opening fire. Its necessity must be shown to be unavoidable: an unreasonable and bad tradition under past regimes—British as well as Princely—and current events have been encouraging further the habit of resorting to the gun. But light regard for life is inconsistent with democratic institutions. If the people do not understand this, the popular Government as they make together and guardian must be patient with them and suggest it to them by setting better standards and examples. If the Government become supercilious they will never be able to develop democratic mentality in the people.

Tuesday, 15-2-50

K. C. H.

GANDHI—THE LAST PHASE

III

Ways of God

But God has His own way of answering men's prayers. The Muslim League came into the Interim Government on the 15th of October. Gandhiji now felt free to return to Benares where a number of apprentices were awaiting him, and a date was fixed for his departure. But Providence had willed it otherwise. On the 19th of October came the news of widespread communal disturbances in Noakhali, accompanied by wholesale arson, looting, forcible conversion and massacres, murder, abduction and rape which set the pace for similar happenings in other parts of India. An indescribable darkness veiled his goal, and instead of returning to Government he set out for Noakhali. Little did any one dream then that he was setting out on a "Do or Die" mission which, in its turn, would become the precursor of a series of "Do or Die" missions to end only on that fateful Friday on the 30th of January, 1948, when he crossed the bar and passed from the darkness of the soul into the presence of that

"light unapproachable"

And that far-reaching blaze of majesty."

There were many hurdles to be crossed before he could get to Noakhali. Each one of them carried a challenge which might have baffled any ordinary mortal. Shafiqul Sakrawaty stopped him in Calcutta. Many questioned his motives. Gandhiji's answer was to "go into his pocket" and to agree to postpone his visit to Noakhali while the peace of the City that had for months before been burning was consolidated. Thereby he put upon the Chief Minister the onus and burden of preserving the peace in Noakhali. The four days' work which he put in Calcutta in collaboration with the Chief Minister proved to be pregnant with results and indeed laid the foundation of all his subsequent work in Noakhali. An even more serious challenge was that of Bihar. He met it by mortgaging his life to insure the safety and protection of the Muslim community in Bihar.

Long Weather with God

In Noakhali he began by "burning his boats" and declaring that he could not leave that place till real heart-unity had been established between the Hindus and Muslims in Noakhali. The proposal was more too reassuring the Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries of the Muslim League Government of Bengal, who had undertaken to stay with him in Noakhali and implement the declarations which they had made with the consent and backing of the Muslim League Government, left him after a few days and never returned. The opposition of the Muslim League organisation in Noakhali against the continuation of his stay there swelled and swelled, and in the end the Chief Minister of Bengal himself joined in the chorus demanding that he leave Noakhali and transfer his activities to Bihar. The further he ventured out into

the uncharted sea of the dark unknown, the steeper and more unfathomable it seemed to become. Colleagues and co-workers in India felt perturbed to see him getting into deeper and deeper waters while the fate of India was being decided as they felt in New Delhi. The Noakhali situation could not be reached while discord prevailed at the top. And the situation at the Centre was daily becoming more and more hopelessly tangled.

Gandhiji felt otherwise. Insofar as top leadership of the Muslim League was concerned he felt that there was no further room for activity short of surrender of principles. But in Noakhali there was room and plenty of it for action amongst the masses of Hindus and Muslims. Their needs were common, their difficulties and problems were common and admitted of a common solution. He would go and live in their midst, become one of them, teach them to better their lives, banish ignorance, poverty and disease, and share with them the faith in and worship of one God Who is the same for both Hindus and Muslims. When he had thus entered their mind and helped them to enter into his mind, then would perhaps come the hour when the atmosphere would change and sweetness prevail between Hindus and Muslims where sourness prevailed before. When the Muslims would see the underlying unity between what he was doing and his attitude in regard to the proposition which he was contesting with them, the latter would lose its sting. As with the storm, so with the violence. If real peace could be established in any distant corner of India, it would start a chain reaction which would fill the whole of India—say the whole world.

Book of Ages

"My chosen is neither ruined nor weak. It is all-powerful. Where there is chosen, there is Truth, and Truth is God. How He manifests Himself, I cannot say. All I know is that He is all-pervading and where He is, all is well. There is, therefore, one law for all. Wherever on the world Truth and Non-violence reign supreme, there is peace and bliss. That there must nowhere show that they are hidden from men for the time being. But they cannot disappear for ever. That faith man needs the faithful" he had declared on the eve of his departure to Noakhali. To test that philosophy and that faith he had gone to Noakhali. And now the magic did not seem to work. The faith could not be in the weapon, he argued, which was unfeeling, but in himself or in his capacity to wield it. Scepticism he held to be an exact science with laws as objective and precise as those of physical science. But to discover them one has need of utmost purity and infinite patience, which in practice means refusing oneself to serve and entirely throwing oneself upon God. He devoted himself of his companions and took up abode in a solitary anna-devoted hut in the dry hot-scorched village of Srirampur,

to test himself through a series of tests, some small, some big, and some altogether transcendental. Not satisfied with that, after a month he set forth on his non-stop pilgrimage to Nashik on foot from hut to hut and from village to village on a one-night-one-village plan. And when he felt the call, he proceeded to Bihar—not under anybody's dictation, but because he had convincing evidence that his presence in Bihar was necessary for the well-being of the non-affected Muslim majority there.

All the while the Nashikah situation had continued to prevent the appearance of a stillmate. That was not his concern. His concern was with himself. Was his surrender to His will complete? He began to depend more and more upon the efficacy of *Arrowsmith* or the recitation of God's name as a panacea for all his physical ills, stopped taking all drugs and medicines, and refused to let his blood-pressure be taken by his medical attendants. His refusal after the bomb explosion at Birla House to let anybody coming to attend his evening prayer gatherings be searched for hidden weapons in spite of earnest entreaties of Karam Patel was again in keeping with and an integral part of this attitude. While at prayer, above all, when he had put himself under God's sole protection, he wanted no other protection, or else his faith in the former was a make-believe and a farce. As his self-surrender to God deepened, the potency of his non-violence grew more and more irresistible. It was demonstrated during his Calcutta fast, and in a still greater measure during his last Delhi fast when the spontaneous flood of congratulatory messages and telegrams from Pakistan at the successful termination of the fast while the toll under the fast was still swollen with communal bloodshed of the most unprecedented magnitude, reflected all the character of an atomic chain reaction.

A Testament of Faith

Partition had come in spite of him. He had accepted it as a fait accompli. But if there was true non-violence in him even Partition could be made to shed its venom and the fundamental unity of mankind to assert itself among the Hindus and Muslims of India in spite of the Partition. A Muslim leader of Pakistan who met him soon after encouraged a lively idea: permission of Hindus returning to Pakistan with families, at the head, and the idea enthralled him. There was the Kashmiri fight. He had accepted it even as he had the Partition, not that he was reconciled to it or had in any way changed his fundamental attitude on war and the possibility of eliminating it by non-violent mass action; but because he was still engaged in perfecting the weapon—which though it had demonstrated its remarkable efficacy so far in the struggle for India's independence needed to be refined or perhaps redesigned to perform the duty that now confronted it in the new setup. That it could be so redesigned he had not the slightest

doubt in his mind as the poetical writer can testify. He had a rough idea as to how he would proceed. He even felt that he was perhaps on the brink. It was not given to him to conduct his experiment further to its successful issue. The object of this article is to bear witness that he regarded its success as a proven possibility and to give an inkling of the technique with which he was working.

New Delhi 20-1-60

PARNALL

LEST WE FORGET

XX

Non-violence in Various Aspects

(a)

Truth is to me synonymous with non-violence through which and which alone I can see and reach Truth.

(b)

Where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence I would advise violence.

But non-violence is infinitely superior to violence.

(c)

Non-violence is the greatest force at the disposal of mankind. It is mightier than the mightiest weapon of destruction devised by the ingenuity of man.

(d)

In a family, when a father slaps his delinquent child the latter does not think of retaliating. He obeys his father not because of the deterrent effect of the slap but because of the offended love which he senses behind it. That is an epitome of the way in which society should be governed.

Vegetarianism and Free Economy

Persons interested in Vegetarianism can obtain informative guidance and literature from any of the following:

1. Sir George F. Scott
64, Whitehouse Road, Colaba, Bombay 5
2. The Society Humanitarian League,
Lonsdale Road II
41, Great Dover Street, London SE 1, Bombay 5
3. London Vegetarian Society,
9, Aldin St., Joseph, London W C 1

Similarly persons interested in Sir's Gandhi's doctrine of Free Economy can obtain literature from:

1. Librarian Cooperative Bookshops,
Arjo Bhawan, Bandhwa Road, Bombay 4
2. Free Economy Publishing Co.,
505, Sunset Boulevard,
Los Angeles 40, California, U.S.A.

Some of the interesting books on the subject are:

A Popular Guide to Vegetarian Diet and Cookery by Dr. Joseph Oldfield M.D., B.A.

Water for Right Living by Dr. John K. Kellogg, M.D., LL.D.

A Service call to Devout and Holy Life by William Law

New Economic Order by Sir's Gandhi,

3 Vols.

Bombay, 11-2-60

R. S. B.

WHAT IS REALLY WRONG WITH INDIA?

Dr Solomon Truett, the American planning expert who has been invited to India to advise the Government on the re-examination of different development plans, in the course of an address to the Uttar Pradesh Chamber of Industry and Commerce at Agra on February 5, made the following significant observations:

What India lacks is not money but the correct perspective and the national spirit of striving to achieve that. India is the only country among the big countries to industrial progress. Indian scientists and technologists are distinguished and intelligent to cope up with her requirements. India has vast resources and a big untapped market. There can be nothing but developing the country's industries. Foreign help is not desirable. It only weakens the country's position. Delaying foreign efforts at saving dollars abroad will not also help. People have to concentrate on working hard on their own under discipline directed by political freedom. (Indian news)

Coming from a renowned planning expert of the United States of America, the above remarks deserve very serious consideration at the hands of the Government of India, the Indian National Congress, and all other well wishers of the country. In our inordinate anxiety to improve our country's resources, we might gradually get entangled in the vicious circle of foreign technical and financial aid which ultimately results in political domination. With adequate training Indian students are fully competent to develop the country's agriculture and industries. As regards foreign financial aid, I have seen with my own eyes how the Marshall Plan on the Government is being utilized in a systematic manner to smother local industries and capture foreign markets for American goods. In countries like Germany, Italy, Austria, Greece and Turkey, the Americans working through their so-called Trade Missions have gradually captured the political power of these nations. We in India have, therefore, to be very cautious in importing foreign experts and capital.

The last remark of Dr Truett is the effect that India should determine to achieve her economic freedom in the same way as she valued political freedom. Credit for the achievement of political freedom deserves our special attention. Although India achieved independence on the 15th August, 1947 and has now become a full-fledged Republic on the 26th January, 1950, we have frankly to admit that there is something essentially wrong with us and our country. We lack the cooperation and enthusiasm of the days when all of us were prepared to die for achieving India's freedom under Gandhi's glorious leadership. That spirit of sacrifice and service is really lacking at present.

What is the root cause of this cold indifference and want of necessary zeal among the Indian public? What is really wrong with India? So far as I have been able to analyse the situation, I sincerely feel that what we really

lack is the distinguished leadership of a great leader who does not hold high office in the Government of India. I think, it is unfortunate that all our first-rank leaders have gone into the Government, so much so that even a place of high honour like the presidency of the Indian National Congress has to go begging. I do not mean to suggest that capable leaders who are now in the Government have lost their pioneering and patriotism. Far from it. But the fact remains that even great leaders have to suffer from certain definite handicaps the moment they join the Government as a country. Their way of living and the security arrangements that chase them evoke a certain amount of jealousy and disrespect among the public and the masses. The unavoidable result is that their voice loses a considerable amount of force and, if I may use the word, magic. Thus explains how Mahatma Gandhi, as the leader of free India, was able to enthuse the masses whereas today after achievement of freedom our greatest leaders who were trained under Gandhi, but who now form the Government are unable to capture the imagination of the Indian masses and galvanize them into constructive activities for making India economically free and prosperous. How we wish that at least one first-rank leader may yet find it possible to step out of the Government and once again inspire the masses into fruitful activity. Only then will the Government of India be able to enlist non-official help and support for building up the country on sound political, social and economic foundations.

Mumbai, 11-2-59

R. D. M.

Corrections

I regret that the following words have been incorrectly spelt in Harjan dated 12th February, 1959 (Vol. XIII No. 54). The correct spellings are given below:

Sirva Gopal
Rajesh Ghosh
Haggenberg

R. D. M.

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